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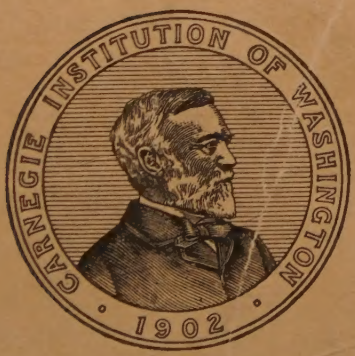
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
ANDREW JACKSON

EDITED BY
JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH. D.
Professor of American History on the
Sydenham Clark Parsons Foundation, Smith College

VOLUME II

May 1, 1814, to December 31, 1819



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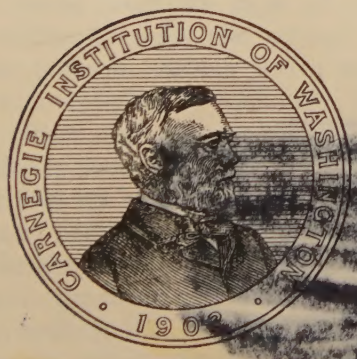

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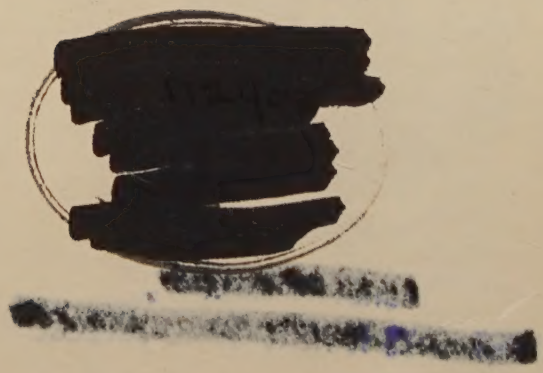
1927

CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
PUBLICATION NO. 371, VOL. II.

PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, EDITOR



The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

PREFACE.

The correspondence in this volume relates to the New Orleans campaign and to most of the period during which Jackson was in command of the Southern Military Division. The period is dominated by his military career, but not to the exclusion of politics; for in the public life of the times almost any career of distinction was capable of taking a political color. Any man who became famous was likely to find himself drawn into politics; and it was not a strange thing, for if a civilian could turn military man in a week and win his battles, why might he not turn back into a civilian in as brief a time?

In military training to fit him for high command Jackson was no worse and no better than most of the other generals of the War of 1812, but in innate military talent he was far better. When the war began the American Revolution was thirty years in the past. The officers who had obtained experience in that struggle were either dead or too old for efficient active command. The weak state of the army in this thirty-year period had developed no competent commanders, and it was necessary for the President to turn to the militia for the men who were to lead his new forces. Many of the men he selected proved incapable and had to be dropped after disastrous testing. But in the experience of these first months a few competent young men were discovered and advanced to responsible positions, the most notable man in this class being Winfield Scott, who rose through merit from the rank of captain to that of brigadier-general. Two militia generals also proved to be exceptions, Jacob Brown and Andrew Jackson. Brown was a wealthy New York landowner, who in 1798 was secretary to Alexander Hamilton. He became a prominent militia officer and through his personal and financial influence got the opportunity to show what he could do. Jackson had not as much influence to give him his start. From 1802 to 1813 he was a major-general of militia and performed the duties of the office so well that it was inevitable that he should lead the West Tennessee troops when called into the field. It was to the credit of these two men, and somewhat to the honor of the militia system, that Brown and Jackson were recognized as the two best generals whom the War of 1812 brought to the surface.

Much has been said against the militia system in the United States, and most of it has been deserved. But we should not forget that, in every war we have had, something good has come out of the militia. Jackson's men in 1814 and 1815 were mostly militiamen, the Mexican War was won by militiamen, and the Civil War showed that, with time for training, militia could become good soldiers. Of the American Expeditionary

Forces in the World War all the divisions from the Twenty-sixth to the Forty-second inclusive were based on militia organizations, and no one can doubt their splendid service in France. Militiamen are capable of excellent service when well commanded; and in Andrew Jackson the militia at New Orleans proved this claim amply.

It is impossible to find that Jackson acquired his knowledge of the art of war from any book on the subject. Moreover, it was not Jackson's habit to learn things from books. In general, he got what he had in the school of common-sense. This was true of his political ideas, and it was probably true of his military ideas. He was, no doubt, taught in the simple school of frontier warfare. To find the enemy and have at him was the main principle of that school, and Jackson had it well to heart. Beyond that we must take note of his untiring and unhesitating energy. He saw everything in the camp, he slept less than any of his subordinates, and above all else he put his tense and steel-like spirit into his men. It was thus that he built up the wonderful spirit of his troops.

On May 28, 1814, he was made a major-general in the regular army and placed over the Seventh Military District, including Louisiana and Mississippi Territory, the present state of Alabama being a part of that territory. The district was then considered quiet, and Jackson's plan was to go to Fort Jackson, in the old Creek country, make a treaty with the Indians there, and then to go to New Orleans and do what was needful to place the city in a state of safety. He remained on the treaty-grounds until August 9, when the treaty was signed. By that time he had alarming news from Mobile, and he set out at once for that place.

In this period the Indian situation filled Jackson's mind, and he had not considered the danger of a British attack. His alarm arose from the fact that Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Nicholls, with three ships of war and 200 soldiers, had just arrived at Pensacola in West Florida, and was arming and drilling the fugitive Creeks in Florida with the intention of sending them against the white frontier settlements. Jackson feared that this course would lead to a renewal of the Creek War. He rode rapidly to Mobile, calling on Tennessee for troops as he went. Shortly after his arrival the British made an attack with four ships on Fort Bowyer, at the entrance of Mobile harbor, but failed through lack of a sufficient landing force.

Jackson made his plans with characteristic energy. The enemy were in Pensacola and to Pensacola he would go after them. It proved a futile effort so far as their capture was concerned; for they only sailed away as he arrived, leaving him a barren victory over the weak Spanish garrison. Its indirect effects were good. It raised the spirits of his own men and heightened their confidence in his leadership. It also impressed the Indians with his vigor and purpose. To keep them in a respectful state of mind Jackson detached troops to range their borders during the

next three months. He stayed no longer than was necessary at Pensacola, but set out for New Orleans, whence he had received many calls for help.

Another way to measure Jackson's military achievement is to consider his conception of what the British strategy ought to have been. A real military man, he said, knowing the geography of Louisiana and Mississippi, would first seize Mobile Bay, next draw the Indians to him, and then " advance by way of Fort Stephens, and march direct to the Walnut Hills [Vicksburg], and by a strong establishment there and being able to forage on the country, he could support himself, cut off all supplies from above, and make this country [Louisiana] an easy conquest ". This theory left out of consideration the value of their navy to the British; for it would have been useless in a march of more than 160 miles through the Mississippi wilderness. It is also doubtful if Pakenham, had he reached Walnut Hills, as Jackson said, could have supported himself in that thinly settled country in the presence of Jackson's army, which would have fallen back as the British advanced. It is more probable that the British line of communication would have been cut by Jackson and their isolated army forced to fall back hastily. Jackson's view of the campaign does not seem very happy, and it does not do great credit to his knowledge of strategy.

The weakness of the New Orleans defenses presented a serious problem. For a long time the government had considered the place safe from attack. Wilkinson, who commanded there until the spring of 1813, did nothing to strengthen the place, and Brigadier-General Flournoy, who succeeded him, did no better. The rumor of a British visit spread terror in the city and Jackson was overwhelmed with requests for aid. Feeling committed to Mobile he could do nothing at that time, but he placed Lieutenant-Colonel McRea at the head of scattered garrisons in the vicinity, and asked the Secretary of War to send him a high officer to take charge of the work. Brigadier-General Gaines was ordered to the city for that purpose, but proceeded so slowly that he did not arrive until February 4, 1815, when the crisis had passed. McRea's work was done well; and it is significant that when the British came they did not go over any of the obstacles he had raised to prevent them.

The human defenses of New Orleans also demanded Jackson's attention. In the garrisons in and near the city were about 1125 men of the regular army. A considerable body of Louisiana militia was slowly coming forward at the call of the governor. In New Orleans itself were some uniformed companies of city men who offered themselves promptly in time of danger; among them were two battalions of free negroes, one of which was formed for this emergency out of refugees from Santo Domingo. It was for Jackson to weld these people into a unified mass obedient to his will. His task was all the harder because in the background was a mass of indifference on the part of a large number of the

non-English-speaking inhabitants. As the situation developed and his strong will became apparent the creoles, who by nature love a man of power, came around to Jackson's support. For no minute did Jackson weaken in this respect.

His policy of arming the free negroes, although it was not a new thing in New Orleans, brought a protest from the inhabitants, who seem to have been yielding to the popular feeling against negroes that began to grow up in the whole South after 1800. Jackson's proclamation to the blacks shows no such feeling. "Through a mistaken policy", he said, "you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which your country is engaged. This no longer shall exist. As sons of freedom you are now called upon to defend your most inestimable blessing. As Americans your country looks with confidence to her adopted children, for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government." When the assistant district paymaster raised a question as to his authority to pay such troops, Jackson pulverized him in the following words: "It is enough for you to receive my order for the payment of the troops with the necessary muster rolls without inquiring whether the troops are white, Black, or Tea. You are not to know whether I have received authority from the War Department to employ any particular description of men, and will, upon the receipt of this, make payment of the Choctaws upon the muster rolls of Major Blue." Jackson's decision in respect of the negro battalions was fully justified by results on the field of battle.

His energy put New Orleans into a state of confidence, and the work of preparation went on steadily. Then came startling news: a great British fleet with an army on board transports was off Pensacola. In a few days it was reported at Cat Island, near New Orleans, which Jackson considered a ruse to draw his attention away from the St. Stephens-Walnut Hills line. December 14, the British seized the gunboats on Lake Borgne and thus held undisputed access to the land near New Orleans. Calling all his troops to the city, Jackson took such steps as he could to meet the invaders wherever they landed. The first brigade of them (1800) reached shore through an unguarded bayou on December 23. Jackson learned of it at 1:30 p. m., and immediately moved his troops to face them. At Villeré's plantation about dusk this advance division of the British received a fierce attack by about 2100 Americans and was probably only saved from disaster by the arrival of complete darkness. They lost more men than their opponents, and one of their officers spoke of the affair as follows: "This was the first occasion, during the course of our Trans Atlantic warfare, that the Americans had in any way ventured seriously to molest or threaten our posts, or shown the smallest disposition to act vigorously on the offensive. I can not deny that it produced a

curious effect upon us. Not that we experienced the smallest sensation of alarm. We held them in too much contempt to fear their attack; I question whether we did not wish that they would hazard one; yet we spoke of the present boldness, and thought of it too, as a meeting on which we had no ways calculated, and for which we could not possibly account." [1]

With characteristic energy Jackson now bent all his efforts to entrenching his army across the British line of approach to the city, and the enemy hesitated to attack until all their strength was assembled. When they approached Jackson's position on the twenty-eighth they were surprised at its strength and called up the royal artillery. Four days were necessary for it to get into position and it was not until New Year's that it opened fire. In the duel that now occurred Jackson's gunners, firing slowly until they had the range, outshot their opponents, disabled five guns and dismounted several others, and in four hours silenced their enemy's attack. Admiral Codrington pronounced the engagement " a blot in the artillery escutcheon ". While it went on Pakenham's infantry stood in the rear ready to go forward as soon as his gunners opened a breach in Jackson's lines. As no breach was made he ordered his army (now of about 8000) back to the camp and held a council of war.

Three courses were open to him, besides withdrawal to his fleet. He could make a frontal attack with ladders to scale the American works, or he could turn Jackson's left through the swamp, a practicable but tedious course, or he could throw most of his troops across the Mississippi, seize the western bank, and force the town to surrender under threat of destruction by his artillery. He took the first course, with an auxiliary attack on the west bank by a column not large enough for decisive results. He gave his life to the effort, falling while trying to rally a column that had been repulsed. As he fell two major-generals also fell, one to die in a few minutes and the other to recover slowly from severe wounds. The army had lost 1971 men killed and wounded to six killed and seven wounded on Jackson's side, and it was withdrawn from the battle. It was the most decisive victory of our army in any war. On the west side of the river, however, where Jackson was not present to command his troops, the British column won signal success. It had that bank at its mercy, but could not be supported because of the crippled state of the forces that had so rashly been thrown against Jackson's lines. This column was drawn back across the river and a few days later the whole army returned to the fleet.

The battle of New Orleans measures Jackson's military ability. So far as concerns the east bank, nothing is left to be desired. In this quarter he did all that could have been done and was justified by the results. Where energy, courage, and persistence counted he was not wanting in anything. On the west bank appears the result of his inexperience. His plan of battle

[1] [G. R. Gleig], *A Subaltern in America* (1833 ed.), p. 219.

left that bank out of consideration until he knew that the British were about to cross, and the steps he then took were insufficient. It is true that he had erected batteries there, but not to defend that bank so much as to annoy the British advance on the east bank as it approached his lines. In his behalf, we should add that the New Orleans campaign was his first encounter with European troops. Fourteen months before it began he had not commanded in any battle; now he was a world figure. William James, the British military historian, has this to say of Jackson: "He proved himself at New Orleans, not only an able general for the description of country in which he had to operate, but, in all his transactions with British officers, both an honourable and a courteous enemy. In his official despatches, too, he has left an example of modesty, worthy of imitation by the generality of American commanders, naval as well as military." [2] The allusion to Jackson's official politeness is well deserved. When crossed or attacked he could fly into a passionate rage and bluster most disagreeably, but in his ordinary state he was the soul of official courtesy and most meticulous in following its rules.

Jackson's military laurels were still green when his faculty for falling into wrong-headed controversy began to work. December 28, when the British were making their demonstration before Jackson's lines, he was told that the legislature of Louisiana, then in session and not thinking his lines would hold, were about to submit to the enemy in order to save the property of the citizens. He sent an order to the governor of the state by which the legislature was dispersed, under martial law. December 29 the order was revoked and the legislature met again and began to prepare a defense against the charges of treasonable purpose that had been made against its members. Around its discontent grew up a feeling of bitterness that at last took root in the minds of the governor and a large portion of the citizens. Gradually this discontent settled down into a sullen dislike of martial law, which had been proclaimed before the British landed and was continued by Jackson on the ground that he did not know when the British might return. The entire Louisiana militia had been called into service and most of them thought they were detained over long. The governor supported them, but Jackson would not hear of their dismissal. Desertion became common but was lessened when Jackson issued a sharp order against it.

Then the creoles began to apply for French citizenship to Tousard, the French consul, and, obtaining it, to apply to the officers of the army for discharges. Jackson countered by ordering all French citizens to remove 120 miles from New Orleans. Tousard protested and was promptly ordered out of the place for interfering with military law. This brought forth a defiant newspaper outburst from Louaillier, a member of the legislature, and Jackson ordered his arrest by military authority.

[2] *Military Occurrences,* II. 390.

Louaillier applied to the federal judge, Hall, for a writ of *habeas corpus,* and the request was granted, whereupon Jackson ordered Hall's arrest for " abetting and exciting mutiny within my camp ". While Hall was in prison the district attorney applied to a state judge for a writ of *habeas corpus* in his behalf, and attorney and judge were also arrested. Then came Louaillier's trial by court-martial, with a complete acquittal. Jackson, passing from one absurdity to another, set aside the sentence of his own court-martial, and kept Louaillier in prison. But he sent Hall, who had not been tried, outside of the city. Next day came official news of peace, whereupon Jackson repealed his order for martial law, and Judge Hall returned to New Orleans, full of indignation at the flouting of the civil law.

In these things Jackson showed his worst side. If he had possessed ordinary tact he would have found some quiet way out of the situation before him. The calling out of all the Louisiana militia was a heavy tax on the people of the state. They might well expect to be released as soon as the crisis was passed. It was not unnatural for them to think that point achieved, when the enemy, beaten disastrously on shore, took to their ships and stood off around the entrance of Mobile Bay. Moreover, the militia were now of little value in the army and were needed on their farms. It was a situation that did not demand the inflexibility displayed by Jackson. As to martial law, he was justified in establishing it, but only as an emergency measure. It was unwise to prolong it when the country was past the crisis, and it is not unfair to suppose that his conduct in that respect was due not so much to a sense of necessity as to his innate desire to be obeyed.

Regrettable as this conduct was, it was followed by the exhibition of a most dignified and honorable bearing in fresh difficulties. Judge Hall came back in a most valiant state of mind, determined to vindicate the majesty of the law. He haled Jackson to his court to show why he should not be adjudged in contempt for defying a writ of *habeas corpus* duly issued. Jackson's response was an offer to justify, which Hall would not hear but imposed a fine of $1000, saying it was a question whether the law should bend to military authority or military authority to the law. Jackson paid the fine, refusing to accept an equal sum raised by his admirers to recoup him. At the bar he bore himself with great gravity and quelled with a look an incipient popular demonstration in his favor. In a speech at a coffee-house he counselled his friends to recognize the supremacy of the law; but for Judge Hall he maintained a permanent dislike. In 1844 Congress restored the fine with interest, $2732 in all, after a two-year debate, which Jackson observed with feelings entirely opposite to the air of indifference he displayed in 1815. But we must remember that he was then an old man, deeply in debt, and much distraught by disease and disappointments of various kinds.

Jackson's return to Nashville was a march of triumph. He received addresses and dinners along the road, state legislatures passed votes of thanks, and the country acclaimed him " Hero ". In the arrangements for putting the national defense on a peace footing he was given the command of the Southern Division. He made his headquarters in Nashville, where he lived in comfort at his home, the " Hermitage ", twelve miles north of the town. The only part of the division in which trouble was to be feared was the Florida frontier. There he stationed Brigadier-General Gaines with most of the troops in the division. Out of this situation, badly handled by Gaines, came Jackson's war against the Seminoles and the march into West Florida in 1818.

Jackson attributed the origin of the discontent of the Indians to British interference, and in that respect he was largely right. It is true that the hard terms of the Treaty of Fort Jackson had produced much feeling among them, and especially among those who would not submit to its terms but had fled to their kindred, the Seminoles, in Florida. But it was the interference of several British subjects in Florida that gave them the courage to make a stand. Chief among these was Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Nicholls, who remained in the country several months after the war. He told the Indians that by the ninth article of the Treaty of Ghent the United States would have to restore the lands taken from them. That article provided for the retrocession of all lands seized on either side, allies' lands included, unless the seizures had been confirmed by treaties of peace made before the Treaty of Ghent. Since the Treaty of Fort Jackson was signed before that treaty, the United States claimed to be absolved from any obligation to restore the Creek lands. But as the Creeks in Florida had refused to go to the treaty-ground, they claimed that their lands should be restored under the Treaty of Ghent. Nicholls encouraged them to maintain that position, sent flamboyant demands to the United States agent to the Creeks, Colonel Hawkins, and went to England carrying a treaty of mutual alliance between the Creeks and the British government. This agreement was not ratified by his government, but several leading chieftains of the disaffected Creeks were received with honor, and one of them, Francis, was given the rank of brigadier-general in the British army and was received at court in a scarlet uniform. To have accepted Nicholls's treaty would have committed England to a policy of enforcement that might well have reopened the war; but the favor shown the disaffected chieftains served to strengthen their opposition to the United States, and when it was known on the border it increased popular hostility to the Indians. Friction grew, raids and acts of violence occurred, and by the summer of 1817 war was imminent. Gaines showed no disposition to conciliate the red men, and when the chieftain at Fowltown, on the Alabama side of the lands ceded to the whites at Fort Jackson, sent him a defiant protest he ordered the town to be attacked. Thus was begun actual fighting of armed forces.

When Calhoun, Secretary of War, learned of these things he ordered Gaines to attack the Indians and to follow them into Florida if necessary, but not to attack any fortified Spanish post. At the same time Jackson was ordered to the frontier to take command; he was furnished with a copy of Gaines's instructions. He obeyed with alacrity, sending Monroe his celebrated letter of January 6, 1818. Now, said he, was a good time to settle the Florida question. Let a hint be given him unofficially "through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea)" that Monroe does not object and he would seize the Floridas "without implicating the Government". He evidently meant that, this done, the diplomats could find a way to adjust the matter. Jackson asserted later that he received a letter from Rhea saying that Monroe approved the suggestion, and that he destroyed the letter at a request from Monroe through a third party. Monroe denied sending such an assurance, and said that he did not see Jackson's letter of January 6 until after the invasion of Florida had occurred. Thus was raised a question of veracity between these two men, generally esteemed as equally honest and truthful. This question is worthy of specific examination, for out of it developed some of the important events in Jackson's later career.

If we refuse to believe that either of the men lied about the matter, we are left to explain their contradictory statements by assuming that one of them was the victim of a trick of memory. Of the two men, Jackson's mind acted quickly and without deliberate weighing of facts in order to come to a conclusion, while Monroe's was slow, careful, and methodical. By nature Jackson was less likely than Monroe to form a solid impression of a given fact and to preserve it accurately in memory. The writer finds it easier to imagine that Jackson was in error than to think that Monroe was at fault in his memory. And this probability becomes the stronger when we consider that there was another matter under discussion between the two men in which Rhea was used as an intermediary and that it was under consideration at almost the same time when the Rhea letter in respect of Florida is alleged to have been written.

To understand this suggestion we must go back to the order sent to Major Stephen H. Long in 1817. In that year Long, an engineer in the Southern Division, was ordered by the Secretary of War (Graham) to duty outside the division, with nothing said to Jackson, who was naturally vexed by being ignored. He accordingly issued a division order instructing all his subordinates to obey no future orders that did not come through his hands. The publication of this division order made a strong impression in and out of military circles. It was felt that Monroe would have to find some way of reconciling Jackson to the situation, and there were many men who thought the general should be reprimanded. The matter was eventually settled by the President's deciding that the Secretary of War might order any soldier to service outside of the division in

which he was on duty, but that on doing so he must inform the commander of the division of what had been done. This settlement was looked upon as a compromise.

To this decision Monroe came slowly, and Jackson, who ever made up his mind quickly, awaited the issue with some impatience. During the latter half of 1817 he talked of resigning from the army as a result of the attitude of the War Department and the slow course of the President. What he objected to was the silence with which Monroe treated his division order. In this crisis appeared John Rhea, congressman from Tennessee, and a staunch friend of Jackson's. On November 27 and December 24, 1817, and January 12, 1818, he wrote to Jackson on the subject. The burden of his letters was that he had spoken with Monroe and knew him to be friendly toward Jackson. In these letters Rhea has a tendency to speak in general terms. In the letter of January 12, 1818, Rhea is more cryptic than in the others. "I have also received your letter of the 22d last month", he says, "and read it carefully. I am gratifyed indeed that the plan of the President is satisfactory to you. I am confident that he intended it to be so." Of course Rhea referred to Monroe's designs for settling the Long incident, and so Jackson understood it for the time. But it may be that, in looking back to the incident later, he confused in his own mind the assurance sent to him by Rhea six days after Jackson's suggestion to Monroe was made. It was, in fact, a message from Monroe through Rhea, and Jackson's mind, not accustomed to retain sharp and deep impressions, may have forgotten the real nature of the message and assumed that it related to his hint about Florida. This suggestion is no more than a guess, with some plausible facts to support it, but it is the most favorable way to save Jackson from conviction as a falsifier, which in ordinary matters he certainly was not.[3]

About one other feature of this matter I am unable to come to a conclusion that is at all satisfactory. Jackson later declared that, when the Seminole resolutions were being warmly debated in the winter and early spring of 1818 and 1819, Rhea told him that Monroe had asked that Rhea's confirmatory letter to Jackson should be destroyed, since it would be awkward to have it come out at that time. Jackson added that he did burn the letter but wrote in the margin of his letter-book a statement to that effect. Unfortunately the volume of the letter-book for that date has not been found; but there is in the Jackson Manuscripts, on a loose sheet, a copy of Jackson's letter to Monroe of January 6, 1818, in the margin of which is written, "Mr. J. Rhea's letters in answer is burnt this 12th of April, 1818". Now Jackson met the Seminoles in battle near Econfinnah on April 12, 1818, and besides, that was a year before the

[3] The tentative explanation here offered was set forth by the author in his *Life of Jackson*, I. 249, n. 1. Since its publication in 1911 the probability there claimed has been increased by the unearthing of the letter of Rhea to Jackson January 12, 1818, and for that reason the explanation is repeated here, but only as a tentative theory.

Seminole controversy waxed hot in Washington. Whoever wrote the entry probably made a slip, meaning to write "1819". But it is not so likely that a clerk making an entry like this would have made the slip if he were writing down the current year as if copying at some later date. Which tends to raise the query: Was the copy here referred to made, perchance, by some clerk or Jackson admirer after the controversy became warm in 1830, and was it placed in the correspondence to make good the lapse in the letter-book? And beyond that lies the question: Did the letter-book disappear at that time?

These speculations have a certain intellectual interest to the man of curious bent, but they do not go far toward answering the question with which we are primarily concerned: Did Jackson receive and destroy the alleged letter from Rhea? I am of opinion that the facts with reference to the marginal entry go to weaken, but not necessarily to destroy, that statement, and that the possibility that his mind confused in his memory one Rhea correspondence with what he alleged was another left Jackson in a shaky position.[4] In the face of this unsteady evidence we have Monroe's clear denial of what Jackson alleged and his statement that Rhea, about 1830, denied any knowledge of what Jackson alleged. Under these circumstances it is difficult to defend Jackson's side of the controversy until his own statements are better supported.

Whatever we think of Jackson's claim to justification for entering Florida, his action had popular approval. The country was instinctively against Spain and it enjoyed the sight of its tall military hero riding against the Indians, who scattered at the appearance of his countenance, and knocking at the doors of Spain's Florida forts with such a thundering rage that the trembling garrisons gave them up and embarked for Havana. In this way West Florida suddenly passed into our hands. By Jackson's theory the only thing to do to keep it was to claim that it might lawfully be held as indemnity for damages sustained through aid given by Spain to the British in the late war, and to the Indians through a long series of troubles. While most people admired Jackson for what he had done, few accepted his argument for holding what he had taken. Monroe realized at once that Florida must be handed back. From Spain came a demand, also, that Jackson be reprimanded. In view of popular feeling the President dared not discredit Jackson in public, nor would Jackson himself have submitted to it. So the affair settled down on the side of the administration to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, stoutly bluffing Spain by arguing that her slack enforcement of neutrality justified Jackson's course in Florida, while Monroe used his utmost tact in making Jackson see that by giving up Florida the government did not

[4] For Rhea's uncertain state of mind on the subject when the controversy came to a head in 1830, see his letters in a subsequent volume of this work.

reflect on his procedure in acquiring it. Both efforts succeeded, and in due course the fiery Dons and the equally fiery Hero were satisfied.

Jackson's march into Florida also brought up a threatening protest from Great Britain, on account of his execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot. Both of these men were fishing in troubled waters and neither should have been amazed at the fate that overtook him. Ambrister was a British officer on furlough to visit England who used his leisure to go to Florida to organize and train a body of Indians for use in trouble with the United States. He fell into Jackson's hands and was punished with death. Arbuthnot was a Scottish merchant who became an adviser to the Seminoles, taking to a considerable extent the place Colonel Nicholls had filled with respect to them in 1815. Like Nicholls he had written letters to the whites protesting against their treatment of the Indians and asking for the execution of the ninth article of the Treaty of Ghent in their behalf. Such a course was certain to promote Indian discontent, and it was to little purpose that Arbuthnot alleged, after he was in Jackson's hands, that he had always advised the Indians not to go to war. He had done many things that promoted the war spirit in them, and he seems to have relied on his British citizenship for safety.

When the country heard that Jackson had dealt strongly with these two promoters of trouble it was gratified, and the British protest, despite Rush's comment made later in the midst of a political campaign, was not strenuous. It was only as Jackson became a national figure in politics that he was attacked for his part in the fate of Ambrister and Arbuthnot.

The political aspect of the Seminole expedition opened quickly to view. Soon after the battle of New Orleans Jackson's Tennessee friends, and some others, began to speak of him as a candidate for the presidency in 1816. The idea was well received in the West, but it did not succeed in the nominating caucus, where the fight was between Monroe and Crawford. When by a compromise of some kind the prize went to Monroe, Jackson was pleased, for he disliked Crawford and was an admirer of Monroe from the days of his own service in Congress, when he trained with the Macon-Randolph-Monroe group. But his friends only bided their time and he remained a potential Western candidate for the presidency.

This fact had something to do with the attack made in Congress in the winter of 1818 and 1819 on the Seminole expedition, although some of the animus of that assault was a desire to put the administration in the wrong. The politicians would have liked to dispose of Jackson as a candidate. Clay gave a biting flavor to the debate by pronouncing Jackson a dangerous military hero likely to subvert the liberties of the people. This absurd charge was often repeated by Jackson's opponents, regardless of the patent fact that the main object of Jackson in politics was to

place power in the hands of the plain people. The upshot of this debate was to arouse so much feeling for Jackson in the country at large that his opponents dropped their fight for the resolutions reflecting upon him, and a large amount of public support was acquired for the plans of those who wished to bring him out in 1824.

Such was the fate of the politicians' efforts to make Jackson so unpopular that he would not be available as a presidential candidate. It may seem strange to the reader of to-day that he was not attacked on the ground that he was not qualified by education and political experience for the office of President. Such undoubtedly was the truth; but to the men of the day it did not mean much that Jackson was untrained. The thoughts of the people about him, as they appear in letters of the day, may be summed up as these: that he was honest and could be trusted; that he was a man of the people; and that he had done much for the country and deserved honor at its hand. That a man should be chosen President because he would make a good President was far from being a universal conviction.

How much, or how little, Jackson knew of the political efforts of his friends in his behalf it is impossible to say. He was no mean player in the political game, and he was surrounded by such garrulous men as Major Lewis and Senator Eaton, who were doubtless in all the secrets. It is incredible that Jackson did not know of their efforts, and it seems certain that he took no steps to check them. After 1816 he lay on his oars, as did all the other aspirants for 1824. But one action of his at this period became significant when he was at last before the country. It demands attention here.

In the period from October, 1816, to January, 1817, Jackson wrote three letters to Monroe in which he took broad ground respecting the appointment of some of the more liberal Federalists to office. "Consult no party or party feelings in your choice", was one of his sentiments. These letters seem to have had a moderating influence on Monroe, who later came out openly for an "amalgamation policy", much to the disappointment of his partizans. Jackson's letters on this subject did credit to his mind and were not written, so far as we know, for ulterior effect; but they were used in 1822 and later to draw Federalist votes to him. They had the unexpected effect of giving him the reputation of a man liberal in his attitude toward his opponents, a reputation his later career was not to substantiate.

The period following the New Orleans campaign, to the end of this volume, is not rich in Jackson letters. Perhaps the paucity is explained by the fire which destroyed some of Jackson's military papers for this period. It was, however, a time in which his career is least interesting; for he had reached the climax of his military service and was marking time in the routine of division commander, service which he came to dis-

like heartily. It had the advantage, however, of yielding him what was considered a good salary. Living on his farm, he was thus able to reach financial comfort for the first considerable period in his life. In this period he built the large brick house at the " Hermitage " which succeeded the primitive building in which were spent his earliest years. Out of this period he passed into the struggles of the political field, where he became at once one of the striking figures of United States history. With that phase of his career the succeeding volumes of this series will deal.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

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To the Secretary of War (William H. Crawford). Nashville, June 15, 1816. Ability to destroy the negro fort on the border. *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 557.

Secretary Crawford to Jackson. Department of War, June 19, 1816. Cherokee boundary. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 112.

Secretary Crawford to Jackson, David Meriwether, and Jesse Franklin. War Department, July 5 (3?), 1816. Western boundary of the Creek cession. *Ibid.*, II. 100.

Secretary Crawford to Jackson. War Department, July 5, 1816. On the land between the Tennessee River and the Cherokee line. *Ibid.*, II. 102.

Secretary Crawford to Jackson, David Meriwether, and Jesse Franklin. War Department, July 5, 1816. Boundary of the Creek cession. *Ibid.*

James Colbert to Jackson. Chickasaw Agency, July 17, 1816. Date of negotiations with Chickasaws. *Ibid.*, II. 103.

To Secretary Crawford. Headquarters, Division of the South, July 19, 1816. Negotiations with the Chickasaws. *Ibid.*

To Secretary Crawford. Nashville, July 20, 1816. Presents for Chickasaw chiefs. *Ibid.*

George Graham (chief clerk) to Jackson. War Department, Aug. 5, 1816. Chickasaw negotiations. *Ibid.*

Governor Joseph McMinn to Jackson. Kingston, Tenn., Aug. 6, 1816. On proposed negotiations with the Indians. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VIII. 382 (1903).

Return J. Meigs to Jackson. Cherokee Agency, Aug. 8, 1816. On the agitation caused by the Cherokee boundary. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 113.

To Governor McMinn. Nashville, Aug. 12, 1816. Accepting appointment as commissioner to treat with the Cherokees and Chickasaws. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VIII. 383 (1903).

To Maj. William O. Butler. Nashville, Aug. 14, 1816. Military road from New Orleans to Mobile. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 120.

To Secretary Crawford. Nashville, Aug. 18, 1816. Supplies for the negotiations with the Indians. *Ibid.*

To John Hutchings. Nashville, Aug. 18, 1816. Supplies for the negotiations with the Indians. *Ibid.*

Secretary Crawford to Jackson, David Meriwether, and Jesse Franklin. War Department, Sept. 10, 1816. Creek boundary. *Ibid.*, II. 103.

Secretary Crawford to Jackson, David Meriwether, and Jesse Franklin. Department of War, Sept. 12, 1816. Cherokee boundary. *Ibid.*, II. 104, 125.

To Governor McMinn. Chickasaw Agency, Sept. 15, 1816. Negotiations with Cherokees and Chickasaws. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VIII. 386 (1903).

Secretary Crawford to Jackson (ext.). Sept. 27, 1816. Suggesting withdrawal of troops. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 764.

To Governor McMinn. Nashville, Oct. 16, 1816. On treaties with Cherokees and Chickasaws. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VIII. 387 (1903).

To Secretary Crawford. Nashville, Oct. 18, 1816. Indian land disputes. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 107.

George Graham to Jackson and David Meriwether. Department of War, Oct. 26, 1816. Expressing approbation of the Indian negotiations. *Ibid.*, II. 108.

George Graham (Acting Secretary of War) to Jackson. Department of War, Oct. 31, 1816. Expenses of the Indian negotiations. *Ibid.*

Acting Secretary Graham to Jackson. War Department, Nov. 7, 1816. Removal of intruders from Cherokee lands. *Ibid.*

To Secretary Crawford. Nashville, Nov. 12, 1816. Suggestions for ordnance depôts. *Ibid.*, II. 117.

Acting Secretary Graham to Jackson. Dec. 4, 1816. Approval of ordnance depôts. *Ibid.*, II. 123.

Acting Secretary Graham to Jackson. Department of War, Dec. 4, 1816. Presidential approval of Indian treaties. *Ibid.*, II. 108.

To Acting Secretary Graham. Headquarters, Nashville, Dec. 21, 1816. General activities. *Ibid.*, II. 123.

To Gen. Daniel Smith. Hermitage, Mar. 27, 1817. On the death of Jackey Donelson. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), VI. 235 (1901).

To Secretary Graham. Headquarters, Huntsville, M. T., June 11, 1817. Sale of lands. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 142.

Secretary Graham to Jackson, Joseph McMinn, and David Meriwether. Department of War, Aug. 1, 1817. Expenses of negotiations for Cherokee treaty. *Ibid.*, II. 143.

Secretary Graham to Jackson. Department of War, Aug. 9, 1817. Supplies for Cherokee agent. *Ibid.*, II. 149.

Brig.-Gen. Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson (ext.). Headquarters, Fort Gaines, Georgia, Nov. 9, 1817. Activities of Seminoles; request for troops. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 686.

Brig.-Gen. E. P. Gaines to Jackson. Fort Scott, Georgia, Nov. 21, 1817. Report on forces and movements of Indians. *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 597; *id., Milit. Aff.*, I. 686.

Circular. Nashville, Jan. 11, 1818. Private appeal to West Tennessee for militia. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., col. 2345.

To Governor McMinn. Nashville, Jan. 11, 1819 [1818]. Explaining his private call for militia volunteers. *Ibid.*; *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 767.

Lieut.-Col. Mathew Arbuckle to Jackson. Fort Scott, Jan. 12, 1818. On situation at Forts Scott and Gaines. *Ibid.*, I. 695.

To the Secretary of War (John C. Calhoun). Headquarters, Nashville, Jan. 13, 1818. Funds for quartermaster. *Ibid.*, I. 744.

To Governor McMinn. Nashville, Jan. 19, 1818. Tennessee militia. *Ibid.*, I. 767; *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., col. 2346.

To Secretary Calhoun. Headquarters, Nashville, Jan. 20, 1818. Report on situation and plans of defense. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 697.

To Mrs. Jackson. Huntsville, Jan. 27, 1818. Meeting with Coffee. Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 289.

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson (ext.). Jan. 29, 1818. Approving his measures. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 697.

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson (ext.). Department of War, Feb. 6, 1818. Expression of confidence. *Ibid.*

To Secretary Calhoun (ext.). Fort Hawkins, Feb. 10, 1818. Supplies for the campaign. *Ibid.*

To Secretary Calhoun. Headquarters, Fort Early, Feb. 26, 1818. Lack of food. *Ibid.*, I. 698.

Governor William Rabun to Jackson. Milledgeville, Georgia, Mar. 21, 1818. Requesting troops for defense. *Ibid.*, I. 774.

To Secretary Calhoun. Headquarters, Fort Gadsden, Mar. 25, 1818. Conditions at Forts Scott and Gadsden; plans for future action. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., col. 2008.

Governor McMinn to Jackson. Murfreesborough, Apr. 6, 1819 [1818]. Expressing approval of the private call for militia. *Ibid.*, col. 2347.

To the Commanding Officer at St. Marks (Francisco Caso y Luengo). Headquarters before St. Marks, Apr. 6, 1818. Need for garrison at St. Marks; requests permission to communicate with ships in bay. *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 575; *id., Milit. Aff.*, I. 705.

To Francisco Caso y Luengo. Camp near St. Marks, Apr. 7. 1818. Announces occupation of St. Marks. *Ibid.*, I. 706; *id., For. Rel.*, IV. 576.

To Francisco Caso y Luengo. Camp near St. Marks, Apr. 7, 1818. Expressing friendliness to Spain, but also need for haste. *Ibid.; id., Milit. Aff.*, I. 705.

To Col. George Gibson (ext.). Before St. Marks, Apr. 9, 1818. Concerning persons who have surrendered. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., col. 2306.

To Col. José Masot. Headquarters, Fort St. Marks, Apr. 27, 1818. Stating that unjust conduct of Spanish agents against U. S. would be no longer tolerated. *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 29, 1827; *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 562.

Brig.-Gen. Thomas Glasscock to Jackson. Fort Early, Apr. 30, 1818. Attack on Chehaw towns. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 776.

Proclamation to Jackson's Army. Pensacola, May, 1818. Parton's *Jackson*, II. 502.

William Hambly and Edward Doyle to Jackson. Fort Gadsden, May 2, 1818. On attitude of governor of Pensacola toward Indians hostile to U. S. *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 577; *id., Milit. Aff.*, I. 715

James Gadsden to Jackson. Fort Gadsden, May 3, 1818. Aid to hostile Indians by commandant at St. Marks. *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 578.

Jacob R. Brooks and Peter Cone to Jackson. Fort Gadsden, May 3, 1818. Stolen cattle. *Ibid.*

Maj. David E. Twiggs to Jackson. Fort Gadsden, May 3, 1818. Reporting that public stores contain articles belonging to Arbuthnot and Hillis Hadjo. *Ibid.*

Capt. Andrew F. Fraser and Daniel F. Sullivan to Jackson. Fort Gadsden, May 3, 1818. Stolen cattle. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., col. 2022.

To the Chehaw Warriors. May 7, 1818. A talk. Parton's *Jackson*, II. 492.

Col. José Masot to Jackson. Pensacola, May 18, 1818. Denies complicity on the part of Spanish government; asks for proof of charges against individual officers. *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 507; *id., Milit. Aff.*, I. 709.

To José Masot. Headquarters on the line of march, May 23, 1818. Conditions forcing United States to enter Florida. *Ibid.*, I. 712; *id., For. Rel.*, IV. 567.

To José Masot. Headquarters, Pensacola, May 24, 1818. Announces entrance into Pensacola. *Ibid.*, IV. 569; *id., Milit. Aff.*, I. 712.

To Secretary Calhoun. Headquarters, Fort Montgomery, June 2, 1818. Is sending John Blunt and William Hambly to Washington for protection. *Ibid.*, I. 707; *id., For. Rel.*, IV. 574.

Governor McMinn to Jackson. June 20, 1818. Success of Seminole War. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., col. 2346.

To Governor William Rabun. Nashville, Aug. 1, 1818. Conduct of Captain Wright. Parton's *Jackson*, II. 495.

To Capt. Richard K. Call. Nashville, Aug. 5, 1818. Public opinion regarding Jackson's operations in Florida. Caroline M. Brevard, *History of Florida*, I. 257.

To Secretary Calhoun. Nashville, Aug. 10, 1818. Inability of Spain to preserve peace. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 745.

To Brig.-Gen. E. P. Gaines (ext.). Nashville, Aug. 17, 1818. Orders for reduction of St. Augustine. *Ibid.*, I. 765.

Col. William King to Jackson. Pensacola, Oct. 15, 1818. Captain Boyles's successful expedition against Indians. *Ibid.*, I. 751.

To Thomas Kirkman, merchant, Philadelphia. Treaty Ground, Chickasaw Nation, Oct. 20, 1818. Terms of treaty; reservations to Colbert heirs. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), IV. 99 (1899).

To President Monroe. n. p., Nov. 15, 1818. Relative to the powers given to Jackson in his orders. Parton's *Jackson*, II. 525; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1831.

To Secretary Calhoun. Nashville, Nov. 28, 1818. Plans for spring campaign. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 752.

George Poindexter to Jackson. Washington City, Dec. 12, 1818. Seminole War. Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 144.

Isaac Shelby to Jackson. Travellers' Rest (near Danville), Dec. 14, 1818. Purchase of land by Jackson; portrait of Shelby by Earle. *United States Telegraph* (daily), Nov. 24, 1828.

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson. War Department, Dec. 15, 1818. Ordering him to prevent extension of settlements on Red River and to remove certain settlers. The *Globe* (s-w), Oct. 23, 1818.

To Washington Jackson (Kirkman and Jackson, Philadelphia). Hermitage, Dec. 28, 1818. Chickasaw treaty, and the cadet protest at West Point. *Am. Hist. Mag.* (Nashville), IV. 101 (1899).

To Maj. William B. Lewis. Washington, Jan. 30, 1819. Opinion respecting critics in Congress. Parton's *Jackson*, II. 543.

Richard I. Easter to Jackson. Nashville, Apr. 21, 1819. Investigation of Seminole War by Senate. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 766.

To John McKee. Hermitage, Apr. 22, 1819. Choctaw lands. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 229.

R. H. Dyer and Thomas Williamson to Jackson. Elm Grove, May 21, 1819. On the call for militia volunteers. *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 sess., col. 2348.

John McKee to Jackson. French Camp, Choctaw Nation, Aug. 13, 1819. Objections of Choctaws to removal. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 230.

To Gen. John Coffee. Aug. 20, 1819. Congratulations on birth of son. Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 198.

P. M. Miller to Jackson. Sept. 22, 1819. Col. John Williams's expedition in 1812. *Am. St. Pap., Milit. Aff.*, I. 769.

Samuel Bunch to Jackson. Murfreesborough, Sept. 23, 1819. Col. Williams's expedition in 1812. *Ibid.*

To John H. Eaton. Hermitage, Dec. 28, 1819. On prospects for a war with Spain. Parton's *Jackson*, II. 671.

CORRESPONDENCE OF ANDREW JACKSON.

John Overton to Jackson.[1]

Rogersville, Tenn., May 8, 1814.

Dear Genl, By the mail early yesterday morning, your highly gratifying communication to Gov. Blount announcing the glorious termination of the Creek War arrived. I can but imperfectly communicate to you the feeling of the people here. It has produced a piece under the Rogersville head of the inclosed paper, which you will please hand to my friend Colo S. D. Hays with a request that he will hand it to Thos Bradford [2] for republication. Already General, it is the common theme of conversation that you must be our next Governor. Seviers friends about Jonesborough and Greenville, who were formerly inimical to you, speak of you in terms, even, with affection. There is not a word said in this country but is not in terms of respect, if not, of admiration. Cocke, who has been here all the week is perfectly silent, and disposed to be as conciliating as he can.

Still I know there are some who are whining and inimical to you in one end of the State, but you may rest assured they are the fewest number. I beg you my dear friend not to notice them let them write or speak as they may. I say this with the most thorough conviction, and in the most lively solicitude for your standing, which is now as high as any man in America. Your ground is far too elevated for the bickerings which sometime take place, in the pursuit of fame, wealth, honor, or in the preservation of either. You possess them, and the little spirits which infest the world cannot deprive you of them, when you view such efforts with silent contempt, and conscious rectitude. Dear Genl, you will pardon these hints, as I know there are mean people whose greatest gratification, is to irritate you, and thus lessen your fame if they can.

I am sincerely Yr friend

To Major-General Thomas Pinckney.[1]

Nashville, May 18, 1814.

D'r Sir: This evening your verry friendly letter, from Fort Jackson without date, was handed me by Major Howell Tatam, and I hasten to answer your enquiries. first, the limits I assigned the hostile creeks, who had sued for peace, for their present occupancy, was East of the Cosee

[1] For John Overton, see vol. I., pp. 13, 45. He was now a judge of the supreme court of Tennessee.

[2] Thomas G. Bradford, publisher of the *Clarion* (Nashville).

[1] General Pinckney's idea of what the terms of the treaty should be is embodied in the following letter from him to Col. Benjamin Hawkins, Creek agent, dated Apr. 23, 1814: "*Sir,* The complete success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless the Arms of the U: States in their present War with the hostile Creek Indians having amply retaliated on this infatuated people the loss of blood sustained by the Citizens of the U States, and by that part of the Nations who remained faithful to them, and their

river, and north of the road, we opened to newyoca [2] Tohope[k]a, and in case the open land, within that boundery was not sufficient, for the present year to afford cultivation for them, then they were to settle East of the old pensacola road, and above the [Kea]legian [3] villages. of this old Chenebee, and the chiefs of Talladega, were to be the Judges. I had Cogent reasons for prescribing their bounderies, I knew, it was important to settle them at once on the Territory that I did suppose Goverment would reserve for the friendly creeks, and for those who unconditionally surrendered, and that it was all important to the final adjustment, of the Territorial limits between the united states and the friendly creeks that the Territory conquored, and intended to be appropriated to the discharge of the debt created by the creek war should be kept clear of all incumberence, by settlement of either by the friendly, or the conquored creeks.

you ask me what portion of the creek country would indemnify the U. States for the creek war. *would the lands on the north side of the cosa, be a sufficient indemnity!* I answer that the country west of the cosee, and north of the allabama, is a valuable country, and might indemnify the goverment fully for the expence of the war. But Sir certainly this cannot be the only object of the goverment. They hostile creeks has forfeighted all right to the Territory we have conquered, and while Justice to the friendly part of the nation requires that they should be left in the peaceable enjoyment of their Towns and villages, with a sufficient, appendage of woodland, humanity dictates, that the conquered part of the nation should be allotted sufficient space for agricultural purposes. Still the grand policy of the Goverment ought and must be to con-

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insolence ingratitude and perfidy having been severely chastised, the Government of the U States wishing to spare the remnant of those miserable people who may be similarly disposed to atone for their former misdeeds by their future good conduct you will be pleased to communicate to them the following terms upon which peace will be granted to them.

"The United States will [retain] so much of the conquered territory as may appear to the Government thereof a just indemnity for the expences of the War and as a retribution for the injuries sustained by its citizens and by the friendly Creek indians.

"The U. States will retain the right to establish military posts and trading houses, and to make and use such roads as they may think necessary, and freely to navigate all the rivers and water courses in the Creek territory.

"The enemy must on their part surrender their prophets and such other instigators of the War as may be designated by the Government of the U. States, and they must agree to such restriction upon their trade with foreign nations as shall be established by the Government of the U States.

"You will be pleased Sir, to communicate these terms to the friendly indians and enforce on them in the prosecution of the War against such as may continue hostile, to abstain carefully from injuring those who may be returning with the intention of making their submission. You may likewise inform them that the United States will not forget their fidelity but in the arrangement which may be made of the lands to be retained as indemnity their claims will be respected, and such of their chiefs as have distinguished themselves by their exertions and valor in the common cause will also receive remuneration in the ceded Lands and in such manner as the Government may direct.

"You will please sir, to take such measures as you may think expedient to communicate the above terms to the hostile party, and to point out the roads by which they may approach the posts of the U States to surrender themselves which roads you will also please to designate to the friendly party."

Among the Monroe MSS. in the New York Public Library there is another copy of this letter, in a clerk's handwriting but signed by Jackson, addressed to Col. John Williams, and indorsed by Monroe, "May 18, 1814, Genl Jackson".

[2] Niuyaka.

[3] Kailaidshi.

nect the settlements of Georgia with that of the Territory and Tennessee which at once forms a bulwerk against foreign invasion, and prevent the introduction of foreign influence to corrupt the minds of the indians. settlements should be so formed, as to seperate the strength of the creek nation, and the sett[l]ements of the whites between them would always keept them peaceble and faithfull. to accomplish this object, I would run a line from a certain point in the Georgia line, that a due west course would strike Newyocka on the Tallaposee, thence westwardly to a point on the coosee river one mile and a half above Fort williams, then[c]e up the Eastern Bank of the cosee to the cherokee boundery, with the cherokee boundery to the boundery of madison county, thence west to the chikesaw boundery, with that boundery to the chocktaw boundery to the M.[4] Territory, and with the same to the southern boundery of the united states, and with that East to the Georgia line and north to the point of Beginning. the lands north and East of the first boundery is reserved, for the upper friendly creeks, and those that they have permitted of the hostile creeks to settle with them. It only then remains, to be designated, the bounds of the friendly creeks, within this boundery, the ballance rightfully belongs to the united states by conquest, and will be sufficient to pay 12 millions of the debt to the u states, and afford a settlement from Georgia to the mobile and from Tennessee to the southern limits of the u states. Goverment ought to adopt every means to populate speedily this section of the union, and perhaps, if she would give a preferrence right to those that conquored it, at 2 dollars pr acre of 320 acres, it would be settled by a hardy race that would defend it.

I am truly astonished that Colo. Hawkins is permitting the Indians to settle down on their former habitations. I did tell him the Territory I had assigned them. I did tell him that no Indians should settle west of the cosee or north of the allabama, and I am certain Goverment will not permit them to settle below the allabama. at this point is the strenght of the frontier of the union to be established by thick and wealthy inhabitants, unmixed by indians.

now is the time, and I hope goverment will seize holt of it, to extinguish the cherokee and chikesaws claim within the state of T. It can be with truth said to the chikesaws you have proved to us, that you cannot protect the whites on the roads through your country. The enemy you have permitted to pass through your nation have killd and plunder our citizens, carried off our women and children captives. we must therefore extend our settlements to the mississippi, to cut off all communication of the southern tribes with that of the north, and give to our citizens perfect safety in passing through their country. We must give them a fair compensation for a surrender of their right. Our national security require it, their security require it. The happiness and security of the whole require this salutary erangement, it must be done, and they shall be indemnified either in money or land Gained by Creek conquest. Now is the time to obtain it, and it ought and must be had. This then will give strength to the southern section of the u states both in the councils of the nation, and

[4] Mississippi.

against foreign invasion, and foreign influence, and create a fund competant to meet the expence of the whole war. . . . .[5]

THE SECRETARY OF WAR (JOHN ARMSTRONG)[1] TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1814.

Sir, The vacancy produced by General Hamptons resignation, not having been filled during the late session of the Senate, cannot be supplied, constitutionally, during the recess of that body. All therefore than [that] can be done at present, in reward for your able and gallant conduct during the campaign and in testimony of the public respect these have obtained, is to make you a Brigadier of the line, with the brevet of Major General, and to invest you with the command of the 7th Mil. District.[2] Commissions of this character will be immediately prepared and forwarded, and I cannot but hope that they will be acceptable and accepted and that it will not be inconvenient for you to assume this new command without loss of time. I avail myself of this occasion to offer to you my great respect and best wishes.

SECRETARY ARMSTRONG TO JACKSON.[1]

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1814.

Sir, In the event of your acceptance of the appointment announced by my letter of the 22d instant, I have to suggest the wish of the President that you should proceed without delay to Fort Jackson, and consummate the arrangements committed to Major General Pinckney in relation to the hostile Creeks. A copy of the instructions given to General Pinckney is inclosed. I inclose also a copy of his general orders of the 28th April last, showing the distribution made of the troops. If the hostile part of the Creeks is really broken down, If they are prostrate before us, and even begging from us the means of subsistence, and if the friendly part of the nation has in itself any force and a disposition to employ it (and of all these facts there is no doubt) why retain in service any portion of the Militia? The 3d and 39th of the line (with the friendly Creeks) will

[5] The following extract from a letter of Brigadier-General Coffee to Maj. W. B. Lewis shows how the proposition to leave peacemaking to Major-General Pinckney and Colonel Hawkins impressed the Tennesseeans:

"What do you think of government appointing Ben. Hawkins to enter into treaty with the Creek nation, you will think it strange but it is true, Genl. Pinckney and Hawkins are the agents appointed, to that vital interest of our State, and no voice from Tennessee is to be heard, after we have under all the privations undergone, conquerd the Country and reduced them to unconditional terms, we are not to have a voice in the terms of peace. The thing is so repugnant to the feelings of this army, that the officers have remonstrated government, th[r]ough an Address to the Hon. G. W. Campbell, and hope we shall be heard, I presume that our Citizens in the vicinity of Nashville will make a similar application, this proceeding has been done without the knowledge of Genl. Jackson, and for this reason, we wish him to be appointed from our State to act with Genl. Pinckney." N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS., Apr. 18, 1814.

[1] John Armstrong was Secretary of War from Jan. 13 (Feb. 5), 1813, to Sept. 27, 1814.

[2] The 7th Military District included Louisiana, Tennessee, and Mississippi Territory. The return for the month of June of the military force in the district shows a total of 3022 of all ranks, of whom 177 were reported sick and 17 under arrest (Jackson MSS., Milit. Papers, vol. IV., f. 89). In these papers the returns of the troops are frequently confused and are probably only approximately reliable.

[1] This letter is in the *National Intelligencer,* June 19, 1828, and in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.,* III. 785.

be amply sufficient to cover the negotiation; and that terminated (as you think it may be) even these may be carried promptly to New Orleans where their services may be wanted.

P. S. Your letters of the 2d and 25th Ultimo have been received.

Secretary Armstrong to Jackson.

War Department, May 28, 1814.

Sir, Since the date of my letter of the 24th Major General Harrison has resigned his Commission in the army and thus is created a vacancy in that grade, which I hasten to fill with your name. This circumstance does away the necessity of sending the Commission formerly contemplated.[1]

I am Sir, With great respect
Your Obedient Servant

To Secretary Armstrong.[1]

Nashville, June 8, 1814.

Sir, Yours of the 22nd and 24th Ulto. with enclosures have been received, and are now before me. The former alone shall be the subject of this communication. The Appointments of Brigadier and Brevet Maj. Genl. in the line, are accepted under the circumstances tendered; believing from the tenor of your letter; that the senate on its meeting will honor me with the Rank in the line, which I have held in the Militia Service of the Republic for many years. Your other communications shall be the subject of a seperate letter.

I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity, to assume the command of the 7th Military District, pursuant to your wishes.

Very respectfully Sir,

To Josiah Nichols.[1]

Hermitage, June 9, 1814.

D'r Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you, that Captain Armstrong, and his lady is now, with me, and I had the pleasure of seeing them united in the holy bonds of matrimony. believe me when I say to you,

[1] Jackson's pay as major-general was $2400 a year, and he was allowed forage for seven horses and, for subsistence, fifteen rations. After 1815 Jackson commanded the Southern Department. As he spent most of the time at Nashville, making journeys of inspection through the South at regular times, it is probable that he made a considerable sum clear on subsistence and forage. Jackson was governor of Florida for six months in 1821. *The Acts of the Governor of Florida,* an opposition handbill, placed his pay at $2400, subsistence $1098, extra rations $1098, and forage $672; for servants' pay $240, subsistence $292.80, and clothing $140; for quarters $400, and fuel $244. The total was $6624.80. The regulations controlling the pay of officers are in the *Army Register,* issued annually, for this period, and they correspond in the main to the items taken from the handbill.

[1] War Dept. files. A copy is in the Jackson MSS.

[1] Josiah Nichols was a prosperous merchant in Nashville, with whom Jackson had a firm friendship. His substantial brick residence, still seen by one who travels the road from Nashville to the Hermitage, is much like the pictures of the mansion at the Hermitage before it was burned and restored with some alterations. Capt. Robert Armstrong was one of Jackson's favorite officers. He distinguished himself at the bank of Enotachopco Creek. Jackson, while President, appointed him postmaster at Nashville, and in other ways showed his friendship for him.

that I had no agency in, or knowledge of the intended union before yesterday. The merits of Captain Armstrong, entitled him to my friendship, the respect I had for you and your family and the merits of your daughter entitled, her to every attention and respect Mrs. Jackson and myself could pay her, *they are a happy couple worthy of each other.* I hear with regret, that this union did not meet with your approbation. I have been acquainted with Captain Armstrong since his childhood. so have you! Is there a blemish in his charector? both you and I can answer this in the negative!!! he is honest, he is brave, he is enterprising. he is Esteemed by every person who knows him. he is worthy of the Esteem of all, and without a cent of property he is worthy of any lady, of any grade, of any family of any fortune! It cannot be possible, that the want of property, was the ground work of your objections! If it was, permit me barely to bring to your view that he possesses, charector, and the good will of all who know him. he possesses enterprise and will make a fortune, whilst many who possess *fortune by descent will spend it, and make their family wretched.* The prudence and enterprise of Captain Armstrong is a sure pledge for the welfare and happiness of your daughter. They are now married, whatever may be the grounds of your objection, can have no avail, the happiness therefore of your daughter your family, (and if I can properly Judge of *parental* feelings) your own happiness depends upon your smiles and forgiveness. I beg of you not to believe, that I Justify disobedience in children, far be it from me, but such is the fact, that where a pure and sincere affection exists, between a young couple, disobedience will exist, where the attachments are strong, and the objects of the affection meritorious. your daughter as I am informed has disobayed your parental injunction. it cannot be Justified, but may be the more Easily pardoned, when the object of her affections are so worthy of them. in fine the Knot is tied, the paths of life are rugged at best, and it is certainly the duty of parents, who are capable of reasoning, to throw as few thorns in the path of life of their children as possible. It only remains therefore, for the completion of the happiness of Capt armstrong and his lady to meet with your and your ladies pardon, and a restoration to your friendship. The enterprise of Captain armstrong will ensure them plenty. Be good anough to present my respects and that of Mrs. Jackson to Mrs. Nichol, and assure her untill her daughter meets with a full forgiveness from her, she will find in Mrs. Jackson the tender care of a mother, and both will find in me the tender care of a father. on friday the 17th. instant, I am to have my frends with me to partake of a dinner, will you and your lady do Mrs. Jackson and myself the pleasure of dinning with us on that day. I am respectfully your mo. ob. serv.

To Secretary Armstrong.[1]

Nashville, June 13, 1814.

Sir, Pursuant to the wish of the President, as expressed in your letter of the 24th Ulto., I shall set out for Fort Jackson, on the 25th instant, and

[1] War Dept. files; also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 63. Published in the *National Intelligencer,* June 19, 1828, and in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.,* III. 791.

there " consummate " as speedily as possible, the arrangements committed to Major General Pinckney, in relation to the Hostile Creeks. Until that is completed, and the boundary lines run and marked; good policy forbids the discharge of the militia now posted in the creek nation, or those under marching orders to relieve them. Various reports relative to the disposition of part of the hostile party, who has fled with McQueen,[2] to the Seminoles, and the inimical disposition of the latter tribe, towards the United States; as well as the rumour, that a British force is hovering on our southern coast; [3] all combined, dictate the wisdom of continueing the Militia in service, until the whole preliminaries are consented to and signed and the boundary lines marked as aforesaid. This done, the Militia can be promptly discharged, without any hazard of evil consequences arising from this step. On the contrary, should the militia be discharged, the Indians under McQueen embodied, and joined by the Seminoles; the British hovering on our coast, the Chocktaw and Chickesaw nations, wavering in their friendship to the United States (which I have reason to believe is the case) evil consequences might ensue, before a competent reinforcement could arrive to crush them. I cannot therefore think myself justified in discharging the Militia, without your order for that purpose, prior to the full, and entire, completion of the aforesaid arrangements; to facilitate which, permit me to suggest the propriety of immediately autherising a suitable person or persons, to run and mark the boundary lines, so soon as the preparatory arrangements are entered into. This is suggested from a full conviction, that no time like the present (when the *past* is fresh on their minds) to secure ample remuneration for this war.

I will surjoin this remark, with regard to the employment of the friendly Creeks, that more difficulty I fear, will arise with them in the

[2] Peter McQueen, half-breed Creek warrior, leader in the attack on Fort Mims.

[3] The following "Letter from a Gentleman in Pensacola to a Friend at Fort Stoddart", forwarded to Jackson, shows what was happening at that time:

"Pensacola, June 8, 1814. *Dear Sir:* A great change has taken place in the Indian affairs since you left this. The arrival of the Frigate Orpheus Capt Pigot of 44 Guns, with her tender, in the Appilatchecola with arms ammunition and Troops has totaly changed the face of things. Eight days ago McQueen left this in Innerarity's Boat for the Appalatchecola, and no doubt was sent by the House (of Forbes and Co.). This news has been here 8 or 10 days known to certain people. But never made public until the day before yesterday. ——— ——— gives me all this information, as a real Fact, and says that 300 or 350 Soldiers a Colonel and 9 commissioned officers are now Embodying the Indians near the Island of St George where they are erecting a Fortification and a deposit of 22,000 stand of arms with Catridges adequate to the same. Information has likewise been received that they have already sent Two couriers to the Big Warrior holding out great Inducements for him to join them: and little doubt is Entertained of his being brought over. The Indians are dayly crossing the bay on their way to Appilatchicola: a secreet correspondence is carried on daily. Indian expresses are going continualy to and fro. Nobody knows to whom: but to whom you may guess. A thousand reports are in circulation but not authenticated. This however you may say: the Neutrality of this province is no more: it is Entierly done away with, and if you do not take advantage of the present opportunity, to Come on, John Bull will."

A similar statement, from one who signed himself "Your Friend in Pensacola", to Major Carson, dated at Pensacola, June 6, 1814, was enclosed by Jackson in a letter to the Secretary of War, July 30, 1814, and is preserved in War Dept. files.

establishment of their boundary lines, than of the hostile party: therefore no reliance could be placed on such a species of force.

I am respectfully Sir,

[*Note added from Robert Butler, Adjutant General.*]

I unfold this letter to communicate that Colo. Blanchard, Aid to Governor Holmes [4] just arrived (11 Oclock A.M.) direct from Washington M: T: and states to the Majr. General that two gentlemen direct from Pensacola had arrived in that country and stated that the hostile creeks were, on or about the 12th Ulto at Pensacola receiving new riffles and ammunition from the Governour 2500 in number. The Majr. Genl. presumes this to be McQueens party and the Seminoles.

Very respectfully

THE GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI (DAVID HOLMES) TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, MISS., June 19, 1814.

Dear General, Your letter of the 18th April did not reach me for a considerable time after its date. The list of the negroes that were brought to your camp with the names of the owners,[1] was not inclosed as stated in your letter, the omission I presume was owing to the press of business which must then have occupied your attention. For the services you have rendered to this territory by preserving from savage fury the lives and property of our frontier inhabitants, you have the benedictions of a grateful people. In accordance with the sentiments of their constituents our Legislature at the last Session authorised me to present to you a sword as a testimony of the high sense they entertain of your valour and patriotism. I have directed it to be made in Philadelphia and to be forwarded to Govr. Blount who will deliver it to you on behalf of the Executive of this Territory.

It is said that the British are endeavoring to resuscitate the remnant of the unfriendly Creeks; whether these unfortunate beings will persist in their folly is some what uncertain. I have had information from Pensacola as late as the 7th inst. which states that the British had landed at appulachacola twenty thousand stand of arms and a large quantity of ammunition. If this should be true it is quite probable that they intend to make an active war in this section of the country and that they will endeavor not only to engage the Indians, but the negroes in their cause. I am induced however to discredit the intelligence from the circumstance of the vast number of arms it is said they have landed.

I am Dr Sir with great respect and regard

[4] David Holmes, governor of Mississippi from 1809 to 1820.

[1] Refers to negro slaves captured by the Creeks at Fort Mims Aug. 30, 1813, and surrendered by the Indians after the battle of Tohopeka.

To Secretary Armstrong.

Nashville, June 20, 1814.

Head Quarters
7th M. District.

Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your note of 28th Ulto. accompanied with the appointment of Majr. General made by the President of the United States. You will please receive this as my acceptance.

I assumed the command of this District on the 15th Instant and shall proceed to Fort Jackson as pr advice of the 13th.

I am very respectfully your mo. obt. st.

Harry Toulmin[1] to Jackson.

Fort Stoddert, June 22, 1814.

Dear Sir, A few days since I had the honour of receiving your favour of May 25th. I was very happy to receive it, not only on account of the information it contains, but because it affords me an opportunity of expressing to you the high and grateful sense I feel in common with my neighbours of the extraordinary and persevering exertions and military prowess of the citizens of Tennessee and their gallant commander. You have saved this country.

I am not sure, however, that we shall not be yet obliged to make another call on your patriotism.

It seems to me as if nothing could be done in this country but by the instrumentality of the sons of Tennessee. The Indians fled from you in the utmost dismay to the neighbourhood of Pensacola. Coll. Russel had marched with the 3d regt. to pursue them. He was to be joined by the militia under Coll. Nixon. Coll. Milton arrived from the hiccory ground and ordered him back.[2] The Choctaws and Chickasaws went home in great disgust. The 3d regt. is gone to the hiccory ground. The Creeks were depressed in spirit beyond all example. They were about to give themselves up: when a runner came from the Appalachicola to Pensacola, to inform them of the arrival of supplies from the British. They then became in a moment as insolent as they had been before submissive. Instead of surrendering, a party of 25 started out to collect cattle in the settlements east of Mobile river and bay. A few days since, four of them, having each a halter and a ear of corn, for the purpose of catching horses, called at a house about a mile from Peirces fort,[3] and demanded some thing to eat, walking about at the same time with their tomahawks, in a style of much insolence. The family had no idea but that of being murdered, when a party of 8 or 10 from Peirce's came to the house, and

[1] Harry Toulmin, judge of the superior court for the county of Washington, Mississippi Territory. See *American Historical Review,* II. 701. Fort Stoddert was on the Mobile River, a little south of the junction of the Alabama and the Tombigbee.

[2] Homer V. Milton of Georgia and Gilbert C. Russell of Tennessee, successively colonels of the 3d Regt. U. S. A.

[3] A small stockade on the east side of the Alabama River, some two miles east of Fort Mims.

attempted to disarm them. A scuffle ensued. One of the indian's guns was discharged: upon which our men fired, and killed three, and wounded the 4th who escaped. The people have all left that side of the river. I have this moment heard that 300 warriors have come into the fork of Tombigby and Alabama, and are making great destruction among the horses and cattle. I am not certain however of the fact.

As to the arrival of British supplies at Appalachicola, I have no doubt. Fifteen thousand stand of arms have been brought to that place in the Orphus a frigate of 44 guns, and 7000 in a schooner which carries 16 guns. The fact was stated by Captn. Hope of the schooner, and Captn. Millwood of the Herald to a gentleman of respectability from whom I obtained the information. 300 barrels of ball cartridges, some six pounders, some heavy metal, besides considerable quantities of blankets, strouds, and other Indian articles, were brought at the same time. About 300 troops arrived with these supplies, all of whom were marines, except 10 or 12 infantry officers, left for the purpose of training the Indians. The Indian who came to Pensacola with the news, explicitly and possitively stated to a person who conversed with him in the Seminole language, that these articles were deposited in the store of John Forbes and Co.y till a public store house was built on St. George's Island, at the mouth of Appalachicola river. Innerarity of Pensacola (who belongs to that house)[4] denies that they have had any thing to do in the business. The schooner which came to the Appalachicola was dispatched to Pensacola for flour, where she purchased about 300 barrels brought from N. Orleans. She also took back with her a barge obtained for the purpose of carrying Indian supplies as far as possible up the Appalachicola river.

They run in a day or less from Pensacola bay to Appalachicola. This schooner, together with the Herald (of 22 guns) left Pensacola about a fortnight ago: they were to proceed immediately, together with the Orpheus, and the Anneconda, for the purpose of bringing from Jamaica a body of black troops to some part of Shores of the gulph of Mexico, but whether the Appalachicola, Pensacola, Mobile or the Mississippi is not known. The gentleman from whom I receive this information is an Irishman. Captn. Millwood of the Herald, is also an Irishman. They dined together at the house of Mr Helm, a native of England, and now a considerable merchant in Pensacola. Captn. M. observed to Mr Helm, as they were walking in the gallery after dinner, when talking of the projected expedition of the British: "Mr. Innerarity knows every thing relating, to this business. You ought to know it as well as he. But I am a soldier and dare not divulge it: but events will take place of which you are little aware."

I am rather apt to suspect that this establishment at Appalachicola is intended partly to secure the Inds: more easily, and partly to excite apprehensions in Georgia and S. Carolina: but that when the negro troops come from Jamaica, they will probably come to Pensacola or Mobile, and proceed with the Indians towards the Missi. settlements, whilst another

[4] James Innerarity, chief clerk to the house of Panton, Leslie, Forbes, and Company. See *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, II. 701.

force will operate by water. Unless some such scheme were in view; I do not see why the *marines* were brought. But I beg your pardon. I will leave conjectures and return to facts. On hearing the news from Appalachicola; M'Queen set out with about 25 warriors for that place, and Durgan with about 20. Forty or 50 more went in small parties. The number of Warriors in Pensacola was about 200: but Marshal, who is said to be a man of veracity, asserts, as I am told, that there are 1500 warriors on the Escambia. We are looking with much solicitude for Genl. Flournoy:[5] as no one here seems to be possessed with authority to make any general arrangements for the protection of the country. At the present moment the British arrangements might easily be rendered abortive with the force which lies within a reasonable distance of this place: but it will soon become a much more difficult task. The 39th regt. are impatient for farther employment: but the daily expectation of seeing the general commg the district renders it difficult for their Coll. to determine how to act.

Were some of our unemployed military force at Pensacola; it would not be difficult perhaps to reach the British depot at Appalachicola. There are 30 square rigged vessels, I am told, now lying in the bay, which on an emergency might I suppose be employed as transports. The Governor there admits that the British have landed: but pleads that it was on Indian land, where, he says, the Spanish govert: does not pretend to exercise jurisdiction! Your arrival at Pensacola was some time since generally expected, and by a few earnestly wished. Of the latter number, I am told, was Mr Helm, who went so far as to fit up a room for you and to have an elegant bed and bedstead prepared for the Tennessee conqueror. . . . .

Secretary Armstrong to Jackson.

War Department, June 25, 1814.

Sir, Your letters of the 8th and 13th instant have been received. Col. Butler is transferred from District No. 8 to District No. 7, and will of course, take your orders. I enclose you sundry letters forwarded to me by Major Gen. Pinckney. Those from Col. Milton (on the subject of the report of a new assemblage of the Creeks, the supplies received by them from the Spanish Government and the arrival of a British corps at St. Marks) are such as have been expected. No faith was given to the information received and communicated by Mr. Toulman.[1] The report of a B. naval force on our Southern Coast, is of nearly the same character. Having permitted the months of April May and June to escape without effort, on their part, it is not presumable, that they will attempt much during the hot and sickly seasons. These remarks are meant to apply to your argument for keeping up the large Militia force now in service in

[5] Brig.-Gen. Thomas Flournoy, who until recently had commanded in the 7th Military District, under Maj.-Gen. Thomas Pinckney.

[1] Judge Toulmin's letter to Colonel Milton, May 11, 1814, had referred to the Indian discontent and said it was supported by Spanish authorities in Florida. He had made no reference to a possible British attack on the coast near New Orleans. This letter is in the *National Intelligencer,* June 19, 1828, and in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.,* III. 785.

the Creek country and to furnish occasion to repeat the wishes of the President that this force be diminished and the whole of it discharged as early as may consist with the interests of the Public. There are now 3000 men of this description employed, to hold the country against the fugitives, who have escaped the destruction you carried among them. It is not probable that the Seminoles, who wisely refused to take part in the war, when its issue was doubtful, will now be disposed to renew the combat, on their account and under no new reason for so doing. . . . .

JACKSON'S ACCOUNT WITH E. AND G. HEWLETT, SADDLERS.

[June 25, 1814]

Major General Andrew Jackson to E and G Hewlett Dr.

1813		
October	two portmantue girth	$1.50
4th	mending girth	0.25
1814	to filling bridle	2.50
May 27th	to saddle for son	12.00
June 25	bridle for son	4.00
	one first Rate saddle for self	35.00
	Stirrup Irons	8
	Cloth	16.00
	portmantue and pillor compleat	25.00
	Rings and Staples and loops for portmantue saddle	1.00
	Portmantue girt	0.75
	lining and Reparing Holsters	0.50
	Ellistons bill for making new Cup for Holsters	1.50
	pare of saddle bags	5.50
	Bridle for self	12.00
		$125.50

. . . .

TO SECRETARY ARMSTRONG.[1]

MURFREESBOROUGH, TENN., June 27, 1814.

Sir. Mine of the 25th instant advised of the rumours of the day and that on the 26th I would set out for Fort Jackson. At this place I met a corroboration of the account that 300 British had landed and are fortifying at the mouth of the Apalachacola, and are arming and exciting the Indians to acts of hostility against the United States. Whether these rumours are founded in fact, or not, we ought at least to be prepared for the worst.

Query—*If the Hostile creeks have taken refuge in East Florida, fed and armed there by the Spaniards and British; the latter having landed troops within it and fortifying, with a large supply of Munitions of War and provisions, and exciting the Indians to hostilities*—Will the government say to me, require a few hundred Militia (which can be had for the

[1] War Dept. files; also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 94.

campaign at one days notice) and with such of my disposable force in regulars proceed to ——— and reduce it. If so I promise the war in the south has a speedy termination and British influence forever cut off from the Indians in that quarter.[2]

John Read Esqr. of Franklin Tennessee [3] late Lieutenant in the Volunteers autherised by the acts of February and July 1812, has served me in the capacity of Aid-de-camp, during the whole creek war—can I hope that he will be commissioned in the army of the United States, that I may have an opportunity of continuing him in that capacity—he is the gentleman alluded to in mine of the 25th as Secretary, and would make a good Captain. . . . .

Memorandum for Joel Childress.[1]

June 27, 1814.

Memmorandum for Mr. Childress

One suit of full dress uniform—one pair of Gold Epaulettes—one Chappeau—one pair Military Boots and Spurs—All of the best quality for Majr. General Andrew Jackson.

One full dress coat, embroidered on the cape. One pair large gold Epaulettes price 70 or 80 Dolls. One large yellow mounted Sabre; Belt and sword knot—one Chappeau—one pair of Military Boots and spurs—for Colo. Robert Butler Adjutant General who is 6 feet 1½ Inches high weighing about 240 lb. proportionately made.

Mr. Childress will endeavour to procure some Gentleman of this sizce and obtain his measure for the undersigned and oblige his friend

And Humble Servt.

in Bills and Letters and Gold
in all $538

Rcvd. murfreesboro. June the 29, 1814

of major Genral A. Jackson five Hundred and thirty Eight Dollars which I will Lay out as Dirreted in Philadelphia or Return the Same But not Anserable for Axidents or Losees

Joel Childress.

[2] Armstrong replied, July 18, 1814, as follows: "The case you put is a very strong one, and if all the circumstances stated by you unite, the conclusion is irresistible. It becomes our duty to carry our arms where we find our enemies. It is believed, and I am so directed by the president to say, that there is a disposition on the part of the Spanish government, not to break with the United States, nor to encourage any conduct on the part of his subordinate agents having a tendency to such a rupture. We must, therefore, in this case, be careful to ascertain facts, and even to distinguish what, on the part of the Spanish authorities, may be the affect of menace and compulsion, or of their choice and policy: the result of this inquiry must govern. If they admit, feed, arm, and co-operate with the British and hostile Indians, we must strike on the broad principle of self-preservation: under other and different circumstances we must forbear." This letter did not reach Jackson through the mails until Jan. 17, 1815. It is not in the Jackson MSS., and the extract quoted here is from Eaton's *Jackson,* II. 213. In his *Notices,* p. 16, n. 1, Armstrong said it was Madison who delayed the arrival of his letter of July 18 to Jackson. The incident of this letter is enough like that concerning the letter of Jan. 6, 1818, to President Monroe, concerning another incursion into Florida, to demand special attention by the student.

[3] See vol. I., p. 247.

[1] Signed by Col. Robert Butler, Jackson's adjutant-general.

Jackson's Bill from James Condon.

June 27, 1814

1813 Genral. A. Jackson To Jas. Condon Dr.

August the	14	To Making Suit clothes	7 75
Septr	18	" Making coat and pantaloons for Mr. Butler.	5 25
		" thred	" 12½
Decr'. the	4	" Making pr. pantaloons	1 75
		" thred and twist	" 25
1814	25	" Making pr. pantaloons for Mr. Butler	1 50
March	12	" Making vest and pantaloons for do	3 25
April	9	" Making coat for do. do	4 ..
May	7	" Making coat and pantaloons for son	4 ..
		" thred and Silk	" 50

$27 37½

Nashville, June 21rst, 1814 recd. payment in full
Jas. Condon.

Secretary Armstrong to Jackson.

War Department, July 2, 1814.

Sir, At the suggestion of General Flournoy he was authorized to withdraw the Troops from Mobile. The inclosed papers recently received, are referred to you for such arrangements as may be deemed proper in the case.[1]

To Colonel Benjamin Hawkins.[1]

Fort Jackson, July 11, 1814.

Sir, I arrived at this place on the morning of yesterday at ten, and expected to have had the pleasure of meeting you at this post, for which purpose, timely instructions were given to the Adjutant General, to address you on the subject from Nashville, Tennessee. The communication must have been sent to the care of Genl. Graham at this place, who has undoubtedly, pursuant to direction, forwarded it without delay. I have appointed the first day of next month, for a general meeting of the chiefs

[1] July 20, 1814, the inhabitants of Mobile, in a public meeting to take into consideration the defenseless state of the town, authorized the following resolution: "That a committee of Five be forthwith appointed to draft a memorial to his Excellency Major General Andw. Jackson, explanatory of the defencelessness and awful situation of this quarter of the Territory, the ill-advised abandonment and evacuation of Mobile Point, and the withdrawal of the Gun Boats from the Bay of Mobile—praying his Excellency's relief thereupon."

When these resolutions reached Jackson he indorsed them as follows: "The memorial of the citizens of the Town of Mobile, to be answered with assurances of every protection, that the means within my power will afford, that the abandonment of Mobile Point was by the order of the secratary of war. the remonstrance, has been forwarded to the secratary of war with the appropriate remarks. The remonstrance to be forwarded to the secratary of war as above." The result was that orders were given to reoccupy Mobile Point.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 1. For Hawkins, see vol. I., p. 228. Fort Jackson was at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers.

of the hostile creeks who have submitted at this place; in order to make arrangements with them, agreeably to instructions from the Secretary of War, under dates the 17th and 20th March last, to Majr Genl. Pinckney, by which I am to be governed. Presuming that Majr Genl. Pin[ck]ney made known to you fully the tenor of such instructions, copies of the instructions received by him are not enclosed.

On receipt of this, which I send by a runner, you will please to repair to this place without loss of time, first taking the most expeditious and certain means to notify the chiefs of the hostile party who have submitted as also those who have any desire to submit, of the time and place of meeting. You will please also to advise the friendly chiefs of the Cowetas and Cussetas of my wish that they meet me here on the above date. I have caused information to be given to the indians residing in the neighbourhood of Forts Strother and Williams, and to the straglers on the Cahaba and Black warrior. I have ordered those on the Cahaba and Black warrior in, and notified them that destruction will attend a failure to comply with those orders.[2] Various rumors have reached me, relative to Francis and McQ[ueen]. . . . .

To the Commandant of Pensacola (Mateo González Manrique).[1]

Fort Jackson, July 12, 1814.

Sir, Considerations connected with the duties of a responsible situation induce me to address you. Information has been received since my arrival here, which if founded in fact may lead to disagreeable consequences touching the amity subsisting between the government of Spain and the United States of America, founded on existing treaties. To obviate the necessity for any measure on the part of the Un[i]ted States hostile to the interests of Spain, and, at the same time, stedfastly to regard the welfare of my own country, seem to be duties incidental to, and inseperable from my present situation. I am informed, that the enemies of the United States, who have been murdering our unoffending woman and children, have sought and obtained an assylem from justice within the Territory of Spain, and are fed by Order of the gove[r]nor of Pensacola. Information has also been received, that permission was given to our open enemy, An Officer commanding his Britanic Majesty.s frigate the Orp[h]eus, to land within the Teritory of Spain 25,000 Stand of Arms with 300 barrels of Amunition, for the avowed purpose of enabling the vanquished creeks to renew a Sanguinary war with the United States. I trust Sir that no foundations for these reports exist; I trust the Officers of the Spanish government at Pensacola and its visinty, have had more regard for the *interests* of Spain and the *rights* of the United States,

[2] In the Jackson MSS., Military Papers, vol. IV., ff. 37, 94, is a return of rations distributed to the Creeks July 1, 1814. It shows that 33 towns, containing 5367 individuals, were being fed. The names of the towns are given. Another return (*ibid.*, f. 110) shows that, at Fort Jackson July 30, 1814, one Choctaw and sixteen Creek towns received rations, a total of 1552 individuals.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 3; also in War Dept. files. Mateo González Manrique was commandant at Pensacola from May 5, 1813, to Mar. 31, 1815. The commandant at Pensacola was popularly called, by the Americans, governor of West Florida.

than to permit the violation of a nutrality important to the american people. Will you be so good Sir, as to transmit by the bearer, or through any other medium, immediate information touching these subjects: and, should Frances, McQueen or any other chiefs of the Creek Nation hostile to the United States be within the jurisdictional territory of the govenor of Pensacola to cause them to be immediately confined, that they may be brought to attone to this government, for violations of the rights of humanity, and the principals of treaties heretofore existing betwen the two Nations.

I have the honor to be

Secretary Armstrong to Jackson.[1]

War Department, July 12, 1814.

Sir, You will receive herewith the copy of a circular letter addressed to the Governors of certain states, requiring a body of militia to be organized and Equipped, and held in readiness for future service. In case of actual or menaced invasion of the District you command, you will call for a part, or for the whole of the quota assigned to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, which shall have been organized and Equipped under the aforesaid requisition. In performing this duty, you will be careful to avoid all unnecessary calls, to proportion the call to the exigency, and to have inspected without delay, all corps entering on service, to the end that men, who from any cause are unfit therefor, be promptly discharged, and that a due proportion, in all cases, be maintained between Officers and privates.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Fort Jackson, July 17, 1814.

D'r Sir: I reached this place on the 10th instant, and found the Fort not half finished, incapable of real defence, surrounded with the under growth, as we left it, and the labour done on the Fort of no account whatever, the Picketts of small round Pine with the bark on, that will rot before the works can be finished. in fact it will take six months labour with the Troops here to make the Fort capable of real defence—daily rumors of the hostile party having reached Pensacola, kindly recd. by the Spanish goverment, and bountifully supplied by the British with arms and amunition, and the officers and men here in a state of unguarded security. I have aroused them, and taken measures to have the place put into a state of defence and security. I have further sent out spies and runners to every quarter to obtain the truth of the rumors, the strength and situation of the Enemy. If they do not come in and submit, against the day appointted which is the first of next month, a sudden and well directed stroke may be made, that will at once reduce them to unconditional submission.

[1] This letter is published in the *National Intelligencer,* June 19, 1828, and in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.,* III. 786.

[1] The information in this letter is also embodied in an official report to the Secretary of War, July 14, 1814, in the War Dept. files.

From the appearence of the troops I think this a healthy situation. it is well supplied with good spring water. I have had no time as yet to take a view of the surrounding country. I will have a good account of it on the return of Capt. Gordon who I have sent with a letter to the Governor of Pensacola, who will make correct observations on the country through which he passes, I expect his return in about ten days. This will be a delightfull scite for a Town. I hope in a few days to get the surrounding thickett cleared away that its bea[u]ties can be seen.

Should the rumors of a British force having landed in East Florida be true, I calculate on some warm work, with them and the Indians in the course of the fall season. If auxiliary force should be wanted it must come from Tennessee. There is a few of the hostile party on the black warrior, several runners are gone for them, should they not come in, I shall have to call on some mounted men to aid the militia at Fts. Strother and Williams to scour, the Black warrior and cahaba, kill their warriors and destroy their corn and secreted stock. If I find it necessary I shall make the call on volunteers. . . . .

Captain John Gordon's Report of his Visit to Pensacola.[1]

July 20, 1814.

Agreably to your order I left Fort Jackson on the 14th and reached Pensacola on the 20th of July 1814 and delivered your letter to his Excellency the Governor of Pensacola who caled for me on the Evning of the same day and observed that the Genrals letter was Impertinant and contained a demand of two Indian Chiefs, namely Peter McQuene and Josiah Francis which he conceived as an Insult to the Goverment, and that the Spaniards would die before they would comply with such demand; on the contrary the nature of the demand and the circumstance of some Americans commiting depredations on the Indians within the Teritorial limits of Spane without the consent of the Government, would authorise him to Arm the Indians and furnish them with Provisions and Amunition which I understood him he ment doing. On the next day I saw the Indians Assembled on the public Square and held a Counsel for about foure hours. The day following I saw the Indians agane assemble and draw provisions. I was told by some persons that they also drew Amunition but did not see it myself. Others in whome I had confidence said that they ware to receve Arms and Amunition as soon as I left the place, and that the Governors Answer to your letter was not to be confided to me, That he wished to gane time by the delay, that he Expected a considerable Milatary force from the Havanah and a large British force to take possession of all the Military posts on the Gulf in the month of September and with the assistance of their Indian Allies to be able to commence active Hostilities against the U. S. I was also informed by sevral confidential persons that some time past two British Armed Vessels, (a Frigate and Schoner) had landed at or near the mouth of the Appalatchucola and had

[1] In the War Department files is a copy of this letter, forwarded to the Secretary of War by Jackson July 30, 1814, which differs from the original here given in being dated July 29, 1814, and in having better spelling.

delivered to the Indians betwean two and three Thousand Stands of Arms and a large Quantity of Amunition and assisted them in taking them some distance up the River to be distributed and then put to sea. Since which there had arived three other Armed Vessels (two Brigs and a Schoner) and landed some where in the Neighbourhood of that place with a considerable number of Troops, were building a Fort and planing an Expedition against some of our Military posts on the Alabama to be caried on by six hundred British and what Indians can be collected in that Quater. I was informed that in a few days after Colo. Kerson left Pensacola that Peter Mcquene left that place for the Appelatchecola and had not returned, also that a British Armed Schoner had left that place for Appalatchacola the day before I reached it and had taken Josiah Francis on bord. It was stated by all I conversed with that the Indians were much in the habit of kiling and driving the Cattle belonging to the Citizens of the United States and I saw a party come in myself with Beef which they said they had taken from the inhabitants of the Tensaw. A rumor reached Pensecola the Evning before I left it that there was a Declaration of war by Spain against the United States but not certain.[2]

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Fort Jackson, July 21, 1814.

Sir, This morning a runner I had sent to ascertain the fact of a British force having landed at Apalachicola Bay on Deer Island returned, bringing with him a new British musket delivered by them to one of the friendly Indians who had been on a visit to the British at that place. He states "that he was informed by the Indian he met, that the British had landed on Deer Island,[2] and delivered a large quantity of arms and ammunition to the Indians, and told them the water was too shallow—that they must come and see them at a point west of Apalachicola, where the water was deep, and their large vessels could come near the shore, and where they were building a post and would supply them with every thing", also, that they did not want the Indians to fight, that they would drive all the whites from the Indian lands." That the British are arming the indians I have no doubt, and it is all important we should be prepared at all points. To this end, I now address you; trusting I shall receive all the aid in your power by prompt and decisive measures. You will therefore be pleased to place the militia of your Territory in the best possible state of preparation for active Service, and without delay cause to be

[2] The following letters in the Jackson MSS. support the charge that the Spanish authorities in West Florida did not respect the principle of neutrality as to British operations against the United States, or as to Indian succor: John Jones to Col. T. H. Benton, July 4, 1814; John Turvin to the same, July 4, 1814; extract from a letter from Pensacola, July 12, 1814; S. H. Garrow to Maj. John Hinson, July 19, 1814; Harry Toulmin to Jackson, July 21, 1814; William H. Robertson and Charles Muir to Jackson, July 28, 1814; Capt. Parker McCobb's statement, Aug. 19, 1814; copies of two letters from Florida, Aug. 21 (?), 1814; and the statement of Antoine Collons, no date, *ca.* August, 1814. See also *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs,* I. 858-860.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter Book G, p. 9. On the same date Jackson wrote to Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, calling on him to organize fifteen companies of militia of one hundred men each, and hold them in readiness.

[2] Or St. George Island, at the mouth of the Apalachicola.

drafted (or otherwise) and held in readiness one regiment of one thousand men strong; and completely officered to march at a moments warning. We must be prepared to act with promptness, or mobile and new orleans by a sudden attack may be placed in the hands of our enemies, and the negroes stimulated to insurrection and massacre, may delluge our frontier in blood. . . . .

To W. Wynne.[1]

Fort Jackson, July 22, 1814.

Sir, Sensibility to the distresses of the unfortunate, is a characteristic of worth. Your attention to the distressed indian girl, mentioned in yours of the 17th inst., is duly appreciated: I desire that you will continue those attentions so honorable to your feelings, untill an order can be taken touching her future disposition. With great respect,

To Secretary Armstrong.[1]

Fort Jackson, July 24, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receival of yours of 25th June. My last, under date 14th inst. will advise you of the measures which have been adopted to ascertain the truth, touching the reports in circulation relating to apprehensions from Pensacola. A runner I had sent to Deer Island, returned on the 20th bringing with him a new British musket, which had been delivered to an indian, who had visited the British and obtained it from them. He states, that a considerable number of arms, with a large quantity of amunition had been distributed to the indians about three weeks since, and that the British had sailed under a promise to return in six weeks thereafter. That about ten days since, they returned with three large vessels and four thousand men: that they have deputed runners to all the indian Towns, with invitations to visit them; that the British are to the west of Apalachicola Bay, I presume (from the information of the Indian) in the Bay of St. Rose,[2] mouth of Choctaw river. You will pardon me for suggesting, that the months of September and October are those in which we may anticipate a blow from a foreign enemy, if a stroke is intended in the south. The waters are, during these months, low—the swamps and morrasses passable with infantry—and the sickly season in that climate passing away. As soon, however, as the capitulation of submission shall be signed, which will be in a few days, I shall take the earliest measures to comply with the wishes of the President, by discharging the Militia now in the field. When this shall be done, all the posts from Fort Jackson to Georgia and Tennessee will be abandoned: and here I must require to be advised, whether it is the *order* of the President that this post be left defenceless, and a frontier of eight hundred miles open'd to the incursions of Francis, Mc.Queen, and other marauders, who may be excited to mischief by British influence and Spanish intrigue.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 15. Wynne was a physician.

[1] War Dept. files; also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 12, and published in the *National Intelligencer,* June 19, 1828, and *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.,* III. 791.

[2] Choctawhatchee Bay.

[*Indorsement, in Armstrong's handwriting:*]

Not Fort Jackson. Information of Gen. Pinckney's arrangements for holding others. If the report of his runner be true, a new Mil. force from Tennessee should be called out. Govr. Blount will be prepared for this event.

González Manrique to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, July 26, 1814.

Sir, I have received, by Capt. John Gordon the communication you addressed me from your head-quarters at Fort-Jackson, bearing date the 12th Inst.

The delay which has taken place, has arisen from no other source, than the perplexity in which I found myself, in deciding whether I should return your letter without reply in imitation of the conduct of Genl. Flournoy in conformity to the order of President Madison, or make a frank reply to the two points which are the subject of it. The respect and attention which your person and employment exact, have decided me to the more generous part, and that which is peculiar to the Spanish character, waving the consideration that the conduct of the President merits imitation in this instance.

The information you have received is it is presumed without foundation, as it is evident that no act direct or indirect has eminated from this Government, from which diagreeable consequences can result, as will presently appear.

Two reports have reached you, the one that those Indians who are inimical to the United States, and at peace with Spain, have sought, and contrary to justice, have obtained an asylum within our Territory, where they are maintained by order of the Governor of Pensacola, and upon these grounds you require that Francis, Mc.Queen and whatever other Creek-cheifs there may be, be immediately arrested and sent to you for punishment. These cheifs not being, at this time, in this place it would be impossible to accede to such a request as you make, even admitting that Spain forgetful of that humanity with which she has ever afforded a shelter to the Indians that border on these possession, and of the treaties made with the Creek-Indians when we conquered Florida, as well as those concluded with the English, could comply with your wishes, so opposite to the simple hospitality which the Indians in their present miserable condition, have a right to claim at our hands; And even were those cheifs now, in this place, Spain could never forget the laws of Nations of her observance of which, she has given ample proofs to the United-States, in not having demanded of them the traitors, insurgents, incendiaries, and even the assassins of her chiefs, namely Gutierrez, Toledo,[2] and many

[1] July 21, 1814, Governor Manrique wrote to Jackson as follows: "I have received your letter of the 12th instant, which I will answer more particularly next month. God preserve you many years."

[2] José Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara, Mexican revolutionary, who in 1811 intrigued with Secretary Monroe against Spanish rule in Mexico, and in 1812 led a filibustering expedition into Texas. José Alvarez de Toledo, a Cuban, engaged in similar intrigues in the United States at the same time, joined Gutierrez in Texas and displaced him. See I. J. Cox, "Monroe and the Early Mexican Revolutionary Agents", in Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* for 1911, I. 199-208.

others whom the American Government protects, and maintains, in committing hostilities, in fomenting the revolution, and in lighting up the flames of discord in the internal provinces of the Kingdom of Mexico.

The other report you have received is that the officer who commands his Britanic Majesty's frigate the Orpheus, has been suffered to land in our territory 25000 stand of arms, and 300 barrels of ammunition with the manifest design of enabling the Creeks to renew a sanguinary war against the United States.

I would be glad to know what authority you have for saying that the river Apalachacola belongs to us. The Government of the United States, by whose orders, I suppose you act, cannot be ignorant of the treaty existing between Great Britain and the Creek-Indians when Spain took possession of Florida, and that this is the same treaty that now exists between Spain, and those Indians.

Turn your eyes to the Isle of Barataria, and you will there perceive that within the very Territory of the United States, Pirates are sheltered and protected with the manifest design of commiting hostilities by sea, upon the Merchant-vessels of Spain, and with such scandalous notoriety that the cargoes of our vessels taken by those Pirates, have been sold in Louisiana as was the case with the Pastora (shepherdess) and other vessels.

This is sufficient to convince, you, Sir, that Spain always conforming to principles of friendship and harmony and to that religious scrupulousness, with which, at all times, and with all nations, she has observed her treaties, will not alter her conduct, unless compelled by the most extreme necessity (which it is hoped will not be the case) while the motives which could induce it, are so insufficient.

The necessity of fulfiling my duty does not diminish my desire of obliging you in whatever may contribute to your personal gratification. God preserve you many years;

Yr. Obt. Servt.

William H. Robinson and Charles Muir to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, July 28, 1814.

Since the departure of Captain Gordon, many circumstances have occurred which is deemed necessary for you to know. Preparations for your reception, you of course will not be surprised at. It was first the intention of the Governor to draw all his forces down to the Barrancas, and leave the Town to defend itself; but circumstances of which I am ignorant have altered his mind, and the defence of the Town now appears their object—double patroles, horse guards etc etc are kept up constantly. A plentiful supply of ammunition and provisions have already been issued to the Indians, of course not without an object. Arrived from Appalachicola three days since a Mr. Durant, sent by the British at that place to call the Indians from this up there. Mr D. on his immediate landing said that there was to a certainty between two and three thousand English

[1] Copy. This letter was enclosed in Jackson's report to the Secretary of War, Nov. 14, 1814. which is in the War Department files.

and black troops at that place, but in a short time after coming out of the house of John Forbes and Co, he had got the watch word of secrecy and denied of having seen any. But the arrival last night of the British Kings Schooner Cock Chaffer Captain Jackson, of five guns and forty men confirm the first report of Mr. Durant, Capt Jackson has landed a Marine Capt. in scarlet uniform at the head of a number of Indians, who are now parading the streets of this place. The dress of those worthy heroes of his Britanic Majesty are a Helmet cap in the form of a casque, scarlet coat, white shirt and blue leggins, belt and bayonet, in company with the cock Chaffer came from Appalachicola two Brigs who have continued towards the point of Mobile, and it is said here, for the purpose of taking possession of that fort, the Captain of the Schooner, and the Captain of Marines, say that there is now seven vessels off the coast, and seven more expected, under the command of Sir Thomas Stowbridge.[2] I must leave it to the general to draw his own conclusions from the above narration of facts, and be assured of the statements being correct.

Very respectfully

To Secretary Armstrong.[1]

Fort Jackson, July 30, 1814.

Sir, Captain Gordon, mentioned particularly in my communication of the 14th Inst. returned last evening from Pensacola. His character for veracity, intitles his report enclosed to the serious consideration and utmost confidence of the Government. I also enclose the Governors answer to my communication to him by captain Gordon. Perhaps the laconic ambiguity in which the sentiments are couched, connected with the allusion to a subsequent answer, were dictated by the anticipation of being better prepared in a short time to avow the real intentions entertained by spain with regard to the United States. I also enclose an extract from a letter transmitted under cover, from Col R. Sparks 2d Inf, of date 16th July 1812. I forward it to the department, as well on account of the source from whence it originally came, as of the novelty of the matter. The true date, from the subjects embraced, must instead of 1812, be 1814. I also forward the copy of a report from Capt. Jones of 39th Inf. to Col: Benton. It will prove that previously to Capt. Gordons arrival there, the Governor had hired the hostile Indians to defend Pensacola. These pieces of intelligence connected with those from Various sourses heretofore communicated, will determine the Government on the wisdom and Policy of the measure alluded to in my letter of the 27 June to the Department of War. Pensacola is more important to the British arms than any other point on our South or southwest. This being guaranteed to the possession of American Valour, by a bold exertion of right, Britain would be deprived of supplies constantly obtained from thence; in addition to which, a convenient harbour would be afforded our Privateers, and her commerce to the west Indias be vitally injured without much

[2] Meaning, no doubt, Captain Sir Edward Thomas Troubridge, son of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 25; also in War Dept. files.

risk. If any measures are to be taken, touching this point, expedition will be all important to complete success; as powerful reinforcements are expected to be thrown in for its defence.

I have the honor to be respectfully, Sir,

To Secretary Armstrong.[1]

Fort Jackson, July 31, 1814.

Sir, I have just received intelligence of the abandonment of Fort Mitchell [2] by the Militia left for its defence; also that it is now garrisoned by friendly Indians under the officer left in command of that post; and that the Militia will leave Bainbridge, Hull, and Decatur,[3] their term of service being expired. I have but the 3d Inf here, 541 effectives, non commissioned officers and musicians included; have ordered from Forts Williams and Strother 300 Tennessee Militia. Measures have been taken to effectuate the transportation of the provisions and public Stores to this place; but for want of the requisite means, there will be difficulty in getting them to Fort Decatur. The medium through which we formerly received supplies broken up, the Indians in this Quarter must be fed from supplies brought up the Alabama; fed and clothed they must be, or we will have the whole strength of the creek nation to fight under the banners of Spain and Britain.

By Judge Toulmin, and from other sources not official, I am advised that Lieut. Col: Benton [4] with the 39th and Col: Nixon commanding the territorial Militia, before my arival at this post, planed an expedition against the creeks on the Escambia. That on the march, Lieut. Col: Benton being taken sick, the command devolved on Col: Nixon. In prosecuting this expedition, the Col: pursued the Indians over the spanish lines. The Indians were at Pensacola when Capt. Gordon arived there. . . . .

To the Governor of Tennessee (Willie Blount).[1]

Fort Jackson, August 5, 1814.

Sir, Information this moment received by express from Alabama heights bringing me a letter from Pensacola added to the intelligence received by Captain John Gordon who was sent as the bearer of a letter from me to the Governor of Pensacola makes it necessary that all the forces allotted for the defence of the 7th Military District should be held in a state of perfect readiness to march at a moments warning to any point required. Dark and heavy clouds hover over us. The energy and patriotism of the citizens of Tennessee Louissiana and the Mississippi Territory will soon dispell them. Our rights our liberties and free con-

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 27. Printed in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.*, III. 792.
[2] Fort Mitchell was on the west bank of the Chattahoochee, below present Columbus, Ga.
[3] Fort Bainbridge was in present Alabama, some twenty-five miles west of Fort Mitchell. Fort Hull was some fifteen miles farther west, a little south of present Tuskegee. Fort Decatur was on the east bank of the Tallapoosa, opposite the Indian town of Tukabatchee.
[4] Thomas Hart Benton.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 33. Governor of Tennessee 1809-1815.

stitution are threatned. This noble boon, the patrimony of our Fathers must be defended with the last blood of our country. To effect this great end you will without delay be pleased to cause the requisition of the Secretary at War to be carried into immediate execution, and the troops organized and equiped for active service agreeably to instructions to you of the 4th Ultimo, ready to march at a moments notice. I have the honor to be etc.

To Governor Blount.[1]

Fort Jackson, August 9, 1814.

Sir. I detained the express, to give you the result of the pending negotiation with the Creeks. They have this moment consumated the convention by their signatures. The enclosed is a true copy.[2]

I found considerable deficulty in making the arrangement with them in consequence of a letter written by General Pinckney to Colonel Hawkins, which he requested to be made known to the Chiefs as terms of peace, and which contained several promises of Endemnity for losses sustained by them in the present war. Unauthorised by any power or instructions by me possessed. And consequently could not nor have not embraced in any member of the Treaty; however at the particular solicitation I have forwarded to the president of the United States General Pinkneys letter, and Colo Hawkin's reply for his consideration, and that of the Congress of the United States.

The whole of Alabama and the valuable part of Coosa and Cahaba in all containing about 22 Mills[3] of Acres are contained in this Cession.

I am Sir respectfully

To Secretary Armstrong.[1]

Fort Jackson, August 10, 1814.

Sir, Pursuant to instructions, and the exercise of my best judgment, I am enabled to transmit the result of the convention alluded to in my last. The articles of Capitulation[2] etc. which I forward by Charles

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 61.

[2] The text of this treaty is in *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs,* I. 826. Papers relating to it are *ibid.,* pp. 837-861.

[3] Millions.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 34; also in War Dept. files, and in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.,* III. 792.

[2] The treaty, with a large amount of correspondence relating to Creek affairs, is in *Am. St. Papers, Indian Aff.,* I. 826, 836-861. In accepting this treaty the Creeks announced that before signing they gave three square miles of land to each of the two commissioners, Jackson and Colonel Hawkins, and one square mile to each of the interpreters, Mayfield and Cornell, to be by them selected from the lands about to be granted in the treaty. These lands were not given, as Eaton and others say, out of regard for the recipients, but, as the Indians expressly said, for the recipients to settle down on them, so that they would always be there to help in the establishing of justice between the whites and Indians and within the Indian tribes themselves, when occasion demanded. Hawkins accepted the gift but did not settle on it. Jackson refused to take it for his own, but said he would take it, if the president agreed, and sell it, using the proceeds for the benefit of needy Creeks (*ibid.,* p. 837). President Madison laid the matter before the Senate, asking their approval, but no action was taken on the request. In later political warfare some of Jackson's enemies brought up the matter and interpreted it unfavorably to his integrity. The charge had so little foundation that it benefited rather than damaged him.

Cassedy Esquire of Tennessee, who I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance will I trust be considered as containing ample indemnity for the past and security for the future, as to the Creek Nation. I have thought expedient to transmit papers so important as those which accompany this communication, by Mr. Cassedy who at my request accompanied me as private Secretary etc. He specially, has been of essential service particularly as I was without an aid-de camp Until the arival of Capt. Thos. L. Butler of the 28th Regt. who reached me on the 28th Inst. I have to desire that Mr. Cassedy be remunerated for his attentions to me and Services to the United States. Mr. C. being present, hearing all the conversations etc. between the chiefs and myself, can give a better view of the state of things in this quarter than could be committed to paper—he can also explain the causes of delay and difficulties I had to encounter arising from the contents of a letter written by Genl. Pinckney to Col: Hawkins, and agreeably to the instructions of Genl. Pinckney to the Colonel communicated to the chiefs previously to my arival here. This letter holds out promises of indemnity for claims they might have against the United States not within my power or authority to notice. This communication, with Col: Hawkin's answer thereto, at the earnest solicitation of the chiefs I forward with the Treaty for the consideration of the President of the United States.

I enclose the *talk* of a British officer given to three chiefs who are present and related the same to me in my tent—the discovery of their duplicity, and the true talk sent by the British officer to the chiefs of the creek nation I also forward. In addition I also transmit a copy of a letter from William H Robinson and Charles Muir living in Pensacola.[3] These Gentn. from every information may be relied on. There can be no doubt of the British being on *our* coast, and that they have armed the Indians and amply supplied them with arms ammunition and clothing.

The whole creek nation is in a most wretched State, and I must repeat, that they *must* be *fed* and *clothed* or necessity will compell them to embrace the proffered friendship of the British. You will find, from the information contained in the letters from Pensacola, that the British officers are clothing the Indians in their best Scarlet—this policy is intended to draw the friendly Indians to their standard, and if not counteracted by clothing them, the winters cold will comp[e]ll them to accept the British boon. I refer you to Mr. C. for information on this head. The friendly party insist that they have a right to their part of the annuity—that altho' part of the nation violated former treaties, they did not. As they must be fed and clothed, this claim might be closed forever, by a sound sum in clothing. The whole number from the last return drawing rations from the United States at different posts amount to 8200. To clothe the whole number will cost a considerable sum; but this sum would be very inferior to the Value of the territory ceded to the United States: in addition to which I may observe, that the cession has made them our friends, and will in future effectually prevent their becoming our enemies.

From an estimate made by the topographical engineer, the ceded territory contains twenty millions of acres of the first rate within the nation;

[3] P. 21, *ante*.

beside opening a communication from Georgia to the Mississippi Territory, and a rich and extensive settlement from the river Perdido to the county of Madison,[4] intercepted by a small slip of land claimed by the cherokees south of the Tennessee River, which can be obtained from them for a moderate compensation. This country populated becomes an effective defence to the southwestern frontier—the line should be run without delay, and the land offered for sale. I would submit for the consideration of the President and Congress whether it might not be good policy to give to each able bodied man who will settle upon this land half a section at two dollars per acre, payable in two years with interest—this measure would insure the security of this frontier, and make citizens of the soldiers who effected its conquest.

I shall on the 16th inst. leave this with the 3d Infy. for Mobile, and one company of new recruits of the 44th ordered from Nashville which reached this place last evenning. I intend to discharge the Militia on its arival; but a sound discretion, exercised on the most mature deliberation, forbids the immediate discharge of the Militia of Tennessee: they are specially required to garrison this post and Decatur during the absence of the regular troops. Genl. Pinckney advises, that he has made a requisition from Georgia, pursuant to which troops are on the march to occupy the posts from Decatur to Georgia. These troops can be concentrated to repell any British or Indian force that may attempt to commit agressions against the friendly Indians or the Georgia frontier. I received your dispach of the 2nd ultimo enclosing the remonstrance of the citizens of Mobile referred. From a view of a chart of the Bay, the importance of its possession for the security of our Gun boats and other craft, and to keep up a free communication with Orleans from whence we draw our supplies, I determined at once to give orders that mobile point be reoccupied by our troops: the United States in possession of Pensacola, and mobile point well defended, our whole coast and country in this quarter would be secure. I cannot close this communication, without observing, that I am under great obligations to Col. Hawkins for his aid during the negotiations with the Indians. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Colonel George T. Ross to Jackson.

New Orleans, August 15, 1814.

. . . . I have forwarded my Monthly return and Consolidated recruiting return for the month of July to your Adjutant General by which you will find the Regiment[1] is upwards of Three Hundred strong exclusive of officers of which I have not more than one half the number allowed by law, and the greater part of them of little use in recruiting, being Creoles and not speaking our language. Among the French there are no recruits to be made, and of the spaniards who are here they almost to a man desert so much so that I have given positive instructions to the recruiting officers not to enlist them any longer but on the most unequivocal proofs of good Character. notwithstanding the difficulty attending

[4] In northern Alabama (northeastern part of Mississippi Territory).
[1] 44th Infantry, of which George T. Ross was colonel 1813-1815.

my receiving funds for the recruiting (regularly) I am convinced that by the first of November the Regiment will be five hundred strong ready to participate in any events under your direction that will tend to their Countrys Honor and Welfare. . . . .

To the Governor of Louisiana (W. C. C. Claiborne).[1]

4 Miles above Mobile, August 22, 1814.

Nothing has reached me since my last which can be relied on with certainty indicative of the real intentions of the British or their allies. Whatever may be the wishes of the Spanish government, her weak and exhausted situation at present will prevent her from making war upon us, and induce her at least, to hold out appearances of friendship and adhereance to existing Treaties. She must restore tranquility in her own provinces before she can indulge a hope of profiting by the war with the US. She is too sensible of her own situation not to know that a declaration of war would deprive her of all her Territory in North and South America as far as the isthmus of Darien. Therefore to my mind the rumor of a declaration of war against us is unfounded. I am pleased to find from yours of the 12 Inst the pledge of support and spirit of patriotism displayed by your citizens, and principally by Colo Fortier and the select corps under his command. From the standing of the Field officers of this corps from the confidence you repose in them and their declaration of attachment to their government, I would not hesitate in reccommending that the corps be augmented by an increase of the respective companies to 100 rank and file, and held in rediness as part of the quoto required of your State by the late order of the war department.

I have no power to stipulate with any corps as to particular or local service. But it is not to be presumed at present that the troops of Louissiana will have to extend their services beyond the limits of their own State. Yet circumstances might arise which would make it requisite that they should be called to face an invading enemy beyond the limits of Louissiana, and stop their entry into the State. I must consequently decline giving assurance to any corps as to their local service. It would be unmilitary, and calculated to throw a shade over the patriotism of the corps so honorably manifisted, which would measurably distroy their reputation, and that of the State.

I shall visit New Orleans as soon as the safety of this quarter of the District will permit. When I left Tennessee I expected so soon as the convention with the creeks was concluded to have returned Direct to Nashville and from thence descended the Mississippi to New Orleans. But appearances in this quarter induced me to change my rout.[2] I have the honor to be very respectfully

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 66. Claiborne was governor of Louisiana 1804-1816.

[2] Mobile had become very important through the reports of British threats against it by way of Pensacola. The slight importance in which it was held by Jackson's predecessors is seen in their decision to abandon the defenses at Mobile Point, commanding the entrance to Mobile Bay. In the Jackson MSS. are petitions against such a step, by citizens of Mobile. They are filed in vol. XX., under May 10, 1814, and on the folios immediately following.

To González Manrique.[1]

Mobile, August 24, 1814.

Sir, I had the honor (accidentally) to receive your reply to my note of the 12th ultimo handed you by my freind capt Gordon. Passing in silence the motives which induced you to reply, I will remark that I regret extremely the evasive hostile spirit which prevades your whole letter so inconsistent with the high frank Spanish character you have assumed.

You are the Governor and (I presume) the representative of his catholic Majesty, who is professedly in a state of peace amity and strict neutrality with the United States, bound by solemn treaties to use force to keep the Indians inhabiting the territory of his Majesty from levying war, depredating on the citizens or property of the United States or the Indians residing within their territory. Under these solemn obligations you urge motives of humanity and the rights of hospitality as your Justification for extending to the creek nation at war with the U.S and at peace with Spain the friendly open arms of your government. To a murderous barbarous rebellious Banditti who had not only imbued their hands in the inocent blood of our defenceless women and children, but raised the exterminating Hatchet against their own nation, And who had been excited to those horid deeds of butchery by our open enemy Great Britain, and supplied with the means of carrying it on by the subjects of his catholic majesty. In possession of all these facts *our* Christianity would blush at taking shelter under the benign influence of humanity and hospitality for its Justification. But we may not possess that refined meek christian forgiveness which has operated on your excellency in washing from your reccollection the savage brutal and indiscriminate butchery of our women and children at Fort Mimms Duck River and elsewhere. We could not again recive those wretches as the Father his prodigal son, without any evidence of their repentance, and put into their hands the means of repeating these inhuman acts in open violation of solemn treaties, without thinking a day of retribution was at hand. I enclose you an extract from the Treaty entered into by your government with the United States [2] for your perusal presuming you have forgotten its existence as you have not mentioned it in your long letter. I have also the honor to inform you that on the 9th Instant a capitulation and treaty of peace was entered into betwen the Chiefs and warriors of the creek nation and the United States, by which the creek nation has ceeded to the U S all their lands adjoin[in]g the Spanish Territory. And information having been received by me that the refugee banditti from the creek nation are now drawing rations from your government and under the drill of a British officer in Pensacola with your knowledge (if not approbation) for resuming their acts of barbarity against the citizens of our frontier I have directed my patroles to reconoitre the country north of the Spanish line, and treat all those renegadoes who are caught above the lines as enemies

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 74; also in War Dept. files. This letter, it must be admitted, is in bad taste and is not creditable to the writer of it as a representative of his government.

[2] Treaty of San Lorenzo, Oct. 27, 1795.

until you explicitly avow them to be under your Jurisdiction, and hold yourself accountable for their conduct as stipulated by the Treaty of 1795.

I beg leave to tender to your Ex[c]ellency my unfeigned thanks for your liberal and unasked acknowledgement that your government has no claim to the country washed by the Appalachicola, and that the United States has a right to expel her enemy from, and take possession of it as territory acquired by her late treaty with the creek nation. To sum up the whole, Justice to my government compells me to remark, if your Excellency had been as industrious in your researches for facts as you have been studious of evasion and unfounded inuendoes, you might long since have acquired a knowledge that Monsieur Le Fitte, commander of the piratical band had been arrested and confined and is now under legal trial for the multifarious crimes complained of, and such should be your Exellencys conduct towards Francis, McQueen Peter and others forming that matricidical band for whom your christian bowels seem to sympathise and bleed so freely.

But to conclude (in part) a Just retaliation has been taken by the United States. And if again excited she has still the means of retaliation and vengance within her grasp. The power of spain is compentant, she must assume the nutral character she is bound to the United States for and restrain the Tomhawk and Scalping Knife, or the head which excites their use, shall feel the sharpness of their edge. I know that head. I am well advised of the influence which has heretofore furnished and excited the use of these savage implements. It is not on the heads of helpless women and children that retaliation will be made, but on the head which countenanced and excited the barbarity. He is the responsible person, and not the poor savage whom he makes his instrument of execution. An Eye for an Eye, Toothe for Toothe and Scalp for Scalp.

Mr. Hobert a citizen of this place of good character, having business in Pensacola will hand you this communication, which I hope you will receive with more expedition than yours reached me to which this is an answer. I shall expect you to shield Mr. Hobert from savage insult whilst in Pensacola. With a tender of respectful regard for the person of your Excellency, I have the honor to be yr. mo obdt. Servt.

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, August 24, 1814.

Sir, I have been honored with the receipt of your letter of the 15th Instant, and am very sensible of the necessity of having the Requisition in this State, completed with the least possible delay. Be assured Sir, that no exertions shall be wanting on my part; But I cannot disguise from you the fact, that I have a difficult people to manage. To this moment, no opposition to the Requisition, has manifested itself; But I am not seconded *with that ardent Zeal,* which in my opinion the Crisis demands. We look with great anxiety to your movements, and place our greatest reliance for safety, on the energy and Patriotism of the Western States; In Louisiana, there are many faithful Citizens, but I repeat there are

others, on whose Attachment to the United States I cannot confide; These last persuade themselves, that Spain will soon repossess herself of Louisiana, and they seem to beleive that a Combined Spanish and English force will soon appear on our Coast. . . . .

If Louisiana is invaded, I shall put myself at the Head of such of my Militia as will follow me to the field, and *on receiving, shall obey your orders.* I need not assure you of my entire Confidence in you as a commander, and of the pleasure I shall experience in supporting all your measures for the common defence; But Sir a Cause of indiscribable chagrine to me, is, that I am not at the head of a united and willing people. Native Americans, Native Louisianians, Frenchmen, and Spaniards (with some Englishmen) compose the mass of the Population. Among them, there exist much Jealousy, and as great differences in political sentiment, as in their language and habits; But nevertheless Sir, if Louisiana is supported by a Respectable Body of Regular Troops, or of *Western Militia,* I trust and beleive I shall be enabled to bring to your aid, a Valiant and faithful corps of Louisiana Militia; But if we are left to rely *principally on our own resources,* I fear existing Jealousies, will lead to distrusts, so general, that we shall be enabled to make *but a feeble Resistance.*

I have the honor, to be

To Secretary Armstrong.[1]

Mobile, August 5, 1814.

Sir, Enclosed I transmit you the translation of a letter which I received from the Governor of Pensacola on the 19th Instant. I have not lost time in forwarding it for your consideration since I was enabled to procure its translation. I also inclose you a copy of my reply. How long will the government of the united States tamely submit to disgrace and open insult from Spain. It is alone by a manly dignified course of conduct that we insure respect from other nations, and peace to our own. Temporising will not do. Captain Woodbine of the British Marines is now, and has been for a considerable time in Pensacola, drilling and organizing the hostile fugitive creeks under the Eye of the Governor, exercising all his influence aided by immense presents to draw to his standard all the hostile as well as friendly Indians.

To counteract these efforts and be prepared for any immergency in this quarter I have written to Colo McKee[2] to prepare the minds of the Choctaws to meet me here. The Colonel reached me last evening. The Choctaws can be brought into the field if necessary. Yet to insure this funds must be furnished for the payment of supplies heretofore had, and the purchase of supplies which will hereafter be wanted, previous to their taking the field. To insure the friendship of the choctaws a liberal policy must be persued and will ultimately be found economical by saving us from their combination with our enemies. It is necessary to continue Colo McKee as their agent until the clouds of war are dispersed. I regret t

[1] War Dept. files; a copy is in the Jackson MSS.

[2] See vol. I., p. 12. Col. John McKee was Choctaw agent from 1814 to 1820, and M. C. from Alabama 1823-1829.

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find from the want of funds in the quarter masters department (or some other unknown cause) the credit of the government has sunk very much. Nothing can be obtained on credit, funds are indispensable. The credit of the government must be reinstated or active war and effective defence cannot be prosecuted. . . . .

The information of the British haveing landed a large force is corroborated by a Mr. Antoine Collin who left Pensacola yesterday morning, and has Major Nicolls [3] passport with his seal to protect him from the Indians, and consequently no doubt can be entertained of the facts. I have taken every means in my power to prepare for defence. Mobile point I hope by tomorrow will be able to protect the pass to New orleans, and prevent the enemy from cutting off our supplies. Should this fail our only dependence will be Tennessee.

I have directed the agents of the different Indian tribes to enroll every warrior in their nation and put them under pay. I have also directed large supplies to be forwarded to the Garrisons on the Coosa river, that in case our communication should be cut off from New Orleans by water we can be supplied down the Alabama. I have called into service the whole force from Tennessee Louissiana and M Territory. I must have funds I must again repeat or operations in the field will cease. It is a melancholly fact that I have not a dollar in the Quarter masters department to purchase an express Horse nor can the Quarter master procure one on credit, and the mail arrives here only once a month. To remedy this I have ordered a chain of express mails to be established from this to the Chickasaw agency to intersect the Orleans mail there, and all communications will be addressed to me at that place.

I am advised by a letter from Governor Claibourn, that the militia of New orleans have shewed a spirit of disaffection and reluctance to take the field, and fears are entertained that Spanish or British agents have been at work there. I can but regret that permission had not been given by the government to have seized on Pensacola, had this been done the american Eagle would now have soared above the fangs of the British Lyon.

We must now trust to the Justice of our cause and the bravery of our citizens, and I hope for success. But my present means are so feble with a sickly climate to combat in addition to our other enemies, without the means of transportation that I am compelled to summon up all my fortitude to support me, and will only add that you must afford me the means or you cannot expect me to conq[u]er. I have not even a Brigadier within my District. In haste I have the honor to be very respectfully

To Colonel Robert Butler.[1]

Mobile, August 27, 1814. " 10 oclock P. M "

Sir. By express in *Pitts,* I recd this evening at 5 oclock from Pensacola, the following information, confermed by a Mr Collins who has Colo

[3] Maj. Edward Nicholls, of the British marines.

[1] Colonel Butler, Jackson's efficient adjutant-general, was then in Tennessee presiding over a court martial to try cases that arose from the late campaign.

Nicholas Pass, to protect him from the Indians viz that his B. M. ships Hermes, Carron and Sophy, has arrived at Pensacola on the 5th instant, with 200 land forces, and large supplies of arms, ordinance and ordinance stores under command of Colo Nicholas all which has been disembarked and the British Troops has taken possession of the Spanish Fort. The Orpheus is expected in a few days with 14 sail of the line and many transports with 10,000 Troops. It is further added that 14 sail of the line and Transports has arived at Barmuda, with 25,000 of Lord Wellingtons army etc etc, before one month the British and Spanish forces expect to be in Possession of Mobile and all the surrounding country.

The[re] will be bloody noses before this happens. I have ordered the differrent Indian agents to enroll every warrior that will take the field and put him on pay. I have called on all the militia I am authorised under the orders of Goverment, and I enclose you an appeal to the Patriotism of my fellow citizens, and hope to see my former comrades in arms again in the field bravely defending the eagles of their country. For believe me we have to Defend not only our Territory but our liberties, and I have no doubt from the confidential information I Possess, but the whole combined coalition are engaged in a league to subjugate america, and I believe it to be true that Rusia has offered to furnish 50,000. I mean to make a desperate struggle, and I wish you to see Captain Deaderick and Captain Parish, and say to them I expect them in the field with two companies which will make a Betalion, and the favorite six pounder. I wish you to Issue the necessary order to authorise Captain Deaderick and Parish to raise a Betalion of artilery. I want you to send on a confidential officer with the letter to Colo. Meigs [2] to lead on the Brave cherokees, and write in my name to Colo. Lowry,[3] and Brown, and have them marched directly to Fort Jackson. I want about 1000 horse with Genl Coffee at their head, Colo Dyer, Gibson, Cavenaugh and Molton with him or such officers as he may select. I wish you in my name to write to all the companies of horse who are ready and have tendered their services, there is Captain Sewan[?] and Captain childs in east Tennessee. These from East Tennessee will unite and march with the cherokees to Fort Jackson unless otherwise directed. The mounted men from Tennessee by Fort St. Stephens [4] to such Point thereafter as I may direct. you will cause the Contractors to lay in at Fort Jackson, Fort Williams and Fort Strother,[5] at each Post 6 months rations for three thousand men, and have secured sufficent Transportation, for the same. there is not a moment to be lost in Pushing on the Troops and supplies. From this quarter must come all our supplies, If great Britain and Spain can cut off the communication with New orleans by water, and the contractors must be urged to have the supplies pushed forward on the coosee. These things eranged and attended to you must without loss of time unite with me wherever I may be, first ordering on Major Piere [6] with all the recruits in this District, and such

[2] Col. R. J. Meigs, agent to the Cherokees.
[3] Col. John Lowry, a Cherokee chief.
[4] On the Tombigbee, 70 miles north of Mobile.
[5] Fort Williams was on the Coosa, sixty miles above Fort Jackson, Fort Strother sixty miles higher on the same river.
[6] Major H. D. Piere of the 44th Infantry.

Captains to command them as you may think proper. I want a field officer of the riffle corps and all the recruits belonging to that corps, I would order on Major Overton, and Captain Wm. O. Butler.[7] But I leave the situation to you as I am unadvised what officers remain there subject to my order. Expedition is every thing. I would to god John Hutchings [8] could come on. I wish you would say to the Irish to drop their race and betake themselves to the defence of their country. If this was not in the way I know Joney could bring a company of mounted men into the field.

Say to Mrs. Jackson (for I have not time to write) that I know not at what time I shall have the pleasure of seeing her and my sweet little andrew But I shall write her as soon as I can see the intended movement of the enemy. Before this reaches you, we may have a brush. haste, have this letter complied with and then without one moments delay be with me, and write me on the receipt of this. with respects to all frends and love to Mrs. Jackson and Andrew, I am respectfully yrs.

P. S. If it should be necessary, Issue an order for the Dissolution of the court of which you are President. The good of the Publick Service cannot be Jeopardized for the Trial of Petty offences, and say to Colo. Sittler he must come on. We will have an active war. the enemy will make a sudden push, for the conquest of this country, and try to reduce some of our garrisons by a coup de main. I keep no copy, please copy and send it back by the first opportunity. You will appoint some officer to muster the cherokees, and write to Colo. Morgan if he will take the direction of them. Perhaps Colo. Gibson, or Major Strother would. Major Strother would answer verry well apply to him. you will give the necessary orders to the quarter master for the necessary transportation of the Troops and to contractor for the necessary supply of rations. I thought to have enclosed you an adress to the Brave Tennesseans, but I have not time, you will have to do it, I have wrote to Capt John Reid, formerly my aid, to prepare in my name an appeal to the citizens of Tennessee. Should he not be there, you will have to do it yourself.

To Governor Blount.[1]

Mobile, August 27, 1814.

Sir, By my Express from Pensacola as well as from Antoine Collin a citizen of that place who left there yesterday at 12 Oclock, bearing the pass of Colo. Nichols the commanding officer of the British forces, I have this moment received information which can be implicitly relied on, That three British Vessels the Hermes, Carrion, and Orpheus arrived at Pensacola on the 25th and yesterday disembarked an immence quantity of arms, ammunition, munitions of War, and marched into the Fort between 2 and 3 hundred men, 13 Sail of the line with a large number of transports and 10,000 more men are daily expected at that place. The Havanna papers state that 14 Sail of the line, with transports and 25,000 of Lord

[7] Of the 44th Infantry, afterwards a major-general of volunteers in the Mexican War, and candidate for the vice-presidency on the ticket with Cass in 1848 (d. 1880).

[8] See vol. I., p. 84.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 105.

Wellingtons army arrived at Bermuda. It is currently reported in Pensacola, that the Emperor of Rusia has offered 50,000 of his Choicest troops to his Britanic Majesty for the Conquest of Louissianna; and that before one month all the Mobile Country falls a prey to the enemy.

Sir T. Towbridge [2] and Capt. Pigot are the naval Commanders. Spain by a secret treaty is said to have ceeded Pensacola to Great Britian. You will immediately perceive the necessity of being on the Alert, and takeing time by the forelock. I have therefore to request that you cause to be organized, equiped, and brought into the field without any delay, the whole of the quota of Militia of your State agreeably to the requisition of the War department of the 4th July 1814. Colo. Robert Butler my Adjutant Genl. who is now in Tennessee will be instructed to provide the necessary means of transportation, as well as to direct the rout and destination of the troops. from Tennessee, and Colo. Arbuckel those from the Mississippi Territory. You will be pleased to procure all the Arms within your reach for your troops, such as cannot be furnished by you, will receive them at head Quarters, but reliance will not be placed on this if to be avoided.

I am very respectfully

Captain Eli Hammond [1] to Jackson.

Nashville, August 28, 1814.

Sir, Agreeable to your order of July 2. I Ramoved all the intruders of the Cherokee Lands with Stock etc. Burnt about one thousand Houses and abut fifteen hundred Afective men was Driven into the State of Tennessee that nither Support Government with thire arms nor property.

I, am, Sir

To Colonel Robert Butler.[1]

Mobile, August 28, 1814. "7 oclock a m."

Sir: Refeerring you to instructions Contained in my letter of the 27th instant, I have to request that you will notify the contractor with out loss of time to forward to the differrent Posts therein named the Quantity of previsions therein required. Major Pier speaking the French and spanish Tongue is much wanted, must be ordered on to Join me without loss of time. Capt William O Butler is enterprising, and such services will be much wanted here. Rifle men will be of great use in harrassing the enemy. I want all recruits of this Description within the M Distric, and Majr Overton may be of great use in commanding this description of Troops. But should there be a senior officer of Rifle corps, whoes experience is equal to majr. Overton—it is not intended that he should be overlooked, altho I have a high opinion of the sprightly Talents of the majr. expidetion must be the order of the day—the watchword Victory or death, or [A]merica will be apportioned amonghst the powers of urope.

[2] See p. 22, n. 2, *ante*.

[1] Captain of U. S. rangers 1812-1814.

[1] This letter is taken from the original, which exists in the Jackson MSS. A copy also exists in the hand of a clerk, evidently made when the original was sent, and which, it is interesting to see, contains misspellings not in the original.

I have enclosed to Governor Blount a short account of the information recd. last evening, the grater part if not the whole may be relied on as facts. you can see and judge for yourself. I wish you would see Majr Jack Reid, now Captain in the 44th know of him wheather he is coming on, if not advise me thereof that I may appoint another aid de, camp the labour is too severe for Capt. Butlar, and I have been rather indisposed for a few days. as soon as the duty pointed out in this and mine of the 27th is acted upon by you, you will repair hither without loosing a moment.

I leave you to Judge how many of the Officers of the U States army you will order on, not withstanding the rules laid down in the register, under present appearances and prospects of danger, no officer would hesitate in obaying the order. still I do not wish any officer ordered on that might tend to Injure the recruting service. All I want is a sufficient number to aid in commanding the Militia. I shall expect to here from you often and I will keep you constantly advised of the positions and strength of the enemy.

I am respectfully yr mo [o]bt. sevt

Colo John Williams of the 39th would be of great benefit to me. I have enclosed an open note for your perusal, and wish you to inclose it to him with any further remarks. I inclose three lines to Mrs. Jackson please deliver it, I expect I shall want some funds, make arrangements with Capt. Kingsley for them.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Mobile, August 28, 1814.[1]

My Love, This is enclosed to Colo. Robert Butler to be delivered to you, when I wrote you last such was the appearances, that I flattered myself I should have the pleasure of seeing you shortly—from information Brought me through a confidential channel—it is uncertain when I can return. It will require every exertion to counteract the intrigues [of the] enemy with the Indians, and to keep an equal number of Indians to combat their Indians in the field. It is an old adage how true I cannot say in the present instance that the darkest hour of all the night is Just before day. Nothing but peace negotiated by our own commissioners can save this quarter from the ravages of war. Whenever I can see the real intended Point, at which the enemy means to make the first blow, I can form a better Judgment, In the meantime I pray you be calm and Trust to that superintending being who has protected and saved me in the midst of so many dangers and kiss my sweet little Andrew for me affectionately adieu for the present.

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, August 29, 1814.

D'r sir, I await with much anxiety intelligence from you. The State of things at Pensacola, surely will not long be borne with by our Government; The Creeks are not only provisioned at that place, but are cloathed, armed

[1] Probably enclosed in the letter which precedes.

and exercised by British officers, with the knowledge and approbation of the Spanish authorities. Are you certain that the Big warrior will remain in his friendship for the U. States?[1] I ask this question, because it has been stated to me, that some of his principal adherents, had lately a private audience with Captain Woodbine, the English agent at Pensacola! Have you reason to doubt the fidelity of any portion of the Choctaws? I make this enquiry, because it is stated to me, that some of their Chiefs were lately at Pensacola, and Woodbine has said that a part of the nation were or would soon be with him. . . . .

The Militia of Louisiana, seem much better disposed, than they were the last year to take the field, and I hope to be enabled to array this States quota of the Requisition without difficulty.

I have the honor to be

To the Secretary of War.[1]

Mobile, August 30, 1814.

Sir, Mine of the 27 and 7 Instant will have informed you of the landing of a British force at Pensacola, and large reinforcements daily expected. Having received information that they chiefly depended on drawing their supplies from Mobile and New Orleans I issued an order a copy of which is enclosed, and immediately dispached a confidential messenger to Pensacola with necessary instructions. He returned yesterday and confirms the

[1] The following letter from Big Warrior, leader of the Creeks, formerly relied on by the United States, will show how much he had come under the British influence. It was written to Col. Benjamin Hawkins, the Creek agent, Aug. 25, 1814. The phrase "a Second Bowles" alludes to William Augustus Bowles, the American-British adventurer who for some years in the late eighteenth century was the chief commander of the Creek forces. See p. 214, n. 2, *post*. William McIntosh, half-breed, was in 1814 and later the principal chieftain of the friendly Lower Creeks.

"When we had a talk with General Jackson we sent a man down this river by the name of the Mad Bear to have a talk with the Lower towns. None attended but Chickasawhaw-[or Chisketallofaw] and the town he lived in himself. When the Mad Bear got home he tryed to get all to come to his talk but he could not get any except two towns as mentioned. the Mad Bear wants to move his property this side of the line but he cant for the peoples watching him. The British officer who came on here promised them soldiers but they have got none they have 300 negros of the Nation under arms at Forbes's store. There was one negro March and one of Stedhams runaway and went down, come back and stole Hardridges two negro woman and 14 of J. Stedhams negros and went down to the British. The British came on here and said they were the Indians friend but they came not for that they came for Negros and they think it is a second Bowles. The British who came on shore have plenty of arms and ammunition and our youngmen what [want?] to go and get it from them. We want to know your opinion on the subject. McIntosh will head the party if you will say the word. McIntosh wants to go and see what the British mean by arming the Negros. it is not the Indians they are afooling but the negros, we ant at war as yet but we want to go and see, and if they fire on us we will return the fire. We want to know your advise how to do, for you give us nothing but good advise and as soon as possible. The King of Cowetas will tell you all the talks of the Lower towns and he is the bearer of this letter. We are your friends."

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter Book G, p. 85; also in War Dept. files. The letter was addressed: "Hon. John Armstrong, Secretary of War." On this very day, however, John Armstrong ceased to be Secretary of War. James Monroe, Secretary of State, immediately took charge of the War Office *ad interim*. Oct. 1, having been nominated and confirmed by the Senate, he became regularly Secretary of War, while at the same time he became *ad interim* Secretary of State. Feb. 28, 1815, he withdrew from the War Office, and, having been nominated and confirmed by the Senate, he again became the regular Secretary of State, and served until Mar. 3, 1817.

account of the British having landed there, That he saw from 120 to 200, Many officers, a small park of Field Artillery and about 500 Indians in British uniform completely armed with Muskets Bayonets and under the drill of British officers. This agent collected from their conversation that there were in the Island of St Rose [2] still a larger force and still more large reinforcements expected, That the British officer had sent a number of Sloops and Schooners under Spanish colours to Mobile and New Orleans for corn Flour and other provisions, with a number of active agents to our frontier to purchase and drive their cattle. I immediately issued orders to stop all vessells laded in whole or part with corn Flour or other provisions (sea stores excepted) and charged the officers commanding the frontier to keep out good patroles and apprehend all droves of cattle with their drivers bound for Pensacola and hope they will reach the different Posts in due time to prevent this supply from being drawn from the frontier. Private letters which I have seen advise the writers freinds here to secure themselves by removing to Pensacola without delay, as this country will be shortly overwhelmed with numbers, and all who resist doomed to destruction.

Regardless of numbers resistance will be made, and every inch of ground contested. I hope in a few days to get Mobile point in a state of defence. This alone is the point capable of defence. Had the Garrison at this place been removed to Dauphin Island instead of dismantling Fort Bowyer, it would have completely prevented any force from entering the Bay and given security and confidence to this section of the frontier. Pensacola has become the strong point from which G Britain can and will anoy our military operations, commanding the Ocean, having transportation at will, she can assail any point on our coast either East or West in a few days. This will necessarily compell us as soon as practicable to strengthen all our weak points. Not having sufficient transportation for a disposable force (if we had one) to enable us to move rapidly to the relief of any point that may be invaded. Hence results the propriety of dispossessing the British of Pensacola. This in our possession would give the advantage to us and leave us a disposable force always ready to cover any point which might be assailed by our enemy. . . . .

González Manrique to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, August 30, 1814.

Excellent Sir. I have received your communication of the 27th of August, in reply to my letter of the 26th of July last.

Whoever reads that communication written by an American General, would think that the United States have strictly and religiously observed their Treaties with Spain.

I must recal to your recollection, General, that the materials that compose my reply ought to convince you of the little, or no justice contained in the demands made on us by your Government, or its Generals. In the

[2] Santa Rosa Island, outside Pensacola.
[1] The Spanish original of this letter is in the Jackson MSS.

year 1810, Spain saw herself in peaceable possession of the District of Baton-Rouge, and of the legality of her claim, none ever doubted, but the President of the U: S, who with no other title but his own will supported by force, assassinated two officers of the garrison of that place, and treacherously took possession of it, under the specious title the Insurgents had acquired. The settlements on the Lakes, the District of Mobile, and of the river Perdido have suffered the same fate.

At the same period, that same will of the President would also have seized upon Amelia-Island, under the same title, and for the same reasons that he ordered the invasion of Baton-Rouge. And it is now only necessary for you to recal to your recollection the transactions of that period to enable you to appreciate the generosity of your Government.

I ought to remind you also, that within the American Territory a band of fellows were publicly suffered to recruit men, to aid in spreading the flames of discord to shed the blood of their brothers, and to encourage the Insurgents of the internal provinces of the Kingdom of Mexico, which however you disclaim in your reply of the 27th.

Besides you cannot have forgotten that the U: S furnished the insurgent, and traitor Miranda, with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, with the avowed design of exciting an insurrection in Carracas and the other Spanish possessions of America.

You disclaim also having violated the Spanish Territory by approaching with a body of American Troops accompanied by the auxillary Choctaw Indians, within canon-shot of the Fort of St Michael,[2] and of proceding to the extremity of committing, by the effusion of blood, hostilities on the rural settlements on the river Scambia,[3] and the coast of Galvez-bay, without provocation, without a declaration of war, contrary to every moral and National law.

It results then, that because it suited the convenience of the Government of the U: S they deprived us of our before-mentioned possessions in spite of the legitimacy of our title and of the Treaties of peace that exist even yet.

And now that it suits their convenience to criminate us, they suppose ours a territory that has never belonged to Spain; and you recal to our recollection the treaties of peace of which the U: S were so forgetful whenever they felt an inclination to dispossess us of our property. Even admitting that the river Apalachacola belonged to us, we had ne[i]ther forces, nor troops in that quarter that could have prevented a debarcation wherever it might have been attempted. This answer alone given by the Americans for their Governments having tolerated in Barataria (an indubitable possession of the U: S) and for its having suffered a fortification which bears the French-flag, and whose only object is to destroy the Spanish Commerce which has sustained the loss of incredible sums, with such scandalous notoriety that the sale of the cargoes of Spanish vessels taken by those pirates, has been publicly permitted in N: O. whence have sailed armed privateers, and Pirates to make war on us, I repeat that

[2] At Pensacola.
[3] Escambia.

in retorting, they endeavor to exonerate themselves from this weighty charge, by replying that they have no forces in Barrataria; but this reply is not admissible with regard to the river Apalachacola.

You say in your communication that the infamous and vile Pirate Lafitte, and not Monsieur Lafitte as you are pleased to stile him, has been arrested and imprisoned for the enormous crimes, and piracies with other complaints that have been alledged against him. We are not ignorant that the complaint for which he has been arrested and imprisoned, was for the blood he has shed of those Americans he fired upon, and that for his piracies and enormous crimes he is now at liberty to return to his honorable occupation, that of the vilest of all Pirates.

In order that I may not be too diffuse, I omit to recapitulate many acts done by the U: S, but I will tell you, Sir, that they are not well calculated to promote the duration of peace and good harmony, which, if the contents of your letter of the 12th Ulto. can be relied on, your are desirous to preserve with Spain, on the contrary they are of a complexion to irritate, and foment a war, which considering the turn that the political affairs of Europe have taken, might be very fatal to the interests of the U. S.

The former menacing letters I received from General Flournoy, and those lately from you, filled with insulting expressions present a glaring contrast to the ingenuous, frank, and open reply I made to your letter of the 12th Ultmo., in which my only wish was to acquit myself of the duties imposed on me by the appointment I hold under my King and Government a greater and more powerful motive for me, than that of pleasing you, Sir; believing at the same time that I did not merit those insulting expressions I have treated them with contempt; But neither the one, nor the other of those communications have manifested the respect that the American Generals have considered due to the character of the Spanish Nation, being predicated upon ideas as foreign, and repugnant to its distinguished mode of thinking as was that one which contained the demand for the delivery of the Indian cheifs to be punished; And committing, at the same time, hostilities on us, violating our Territory, disturbing the tranquility, and repose of this part of Florida which amidst so many storms has preserved itself free from the snares of seduction that have been set for it in the district of Mobile. And lastly, General, I have armed the Indians, and have taken all the measures that I have been obliged to take, not for the purpose of committing hostilities on the U: S, nor on their property, but to defend myself from the insults that may be offered.

If the U: S continue the aggressions they have begun the officer and soldiers subject to my orders will do their duty, and support to the last extremity, the great, heroic and generous character of the Spanish Nation to which they belong, and they will do it with a greater zeal, and with more confidence as Spain is now disembarrassed from the murderous war waged against her by the fallen, exiled robber, the tyrant of Europe the protector of the U: S. Superadded to the satisfaction of seeing my beloved Sovereign seated on his ever respectable and brilliant Throne, there remains not a doubt, but that if we should receive other, or similar aggressions to those we have already suffered his Catholic Majesty will avenge

himself not only for these repeated insults, but for those Spain experienced at the time of her persecutions and difficulties of which the generosity of the U S thought proper to take advantage.

The extract of the Treaty between Spain and the U: S which you were good enough to send me on the supposition that I had forgotten it, I return as I received it, in order that the Government of the U: S and you may reflect upon it, and be careful to observe it, and not forget its contents, when you feel it convenient to make a bad use of it.

And with regard to a Treaty having been made between the U: S and the Creek-Indians,[4] by which the latter cede to the U: S, all the lands bordering on the Spanish Territories, I protest against the act, and declare the cession void, in the name of the King, and shall make a representation of it to the Spanish Government, who will know what measures to take, and will distinguish the right of property from that of the sovereignty we claim.

Laying aside the affairs that relate to the service of my King and Country, It will give me pleasure to serve you under circumstances and in every other point of view. I pray God to preserve your life many years.

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

Mobile, August 30, 1814.

The Present intention of Britain, and Spain, Combined, is to make an attack on this Place, and New Orleans. Part of the British force for this purpose, has landed at Pensacola, and the ballance, hourly expected—five hundred Indians were armed with muskets, and furnished each with Sixty rounds of Cartridges, whilst my informant was there.

You must Summon up all your energy, your quota of militia must be in the field without delay, and the most rigid rules adopted, with all who refuse, or hesitate, to obey the Call: The greatest care and circumspection ought to be used in selecting sound hearted men as officers to this regt.

Our country swarms with spies and traitors, a number will be passing to new Orleans to give information, and corrupt your citizens. You ought to have every avenue well watched with confidential patroles; any person detected in holding correspondence with our enemies, or Supplying them with provisions, must be brought before a Court martial and punished under the 56th and [5]7th Articles, of the rules and Articles of War. A few examples will deter the rest; Our friends must be seperated from our enemies; The threatened danger with which our country is surrounded, requires all our exertions and all its energies for its defence; with energy and union we will be able to drive the enemy into the Ocean. They are in great want of Provisions at Pensacola. A large Top-sail Schoner belonging to Mr. Spow or Spo of that place, has sailed for New Orleans for them, if she can be known she ought to be seized. She is sent by Colo. Nicholls of the royal marines who is at Pensacola in Command of the British forces; She passed through the lakes to New-Orleans, and intends

[4] Treaty of Fort Jackson, Aug. 9, 1814.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 106.

to evade Mobile Point, by Passing out to sea through some of the outlets that avoid the Fort.

No Vessel therefore unless loaded for the contractor with stores and provisions for the Army, must be permitted to sail from New-Orleans through the lakes. I repeat again that no provisions must be permitted to pass out. On the due execution of this order may depend our safety until we can get a competent force in the field, to become the assailants at every point we can reach an Englishman, Which I hope will be shortly. . . . .

To Colonel Robert Butler.[1]

Headquarters 7 M. District Mobile, September 4. 1814

Sir, The latest accounts from Pensacola, confirm the intention of great Britain, to envade this Country and her daily expecting a reinforcement competant to that object, had I Mobile point secure I should with the force I could Command endeavor to possess myself of Pensacola, before her force expected did arrive. but not knowing the moment they might make the attempt, compels me to keep the 3rd Stationary to Cover Mobile. You can judge from my anxiety, to be in sufficient force to attack the British in the vicinity of Pensacola, and I trust your best exertions has been used.

The troops I discover [?] from West Tennessee are to rendezvous at Fayettville the 23rd Instant, being at Fayettville the best rout will be by Fort Jackson. If I can have boats built in due time for the transportation of their baggage, the troops will be marched to the Holy Ground where they can get supplies of provisions from whence they can march to Fort Clairbourne,[2] from that point I can wield them to any that may be necessary.

I wish you with me, and I wish the troops pushed on as soon as possible, some of the best Mecanicks ought to be sent to Fort Jackson, to aid in building boats, I hope about five hundred cherokees may come. I will with the presumption of he that rules, give them the Regimentals of the Royal Creeks. I have this moment started a detachment over the Bay in persuit of a party that attacked a house with one whiteman and three negroes last night about twelve O'Clock, one of the negroes has made his escape, the fate of the other not known. In this Detachment is thirty two Choctaws, when they return I hope you will hear that we have made a mark.

Nothing is to be published that I write, but every exertion used to bring on the men, let them be marched by detachments of two companies to Fort Jackson, from that point, I shall order as necessity may require, Say to Mrs. Jackson, I have wrote her by Thayer Hickman, two days since, I would ask you to bring her on, but we're [not] in the State of Peace here. I would not have her, she could not live here, but make the necessary

[1] The original of this letter was sold by the late Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia, in the auction sale of Jan. 17, 1924. Through the courtesy of Mr. Henkels a copy was made for this work.

[2] Fort Claiborne was on the east side of the Alabama River, 35 miles above Fort Mims. The Holy Ground, where General Claiborne defeated Weatherford, was about 125 miles farther up the Alabama.

precautions that the Ladies can come on and unite with us at New Orleans or the [*word illegible*]. Give my Love to all, Kiss Mrs. Jackson and Andrew for me and haste hither.

respectfully adieu

[P. S.] Let the horsemen come direct to Fort St. Stephens on this rout they will get forage much sooner than on the other. I wish Deadericks and Parish can come on with two companies of Artilery and bring on the six pounders with them.[8]

To the Secretary of War (James Monroe).[1]

Mobile, September 5, 1814.

Sir, The inclosed will shew you the number of Forts Occupied by the troops in the 7th M. District, the immence space covered by those Forts, with the effective force, and the expiration of the Service of the Militia in the field. If the line of Defence could be shortened, it would give greater security and strength to our frontier, which ought to be a primary Object with the Government as it would render the defence more easy by the concentration of its forces.

In the late negociation with the Indians, I had an eye to this object. There is now a Fort at Mobile point, add to this a well constructed battery on Dauphin Island, and it would render the entrance of the bay impracticable. A Fort on the Escambia where the Florida line crosses it, would secure the frontier from Mobile to the Tensaw, or cut-off. One other between that and the Bay of appelachacola, and One on the Appelachecola would keep the Indians at peace, and the Spaniards within their Shell. As Spain has become our enemy covertly if not openly, and is carrying on in concert with G. Britian from Pensacola hostilities against us by her Indians, for the safety of the U. S. why will not the Government order the British to be expelled and Pensacola Seized, and garrisoned by our troops, this effected, mobile point perfec[t]ly secured, and a fort on Appalachacola, all resistance on this quarter would cease, and all the other garrisons round to new Orleans except Fort Jackson might be dismounted and abandoned. A few Gun-Boats in the Lakes, would Secure the Passage to N. Orleans, and Fort Jackson would secure to us Supplies in case the enemy should cut off our communication with N. Orleans. I beg you to take a glance at the situation of Pensacola—its fine harbour, now in the possession of our deadly foe, and at once you will see its importance in the hands of the U. States, and Order accordingly. A party of Indians came last night within nine miles of this place, and attacked a house where there was one whiteman, and three Negroes, one of the negroes made his escape, the fate of the Others is not known. I have sent out a Detatchment of foot after them. But I want horsemen on this station. These Indians came direct from Pensacola, And had I horseman, they should never reach it again.

I have the Honor to be

[8] The remaining three lines are so faded that they cannot be deciphered.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 115; also in War Dept. files.

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.[1]

War Department, September 5, 1814.

Sir, Your letter of August 10th has been received.

The avowed objects of the Enemy, and the recent outrages, of all principles of civilized warfare, warrant a belief and expectation that they will make their devastations as extensive as their means will enable them.

The writer of the enclosed copy of a communication without signature, is known, and is entitled to credit.[2]

Your most prompt attention, and vigorous operations will be required in the lower country. All the friendly Indians should be organized, and prepared to cooperate with your other forces. There appears to be some disaffection among the choctaws. Their friendship and services, should be secured without delay. The friendly Indians must be fed and paid, and made to fight, when and where their services may be required. It is desirable you should repair to New Orleans as soon as your arrangements can be accomplished, in the other parts of the District, unless circumstances should render another point more eligible.

I have the honor etc.

Governor Holmes to Jackson.

"Town of Washington",[1] September 7, 1814.

Sir, Previous to the receipt of your letter of the 27th ulto. by Express, I had issued a General order for the assembling of the five hundred Infantry (required by the President) at the most convenient points, for the Detachments from the several Regiments to march to Mt. Vernon,[2] and appointed such days for them to rendezvous as I supposed would afford time enough to have the requisite equipments forwarded from Orleans, a copy of the order is herewith transmitted. I wrote to you on the 15th of last month that I intended to order this force into service as soon as equipments could be procured but my letter could not have reached you before the express left Mobile. On the 21st ulto. I wrote to the commanding Officer of the post at orleans to forward to this place equipments for one thousand men, to this letter I have received no answer.

Upon the receipt of your last communication I concluded to assemble the Troops with as little delay as possible and gave an additional order to that effect. We shall have to purchase such articles as are indispensably necessary at Natches unless a supply should arrive from Orleans.

I concluded to order from Madison county but one complete company of the requisition, but authorised Lt. Colo. Perkins [3] to accept an additional company of volunteers, if they could be obtained, believing that this

[1] War Dept. files. Another copy of this letter, dated Sept. 7, 1814, is in the Jackson MSS.

[2] The letter here referred to has not been identified in the Jackson MSS.

[1] Washington, now a small village half a dozen miles east of Natchez, was at this time the capital of Mississippi Territory.

[2] A few miles west of Fort Stoddert. An army cantonment had been built at Mt. Vernon in the winter of 1811-1812.

[3] Lieut.-Col. Peter Perkins, of Madison County (Ala.), commanding the 7th Regt. of Mississippi militia.

measure would be agreeable to you, and that the additional force would be recognized by the President of the United States. The Colo. has my orders to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Hampton [4] for such articles of equipment as can be furnished from that post, and to march by the most direct rout with all possible dispatch to Mobile. The Detachments east of Pearl river I have ordered to rendezvous at Mt. Vernon immediately. That portion of the quota which is to be drawn from this quarter of the Territory will be put in motion with as little delay as possible. Colo. Arbuckle [5] will be able to furnish them with arms, I had supposed that there were at Mount Vernon or at some other post on the eastern frontier a number of spare arms, from the circumstance of some Detachments of Militia having left their equipments there after being discharged. . . . .

I have four full Troops of cavalry in this part of the Territory. In order that you may not be disappointed, in Mounted men I will send you one Troop. The other three will be held in readiness to march whenever you may require their services.

I am with great respect and esteem

To González Manrique.[1]

Mobile, September 9, 1814.

Sir, I had the honor to receive your letter of the 30th Ulto. by the hands of Lieut. Gilman of his Majesties Army. Were I clothed with diplomatic powers by my Government, for the purpose of discussing the various topics embraced in the wide range of chimerical injuries which you complain of, and which have long since been adjusted between our Governments, I, could easily demonstrate that the United States have been always faithful to their treaties, steadfast in their friendship and that they claim no territory but what they are entitled to by valid treaties. That they have endured many insults from the Governors, and other officers of Spain, which amounted to open acts of hostility, and if sanctioned by the Government of Spain to Open acts of war without any notification of the intention, Such as furnishing the Savages with implements of war, exciting them to hostilities, writing them letters of congratulation on the successful use of those implements in the destruction of Fort Mims, The capture of the property of our citizens at sea, and if not refusing at least witholding compensation therefor. But not having diplomatic powers delegated to me; I shall not assume them, and consequently not answer your letter in that particular, leaving the renewal of matters already adjusted to the proper representatives of our respective Governments.

I have the honor of being intrusted by my Government with the military Command of the 7th District, Charged with the protection of territorys as described by proper officers, and the Safety of the citizens thereof. I feel my ability to discharge the task assigned me, and trust your Excellency will at all times find me willing to the performance of that duty.

[4] In northern Alabama, on the north bank of the Tennessee, near the Muscle Shoals.
[5] Lieut.-Col. Mathew Arbuckle, 3d Infantry.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 110; also in Parton's *Jackson*, I. 596, but without the date, and somewhat abridged.

I agree with your Excellency that a Spirit of candour and polite language should at all times characterise the Communications between officers of high rank of two friendly nations, and assert without fear of Contradiction that my letter to you of the 12th of July was couched in the most respectful and unexceptionable language, and that I only requested and did not demand, as you have so often asserted, the caption and confinement of the ringleaders of that lawless banditti of the Creek nation who had taken refuge in your town, that they might be brought to atone for their violations of all moral, Divine and civil Laws. This I had a right to do (even on the extent you have assumed for me) by the treaty which I sent you for inspection, and again inclose with a request that you will change your translation feeling a confidence that the former one must have deceived you.

What answer I received from your Excellency a reference to your letter is only necessary. The whole letter breatheth nothing but hostility, grounded upon assumed facts, false Charges, entirely evading an answer to any enquiry made in my letters, all of which were founded on a basis of justice, and good understanding towards your Government and consequently you could not have expected from me any other than the rejoinder you have recd. You have at length come out with what I have long been informed of, That you have armed the Indians. But not for the purposes you have alledged—towit Self Defenc[e], Or You would not previously to the declaration have despatched one hundred of them to commit depredations, upon the citizens and property of the U. S and this party have either killed, or taken a white man, and two negroes of Mr. Doleves one of our citizens. I shall arm my Indians you have thrown the gauntlet and I will take it up. The law of nations justify the pursuit of an enemy into the territory of a neutral nation, when that nation has due notice of the hostility and suffers them to take shelter in their territory.

This I am well advised was the case on the Scambia of which you complain, No doubt can remain, of your knowledge of the attack upon Mr. Doleeves house, as your declaration of having armed the Indians is made on the 30th Ulto. and the attack on the 3 Inst. I now inform you that on the 5th my officers made three Spanish sailors prisoners, and they will be held as security for the restoration of Mr. Doleeves overseer and negroes. Should those men have been murdered by your Indians, you will recollect my promise to you, An Eye for an Eye Tooth for tooth, and Scalp for Scalp.

I shall expect you to notify me of the fate of those men, And if living that they be immediately restored, when your Sailors will be released. I can but express my astonishment at your protest against the cession of the creek territory lying within the acknowledged Jurisdiction of the US, and to which Spain never set up even the colour of a claim, and which has been ratified by the principle chiefs and warriors of the whole nation in due form. Yet this astonishment subsides when I compare, and find the protest upon a footing with the ballance of your letter and conduct. From whence the U. S can draw a justification for any consequences which may ensue. And I will remark to you that my government can and will

defend every inch of the territory as well as protect her citizens, and their property from insult, and depredation regardless of the political revolutions of Europe. And although she has at all times been studious to preserve a good understanding with all the world, Yet she has sacred rights which cannot be trampled on with impunity. Spain had better look to her own intestine commotions, before she walks forth in all that m[a]jesty of strength and power which you threaten to draw down upon the U. S.

It is well known that the British Flag has [been] flying in one of your Forts,[2] And your Excellency has been candid enough to acknowledge the arming and affording protection to our other enemies the fugitive creeks, and all this under the most strict plea of nutrality, consequently your Excellency cannot be surprised, but on the contrary will provide for my soldiers and Indians a Fort in your Town should I take it into my head to pay you a visit. Your Excellency will be pleased in future not to view me as a diplomatic character, unless proclaimed by the mouths of my cannon, and withold your chimercial insulting charges against my government for the Ear of one more inclined to listen to slander than I am.

With a tender of the respect and regard due to the high station you fill, I have the honor to be very respectfy . . . .

Lieutenant-Colonel William MacRea to Jackson.[1]

New Orleans, September 9, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30 Ulto, by Capt. Wirt, and have communicated your orders accordingly. The last order preventing the passing of Vessels through the Lakes laden with provisions, has caused considerable agitation, as it prevented several from sailing to Mobile.

In your letter of the 27th you direct me to put the Fortifications at New Orleans and its vicinity in the best possible state of defence. There is now mounted at Fort St. Philip,[2] Twenty eight, twenty four pounders, besides some brass pieces, all of which were in good order for service when I left that place in May last. The barracks are very old and decayed, and might be easily fired by an enemy with shells or rockets. The foundation was laid for a new set of barracks last winter, but the work was suspended for want of funds, by order of Genl. Flournoy.

The Battery at English Turn[3] was calculated for nine pieces of Ordnance, there are no platforms for mounting Cannon, and neither Magazine nor barracks.

[2] To the Secretary of War Jackson wrote on Sept. 8, 1814, as follows: "Sir, Information has this moment reached me from Pensacola, that on sunday the 4th Inst: a British vessell arrived there direct from England. That the British and Spanish flags were hoisted together in the Forts, and a Standard erected by the British Officers inviting all Spanish Citizens, and Indians to inlist under the British banner; This leaves the character of Spain no longer doubtfull. I hope shortly to have a sufficient force to carry into effect any order I may receive from the Government." Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 116.

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel MacRea was in command in New Orleans from the resignation of Brigadier-General Flournoy, in the summer of 1814, to the arrival of Jackson, Dec. 1, 1814.

[2] Sixty or seventy miles below New Orleans.

[3] About eighteen miles below the city.

Fort St. Charles, in this City, is very much out of repair; the platforms very rotten, and the parapets and glacis has been long going to decay. It answers for preserving a small powder Magazine, the Laboratory and deposit of fixed ammunition, contains barracks for a Company of Artillery which is stationed in it, and where the Artificers in the employ of the Deputy Commissary of Ordnance are quartered. It serves as a rallying point in case of insurrection, but being almost in the centre of the City, and surrounded by houses, could have but little effect in preventing the enemy from taking possession of the City. In repairing this work much expence would be incurred, and it could be of little service even in the best order.

The principal powder Magazine is on the opposite side of the river, guarded by a Detachment of the 44th Infantry under Col. Ross. It contains a very large deposit of powder, belonging to the Army, Navy, and Citizens.

Fort St. John about six miles from this place, is situated at the mouth of a large Bayou on Lake Ponchartrain, it is a small work of brick, very much out of repair, the pickets in the rear have almost all fallen down; This Battery was intended for nine pieces, but only four nine pounders are now mounted. There is a detachment of one Subaltern and twenty men of the 7th Infantry stationed there.

Enclosed you will receive a Copy of a letter, addressed to the Quarter Master Genl. on the subject of horses, for the Field Arty. He has purchased six, which increases our number to twenty two. He will go on to purchase whenever he meets with any that will answer for the service.

You will receive herewith a Morning Report of the Artillery in Fort St. Charles, and of the Infantry in Barracks, by which you will observe, that there is fifty four men absent from the two Companies of the 7th the most of them with the Regiment at Tchifonta.[2]

With great respect I am Sir

To Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Benton.[1]

Mobile, September 12, 1814.

Sir, Yours of the 11 Inst by Lieut Pangle came to hand at 11 this morning. The Lt. was detained by the high waters and failure of his Horse longer than you contemplated.

[2] Tchifonte was on Lake Pontchartrain. The following letter from Capt. E. J. Humphrey to Capt. Thomas L. Butler, aide to Jackson, New Orleans, Sept. 6, 1814, shows that at this time Jackson did not think New Orleans in danger: "I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 30th ultimo directing me to forward to Head Quarters five hundred stands of Arms together with their Accoutrements. I am sorry it is not in my power to comply with this requisition not having the Arms, or Cartridge Boxes on hand, that are fit for service, and no Cartridge Box Belts. The Arms etc. required by your letter of the 28th of Augt. are sent by this opportunity, their condition is not such as I could wish; they however are the best we have. At the time I took charge of the store these Arms were packed up in Boxes and I supposed in good order; but on examining find the most of them want cleaning. my armorers have been constantly employed in cleaning and repairing Arms, but we have so few, (workmen) that we have not been able to complete many more than sufficient to meet the small returns that from time to time are sent in for Arms."

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 121. This letter was written by Capt. Thomas L. Butler, Jackson's aide, in the name of the commander. With a similar letter to Benton on Sept. 13, it shows that at this time Jackson did not dream of the British design. His own purpose to move against Pensacola was fixed and he saw the actions of the enemy in that light.

The Genl would be glad to see Mr Boyles [2] and express his obligations for the information he has given in case he finds it correct. The number of Indians stated by him to be in Pa.[3] is known from good information to be too large. And from a letter received last evening from colo Hawkins he is well assured Kanard is not in Pensacola. The Genl. conjectures that the movement alluded to has been owing to information that the 3d Infty had reached the Perdido on the 9 which was known in Pensacola on the 10th and that the embarkation was for the safety of their troops, leaving the old Don to make the best terms he could in case an attack was made, and that Mr. Boyles has been sent out to give information of the attack upon the point in order to divert the attention of our troops from Pa. But this will shortly be determined by a runner who has been sent to that place. Mr. Boyles will in case he calls here be detained until the truth of the report is ascertained . . . .

To Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Benton.[1]

Mobile, September 13, 1814.

" (substance) "

Sir, Yours of the 12th Instant by Lieut Patterson came duly to hand. Mr. Boyle visited and had much conversation with the Genl., and the General after receiving from him a confirmation of the information given by you determined to detain him until the return of the messenger he sent to Mobile Point last night. About 12 Oclock today he received a letter from Major Lawrence [2] dated the 12 advising him that six British Vessels were approaching with a gentle gale, and that his Videts had reported to him that betwen four and five hundred had been landed in his rear and were marching along the Beech parallel with the Vessells. The Genl is still of opinion that this movement is intended as a faint to save Pensacola from the supposed attack, or in case we should visit it to attempt to gain our rear and cut off our retreat. . . . .

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Head Qrs. Town of Mobile September 14, 1814

Sir—I am directed by the Major General Comdg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst by express. You will lose no time in facilitating the arrival of the five hundred Infantry and the *four troops of Cavalry*, at Mount Vernon. The Genl cannot, Sir, impress too strongly on your mind, the necessity of celerity and expedition, on the present occasion, as ere they reach their points of destination, their services may be required.

[2] Probably the man mentioned in Maj. Howell Tatum's *Journal* (*Smith College Studies in History*, VII. 70). He was an American and lived in West Florida, twelve miles northwest of Pensacola, on the road to Mobile. During the preceding year he had given friendly and valuable information to Colonel Benton. The warning of Boyles had reference to the attack on Fort Bowyer, which proved to be a real danger.

[3] Pensacola.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 1. This letter is also by Captain Butler, aide. The word "substance", here and on p. 49, indicates the extent to which Jackson was the author.

[2] Maj. William Lawrence, 2d Regt. Infantry, commanding at Fort Bowyer.

[1] The original of this letter, written by command of Jackson, is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

The last information received from Mobile Point, states that on the Morning of the 12th Inst four large vessels of the enemy were in sight and after approaching as near the shore as possible, landed between four and five hundred troops. At 2 O'Clock P. M. two other vessels hove in sight. The Comdg Officer at Mobile Point calculates upon being attacked, and assures me that he will give a good account of the enemy.

By Command of Majr. Genl Jackson

In great haste

I am sir very respectfully yr mst obt sert.

A P Hayne Inspr Genl and Actg Adjt Genl.[2]

To Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Benton.[1]

Mobile, September 15, 1814.

" (substance) "

Sir, I am directed by the General to inform you under existing circumstances Mr. Boyle cannot be permitted to drive more than eight or ten head of cattle to Pensacola. The woods in a few days will be covered with the choctaws with orders to kill o[r] make prisoner all Indians or white men they meet driving or collecting cattle, except such as have passes signed by the Genl. or officer commanding a seperate post. Mr. Boyles must be remunerated in money and not provisions for any services rendered hereafter, He Boyles is a man of penetration, and the information given by him it is highly probable was intended to change the supposed direction of our troops for Pensacola, or as before alledged by the General in case of an attack to throw these troops in our rear. Great precaution must be used with Mr. Boyle without showing the least suspicion of his fidelity. He may if well watched be made very useful to us, and if he should prove treacherous to us by being confided in will be doubly useful to our enemy. I am very respectfully

To Colonel Robert Butler.

Mobile, September 17, 1814. "6 oclock a. m."

D'r Sir: I have detained writing untill the mail is closing in hopes to be able to give you information of the Fate of Fort Bowyer Mobile Point, which was attackd on the 15th instant by land and water, by a combined British Spanish and Indian force fitted out in Pensacola. A reenforcement I had sent by water had got within five miles, when their approch was cut off by 4 armed vessels who sailed up and anchored a breast of the Fort, when a tremendous fire was oppened on them from the Fort and returned by all the vessels. The Fort was well defended, as the spectators all declare, and the Battle raged untill about 12 oclock at night, when the firing ceased. the 4 last guns were fired from the Fort. a light was seen to arise and sometime after an explosion was both seen and

[2] Col. Arthur P. Hayne was an elder brother of Robert G. Hayne of South Carolina.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 3. This letter was written by Captain Butler, aide.

hea[r]d. Capt Laval[1] who commanded a reenforcement attempted to be thrown into the Fort, says he thinks it was the magazine of the Fort, two sailors with him and many others say it was the largest vessel afire and blew up. Whether the Fort is taken or not I have not heard notwithstanding the exertions I have made. I dispatched yesterday confidential officers both by land and water, neither of whom has returned. I hope and believe the fort is not taken, and I have sent down a strong detachment.

You must Push on the Troops from Tennessee with all Possible dispatch, as many volunteer mounted men as can be speedily raised, sent on by Fort St Stephens, could I get 800 mounted men shortly I could take Pensacola before it could be fortified strongly. If I had the force I would risque the consequences. You must write me weekly of the situation of the Troops their Position numbers and kind.

In great Haste adieu.

P. S. have all the cherokees and friendly creeks Brought on.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Mobile, September 17, 1814.

Sir, With lively emotions of satisfaction I communicate that success has crowned the gallant efforts of our brave soldiers in resisting and repulsing a combined British naval and land force, which on the 15th inst. attacked Fort Bowyer, on the Point of mobile.

I enclose a Copy of the official report of Major Wm. Laurence of 2d Infantry, who commanded. In addition to the particulars communicated in his letters, I have learnt that the ship which was destroyed was the Hermes, of from 24 to 28 guns, Capt. the Hon. Wm. H. Percy, senior officer in the Gulf of Mexico; and the brig so considerably damaged, is the Sophia, 18 guns, Capt. Wm. Lockyer. The other ship was the Carron of from 24 to 28 guns, Capt. Spencer,[2] son of Earl Spencer; the other brig's name unknown. On board of the Carron 85 men were killed and wounded: among whom was Col. Nicoll of Royal Marines, who lost an eye by a splinter. The land force consisted of 110 Marines and 200 Creek Indians, under the command of Capt. Woodbine of Marines, and about 20 Artillerists, with one four and ½ inch howitzer, from which they discharged shells and nine pound shot. They re-embarked the piece, and retreated by land towards Pensacola, whence they came. By the morning report of the 16th there were present in the fort, fit for duty, officers and men, 158.

The result of this engagement has stamped a character on the war in this quarter highly favourable to the American army: it is an event from which may be drawn the most favourable augury.

[1] Capt. William Laval, 3d Regt. Infantry, who in November distinguished himself at Pensacola. The explosion was that of the *Hermes,* which ran aground and was set afire by her commander.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 130; also in War Dept. files. Major Lawrence's report is filed with the letter at the War Department.

[2] Capt. Sir Robert Cavendish Spencer.

An atchievement so glorious in itself, and so important in its consequences should be appreciated by the government; and those concerned are entitled to, and will doubtless receive the most gratifying evidence of the approbation of their Countrymen. . . . .

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, September 18, 1814.

Major Genral. A. Jackson

Sir, At a meeting of the Citizens of New Orleans and its vicinity held on the 14th Instant the subscribers were appointed a Committee to cooperate with the constituted Civil and Military authorities in the Defence of this place against the open attacks, or secret Machinations of the Enemy.

The performance of the duty assigned us naturally leads to a communication with the Commander in Chief of this District which we make by means of the Governor of the state who has expressed his approbation of our measures, and does us the honor to forward this letter. Altho in our resolutions and addresses, Policy and Duty have induced us to assume a tone of confidence necessary to animate the people and impose on the Enemy, from you sir we ought not to conceal, that the only hope of preserving this place in case of a serious attack lies in an efficient force to be furnished by you.

This Country is strong by Nature, but extremely weak from the nature of its population, from the La Fourche downwards on both sides the River, that population consists (with inconsiderable exceptions) of Sugar Planters on whose large Estates there are on an average 25 slave to one White Inhabitant the maintenance of domestic tranquility in this part of the state obviously forbids a call on any of the White Inhabitants to the defense of the frontier, and even requires a strong additional force, attempts have already it is said been detected, to excite insurrection, and the character of our Enemy leaves us no doubt that this flagitious mode of warfare will be resorted to, at any rate the evil is so great that no precautions against it can be deem'd superfluous. We have some strength of militia in the City but it is badly armed, and the same considerations forbid the removal of it from the immediate vicinity of the town. Under these circumstances we look to the forces under your command alltogether for external defence and in a great measure for Domestic tranquility, that part of it which consists of the drafted Militia from the upper part of the state will suffice when organized for the latter object, but it will be some weeks before that organization can be effected and in the mean time we fear that the first appearance of attack would expose us to considerable danger, the mix'd population particularly of the City presents a source too from which we anticipate much evil, tho we cannot yet form any accurate idea of its extent. But tho' we consider our present force as inadequate to the defence of the Country its natural strength would render it impregnable if protected by a comparatively small force. In reviewing the several points of probable attack, we say nothing of that by way of Mobile and the lake Ponchartraine, or the more circuitous one of Baton Rouge this is under your immediate inspection and therefore gives us no uneasi-

ness, of the others we beg leave to take a rapid view which may possibly present some ideas that may have escaped your attention.

The first of these is the ascent of the River by the Balize; it presents many inconveniences to our Enemy and will not be attempted unless we are left entirely destitute of force. Two Thousand Men stationed between the City and the English Turn would be sufficient with heavy artillery on travelling Carriages, to prevent his approach by this route, especially if assisted by a few Gun Boats, and exposed to the danger of fire ships which the Current would carry among the fleet. We mention a position between the City and the English turn for this reason, that the same body would be ready to meet the Second and as we think a more probable point of attack by a landing at the *Chef Monteur*[1] this point projects into Lake Borne,[2] is accessible to shipping and is connected by an high ridge with the City from which it is distant only five leagues, this place is at present wholly unfortified, tho' it is susceptible of being so at a small expence, and the ridge of communication between it and the City, is narrow and may be obstructed by Abbatis—so as to render the approach extremely difficult if not impracticable in the face of a very inferior force—there is also an appoach by the Riviere Aux Chiens and the Bayou Terre Aux Boeuf[3] these would be effectually guarded by a Fort at a place called La Fourche de Lisle. The Lake Ponchartraine and the Bayou St John's[4] is the only remaining point on this side, the fort at the Petit Coquille, the Gun Boats if they resume their station and the same body of Men spoken of above join'd to the Governor and Militia of the town, would be sufficient on this side as the passage of the Bayou may in a few hours be rendered impassible by water; and the swamps render the approach by land little to be dreaded. On the West side of the River the first approach as we descend from the sea is by the Bayou La Fourche, this is navigable for armed boats up to the place where it forks from the Mississippi,[5] it has little or no current, and the navigation is not difficult but it is narrow and may be easily obstructed, the banks are thickly inhabited by about Five Hundred Men even to the Gun, if they were inspired with a proper spirit, little need be apprehended from that quarter, but to guard against accidents One Thousand Men should be stationed about Mid Distance between the forks and the City, ready to march to the nearest point of the Bayou which there runs nearly parallel with the River, or to descend and cover the City should an attack be made by the last Route to which the Committee will call your attention, which is by Baritaria—here is a port occupied until lately by a number of Buccanees under the Carthiginian flag,[6] it is accessible only to vessels drawing about 10 feet water and is capable of being strongly defended against any attack either from the sea or the Bayou and lakes by which it is surrounded, this port should be secured by a Battery and two

[1] Chef Menteur. See p. 123, n. 2, *post*.
[2] Borgne.
[3] The Rivière aux Chênes and the Bayou Terre aux Boeufs lay southeastward from the English Turn.
[4] Northward from the city.
[5] Far above New Orleans (Donaldsonville).
[6] The Lafittes, at their establishment at Barataria, flew the flag of the Independent Government of Cartagena de las Indias.

or three Gun Boats. it communicates with the River by a series of Lakes and Bayous bordered by trembling praieres, not more than 3½ to 4 feet water can be carried up to the heads of the bayous whence canals are cut communicating with the banks of the River opposite the town—this approach is naturally very difficult, and may at a small expence be rendered impracticable—a post with a few pieces of Cannon established at a place called the Temple and a blockhouse or two at the forks below would secure us on this side against a much superior force. The Grand Magazine for Powder together with the barracks on the opposite side of the River are in the present state of things at the mercy of the Enemy should they make a *Coup de Main* this way, as they are guarded only by a small detachment of regular troops and by a Company of Militia relieved every day from the City. here about One Thousand Troops ought to be stationed, and this would complete the plan of defence which we take the liberty to propose against external attack which you will observe exclusive of the Garrisons of Plaquemin, Fort Charles and about Five Hundred Men for the City, form a total of only Four Thousand Men which in our opinion would completely secure this place from any, but such an overwhelmning force as will not probably be brought against it, and which at any rate, cannot be brought before we can receive efficient aid from above. A Corps of One Hundred Cavalry divided on the two banks of the River would effectually repress insurrection, and if practicable we pray may be sent to us. A Battery was erected at the Balize [7] and by order of General Flournoy abandoned, the reestablishment of this post, with a small guard would we think be of essential service in protecting vessels that are fortunate enough to enter the River against the Armed boats of the Enemy, and would serve as an advanced post to the Port [Fort?] of Plaquemin, a Block ship anchored off the same place would also be extremely useful and the Ship Louisiana tho' old and unfit for sea would answer this purpose.

We have thus far performed a part of the duty assigned us, by communicating freely to you our ideas on a subject so interesting to us, to our fellow Citizens, and to our Country at large that we are sure we need make no apology for the liberty we take. Should you concur with us in opinion that the force required would put us in safety against any attack, and if you have the means of ordering the required number of men to our aid, we cannot but believe that steps will immediately be taken to comply with our request. No point of the whole union is so important to so large a portion of it as this City is to the Western states and the expence of defending it bears no kind of comparison to the inconveniences and distress, to say nothing of the dishonor attending its loss.

We have but one other request Sir, with which we shall close our communication. It is that if your operations will permit, you will honor our City with a visit, tho' short it would have an happy effect, the good people of this state would be encouraged by your presence, the emissaries of the Enemy, and the partizans of foreign powers would dread the scrutiny of your intelligence, and the reputation which your talents have so

[7] At the mouth of the river, some 30 miles below Fort St. Philip (Plaquemines).

justly acquired would inspire all with that confidence which we individually feel. With sentiments of respect

We remain etc.

P. Foucher	Benj. Morgan
Destrehan	G. M. Ogden
Edw. Livingston	D. Bouligny
Aug. Macarty	Dusuaud De La Croix [8]

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, September 19, 1814.

Sir, We have *inofficial information,* but nevertheless such as may be relied on, that the expedition against the Pirates and smugglers of Barataria,[1] had so far succeeded as to drive them from their position at Grand Terre, and to acquire possession of most of their Ill begotten treasure; Indeed many of the fugitives have reached this city, but their statements are so contradictory, that I cannot undertake to give you the particulars. I greatly fear however, that the Gun Boats may be much exposed in regaining their station on the lakes; But by Keeping in shoal water I hope they may evade the Enemy, and at least enter the Mississippi by the south west pass. We have heard sir, of an attack on the point of Mobille. It is added and I trust in God it may be true, that the Enemy has been beaten off, and that from your present force and state of preparation, you have nothing to fear; I am not however without great apprehensions for the safety of this city; In the absence of the Gun Boats, the lakes are open to the Enemy, and I am exerting all my means to guard against a surprise. The Detached Militia from the first Brigade, to the amount of about one hundred and twenty are now on duty in this city under the orders of Colo. McRea. The men drawn from the second Brigade, will rendezvous here on the 24th Instant, and the six hundred men, ordered from the second Division will certainly be at Baton Rouge early in October. The only difficulty I have hitherto experienced in meeting the requisition, has been in this city, and exclusively from some European Frenchman, who after giving their adhesion to Louis 18th have thro' the French consul claimed exemption from the Draft as French subjects.[2] The question of exemption however, is now under discussion before a special court of Enquiry, and I am not without hopes that these ungrateful men may yet be brought to a discharge of their duties. The body of the

[8] These were among the leading citizens of New Orleans. Dominique Bouligny was afterward U. S. senator from Louisiana 1824-1829; J. N. Destréhan was elected senator in 1811; François Dusuau de Lacroix was founder and first president of the Bank of Louisiana; Edward Livingston, of New York, brother of R. R. Livingston, had resided in New Orleans since 1804, and was afterward Secretary of State.

[1] This expedition sailed from New Orleans on September 13. Grande Terre was an island at the mouth of Barataria Bay, on which the freebooters had their establishment.

[2] The following paper is one of the certificates issued at this time by the French consul in New Orleans:

"*Consulat de France a la Nouvelle Orléans.* Nous Anne Louis de Tousard Chevalier de l'Ordre royal et militaire de St. Louis, Ancien Lieutenant Colonel du Régiment du Cap français; Vice Consul de France, Consul par Intérim à la Nouvelle Orléans: faisant droit à la reclammation qui nous a été faite par Mr. Jean André William Pourçine,

city Militia begin to manifest a proper feeling and conduct; They perform with cheerfulness patrol duty at night, and one company detailed every day and relieved at 8 o'clock A. M. mounts guard daily at the Powder magazine on the opposite shore. I have taken means to require information daily from the Pass au chef Menteur, as also from the various passes in the vecinity of Terre aux Boeuf. But I am vastly solicitous about the pass of Barataria; Excuse me my Dear sir for suggesting the expediency of your directing immediate possession to be taken of Grand Terre, the spot from which the Pirates were recently expelled, and of occupying the place called the temple which I so particularly noticed in my communications by Colo Shaumburg.[3] If the Enemy should possess himself of Grand terre, it will be vastly difficult to dislodge him, and he may, and no doubt will be daily reinforced by fugitives slaves

I am sir,

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, September 20, 1814.

Sir, ... Louisiana has at this moment much to apprehend from Domestic Insurrection: We have every reason to beleive that the Enemy has been intriguing with our *slaves,* and from a variety of circumstances, we have much cause to suspect that *they* on their part, meditate mischief. I have directed every measure of precaution which prudence suggested, and am happy to find that the citizens are disposed Zealously to support me. Knowing how necessary a corps of cavalry would be in case of Revolt among the slaves, and beleiving that at the Present moment, they would be particularly useful in acquiring and forwarding information I have, without awaiting the return of Colo. Shaumburg, ordered the Feliciana Troop of Cavalry to repair immediately to New Orleans, and I shall make on the Quarter Master General a requisition for all necessary supplies. I have also encouraged a number of Gentlemen of New Orleans to form a volunteer corps of Cavalry, and with a promise, that *whilst on duty* they should be furnished with Forage for their Horses by the Public. I hope sir, these measures may meet your approbation and that you will direct, the Keeper of the Military stores to deliver on my receipt, for the use of

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que malgré ses représentations et son refus, on aurait tiré au sort pour lui, et qu'il était désigné pour être enrollé dans le service des Etats unis;

"Considérant que sous la loi de la milice des Etats unis, et celle de l'Etat de la Louisiane, aucun alien ne peut être enrollé dans la Milice.

"*Certifions* que le dit Mr. Pourcine est né à Jérémie, Isle St Domingue; qu'il est Alien, et sujet de Sa Majesté tres chrétienne; qu'il est immatriculé et reconnu comme tel en ce Consulat; qu'il est à notre connaissance qu'il n'a point été naturalisé Citoyen des Etats Unis et qu'il n'a exercé aucun des Droits qui eussent pu le faire considéré comme tel, et compromettre son titre de sujet français; qu'en conséquence, on ne peut sans violer les Loix des Etats Unis, celles de l'Etat de la Louisiane, et les Droits du Gouvernement francais, soustraire un Sujet francais à son souverain légitime en le pressant et en l'enrollant de force au service des Etats Unis. En témoignage de quoi nous lui avons délivré le présent Certificat, que nous avons signé, et fait sceller du sceau de nos armes, (celui de S. M. T. C. ne nous étant pas encore parvenû) pour lui servir ce que de droit.

"A la Nouvelle Orléans le 17 Sept'bre 1814."

[3] Maj. Bartholomew Schaumburg; see vol. I., pp. 274, 282.

these corps (whilst in public service) such number of swords and Pistols as may be required.

In my Letter of Yesterday I mentioned that many of the fugitives from Barataria had reached the city. Among them are some St. Domingo negro's of the most desperate characters and probably no worse than most of their white associates. I attended a meeting of the mayor and city Council on this morning and strongly urged the necessity of adopting some strong measures of police and particularly as related to slaves, and the visits and Residence of strangers. The Mayor and Council seemed fully impressed with the importance of the crisis; and will I hope act with promptitude and decision. . . . .

Colonel Samuel Fulton to Jackson.[1]

New Orleans, September 20, 1814.

Dear General, Having Lived near Elevin years in this Country, and having been imploy'd in diffrent Capacities, have had it in my power to become acquainted, with the Local Situation of the Country, and the Character of its Inhabitants, there are many Good and Brave people in it, but the total want of Confidence by all Classes of people, in the Chief Magistrate of the State, puts it in a truely alarming Situation. I Cannot Sit a Silent Spectator, to it, at a moment Like this when the Energys of Evry Citizen ought to be roused for the Defence of the Common Cause.

Your presence here General, might have a good affect or Some active Energetic officier, with your full power to put the State under Marshall Law, this is not only my oppinion, but that of a Large portion of the princapal Citizens of the State, to Save it from Some fatal Disaster. If General my feable Tallents might be usefull to you, near your person, or in any Capassity in this quarter, I am ready and willing to receive your orders. If Eight years Service as a Lieutanat Colonel of Cavelry, in the French Service, four years Service, as Commandat. of the Militia of west Florida, under the Spanish Gover'nt, and three years as Colonel of Militia in the State of Louisiana, be any recommendation, to you, this is what I have to offer, for the garrentee of any office which might be Confided to me,

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

Mobile, September 21, 1814.

Sir, Our country has been invaded and threatned with destruction. She wants Soldiers to fight her battles. The free men of colour in your city are inured to the Southern climate and would make exellent Soldiers. They

[1] Samuel Fulton's adventurous career, up to 1797, is recounted by Professor Turner in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, X. 270; see also *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs,* I. 463, and Am. Hist. Assoc. *Annual Report* for 1896, *passim*, in which are several of his letters. After three or four years' residence in Pensacola and West Florida under the protection of McGillivray he entered heartily in 1794 into the projects of Genet and George Rogers Clark against Louisiana, was made a lieutenant-colonel in the French army in 1795, went to France in 1796 and continued his designs against Louisiana; but in 1802 was resident in New Orleans (*ibid.*, p. 1101), and in 1812 had for some time possessed land in Louisiana; *Am. St. Papers, Public Lands,* II. 348-349.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 152.

will not remain quiet spec[ta]tors of the interesting contest. They must be for, or against us—distrust them, and you make them your enemies, place confidence in them, and you engage them by every dear and honorable tie to the interest of the country who extends to them equal rights and priviledges with white men. I enclose you a copy of my address to them for publication,[2] and wish an experiment made for raising a Regt of them. They will be officered by white men except the non commissioned officers, and be placed upon the same footing with other Volunteers for the war. Should you succeed in raising a Regt Battallion or company advise me, and I will send one of my aids to organize and pay them their Bounty under the act of congress placing them on an equaility with soldiers procured by enlistment. No objections can be raised by the citizens of Norleans on account of their engagement, as they will be removed from amongst them, if fears of their fidelity are entertained. I also enclose you an address to the citizens of Louissiana for publication,[3] and request that you will have the proclamation of colo Nicolls published on the same sheet, as well as the Proclamation of Sir William H Percy [4] and my general order rellative to the defence of Fort Bowyer. The Choctaws are collecting and I hope ere long to have it, in my power to act on the offensive. Fortune smiles upon our arms to the North, and I flatter myself the Gods will be propitious to the South, we may then humble the overgrown pride of Britain. I have the honor to be

Jackson's Proclamation to the People of Louisiana.[1]

Mobile, September 21, 1814.

Louisianians. The base the perfiduous Britons have attempted to invade your Country. They have had the temerity to attack Fort Bowyer with their incongruous horde of Indian and Negro assassins—they seemed to have forgotten that this Fort was defended by freemen. They were not long indulged in their error. The gallant Lawrence with his little Spartan band, has given them a lecture that will last for ages: he has taught them what Men can do, when fighting for their liberty when contending against Slaves. He convinced Sir W. H. Percy that his companions in Arms were not to be conquered by proclamations, that the strongest British bark is not invulnarable to the force of American Artilery, directed by the steady nervous Arm of a Freeman.

Louisianians! The proud Britain, the national and sworn Enemy, of all Frenchmen, of all Americans, and of all freemen, has called upon you by a proclamation; to aid her in her tyranny, and to prostrate the Holy temple of our liberty. Can Louisianians, can Frenchmen, can Americans ever stoop to be the Slaves or allies of Britain? The proud, vain glorious boaster, Colo. Nicolls when he addressed you, Louisianians, and Ken-

[2] See the next document but one.
[3] See the next document.
[4] Captain the Hon. (not Sir) William Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Beverley, was commander of the *Hermes*. Both the documents alluded to are printed in Major A. Lacarrière Latour's *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana*, app., pp. vii-x.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book G, p. 155. Printed in Latour, app., p. xxix.

tuckians, had forgotten that you were the votaries of freedom; or he would never have pledged the honor of a British Officer for the faithful performance of his promises, To lure you from your fidelity to the government of your choice. I ask you Louisianians can we place any confidence in the honor of Men, who have courted an alliance with pirates and Robbers? Have not these Noble Britons these honorable Men, Colo. Nicoll and the honorable Capt. W. H. Percy, the true Representatives of their Royal Master, done this? Have they not made offers to the Pirates of Barrataria, to join them and their Holy cause? And have they not dared to insult you, by calling on you to associate as Bretheren with them, and this hellish Banditti?

Louisianians! The Government of your choice is engaged in a just and honorable contest, for the security of your individual, and her National rights. On you a part of America, the only Country on Earth where every Man enjoys freedom, where its blessings are alike extended to the poor, and Rich, calls on you to protect these rights from the invading usurpation of Britain, and she calls not in vain.

I well know that every Man whose Soul beats high at the proud title of freemen, that every Louisianian, either by birth or adoption will promtly obey the voice of his Country; will rally around the Eagle of Columbia, rescue it from impounding danger, or nobly die, in the last ditch in its defence. The Individual who refuses to defend his rights when called by his Government, deserves to be a slave, and must be punished as an enemy to his Country, and a friend to her foe.

The undersigned has been intrusted with defence of your Country on you he relies to aid him in this important duty: in this reliance he hopes not to be mistaken. He trusts in the justice of his cause and the patriotism of his Countrymen, confident, that any future attempt to invade our soil will be as repelled as the last, he calls not upon either Pirates or Robbers to join him in the glorious career.

Your Governor has been fully authorized by me to organize any Volunteer Company, Batallion or Regt. which may proffer its services under this call and informed of their probable destination.

A. J. M. G. C.[2]

To the Free Coloured Inhabitants of Louisiana.[1]

Through a mistaken policy, my brave fellow Citizens, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the Glorious struggle for National rights, in which our Country is engaged. This shall no longer exist, as sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most estimable blessing: As Americans, your Country looks with confidence to her adopted Children, for a valorous support, as a partial return for the advantages enjoyed, under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and Brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existance. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor

[2] Major-General commanding.
[1] *Ibid.*

would cause you to despise the Man who should attempt to deceive you. I shall not attempt it. In the sincerity of a Soldier, and the language of truth I address you. Your Country, altho' calling for your exertions does not wish you to engage in her cause, without amply remunicating [*sic*] you, for the services rendered.

To every noble hearted generous brave freeman of colour volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be pd. the same bounty in Money and lands, now received by the white Soldiers of the United States viz $124.00 in Cash and 160 Acres of Land. The Non Comd. Officers and privates will also be entitled to the same Monthly pay daily rations, and Clothing furnished to every American Soldier. On enrolling yourselves, the General will select Officers for your government from among your White fellow Citizens. Your Non Commd. Officers will be appointed from among yourselves. Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen, and Soldiers. You will not, by being associated with other Men in the same Corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independant Battallion or Regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will undivided receive the applause, reward, and gratitude, of your Countrymen.

To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our Country I have communicated with the Executive of La., who is fully informed as to the manner, of Enrollment, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

A. J. M. G. C.

Colonel Robert Butler to Jackson.

Fayetteville [Tenn.], September 22, 1814.

Dear General, I send Lieut. E. B. Billings with this communication, the dissolving of the court martial released him from arrest. A Letter from Colo. Pipkin informs that the major part of his regiment were in a state of flagrant mutiny, and were determined to march home on the 20th instant: but for this I would have set out early tomorrow morning, althoug I have been much indisposed for some days, and still continue so. I have delayed Capt. Camp and shall take him with me for reasons I will give you on sight.

$25,000 has been procured and the like sum will be furnished pr. advice of the governor, and I have written to Genrl Coffee to receipt for it and bring it on to head Quarters. The Horse will rendezvous at this place on the 28th and I have no doubt of the number being present. They will ma[r]ch as immediate there after as possible. I shall have one regiment of the militia organized and marched tomorrow and shall give positive orders to have those mutineers taken back to fort Jackson and the officers which may be with them put in irons. The odd Battalions I shall order to garrison the different posts sending the Maj. Comng. to fort Jackson with about two full companies, and shall order all of Colo. Pipkins Regiment on to Fort Jackson, where I hope you will meet them with

orders to march below. The rascals should be taught what it is to disgrace the state and the american character. You can manage them when there to perfection and I know they are better disciplined than these are. . . .,[1]

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

War Department, September 27, 1814.

Sir, I have had the honor to receive your letter of August 10th by Mr. Cassida and subsequent letters of August 23d, 24th, 25th, and 27th by mail.

By these communications which are strongly supported by others from various quarters there is great cause to believe that the Enemy have set on foot an expedition against Louisiana, thro' the Mobile in the expectation that while so strong a pressure was made from Canada and in this quarter, whereby the force of the Country and attention of the Government would be much engrossed, a favorable opportunity would be afforded them to take possession of the lower parts of that state, and of all the Country along the Mobile. In this as in all their other disorganizing and visionary projects they will be defeated by the virtue and gallantry of our people. The Europian Governments reasoning from examples of their own are always led into false conclusions of the consequences to be expected from attacks on our Union, and the distress of our citizens. this War will give them useful lessons in every quarter of the united states where the experiment may be made.

[1] The following documents illustrate this incident, which became famous as involving "the Execution of the Six Militiamen". On Sept. 20 Maj. Jasper Smith reported the occurrences at Fort Williams to Col. Philip Pipkin, his superior, as follows:

"With regret I have to inform you that twenty six of the troops at this post dareingly sholdered their napsacks and formed in a line and marched for home this morning about sunrise left with us forty fit for duty Officers included sick one hundred and thirteen and three men dead and refused to stay to assist Buring them. Colo, I fear from every information that the troops at Fort Jackson has or will leave you in a short time. I have just recd, information that it is expected nearly all has left Fort Strother. the men contends that there is no such a law as to compell them to serve a longer time in one tour of duty than three Months previous to their discharge. I issued an order that no officer or soldier was to leave or desert the service of the united states that was stationed at this post; also I Read different sections of the law to them relative to the punishment that would be inflicted on them provided they left the service before discharged. their intentions were kept much concealed within them selves untill last evening at which time they become quite public in it and I fear that the leargest half of what remain here will act in the same way as soon as they git able to travel but at present our situation as respects the sick looks Distressing and I fear will be worse for the flour we git is all soilt and of couse be unholsom. I have just Recd, a letter from Majr. Cassleman at Fort Strother that states he is very sick and but little hopes of ever recovering. I should be quite glad to see you to know what steps are to be taken with those deserters. I am yours etc."

"*Sept the 21st.* Then left this place nine in addition to what went yesterday and I do believe every man that is able will be off in a short time they are very much sceared at this place in consequence of the deaths that appears to be taking place we have lost one more dead and one a dieing and several others past all hope so I fear in a few days there will be none left Able to Bury the dead as it is nearly the case now we have in this case to order out men on fatigue that is not able. I am Info[r]med the public stores is ordered back [to] this place which I think will not be safe. I hope you will be up to see us as soon as possible if not to write I am your sincear wellwishing friend, etc."

One of the six prisoners executed was David Hunt, about whom the following "charges" exist in a paper in the Jackson MSS.:

"Fort Jackson, *September 2,* 1814. Charges Exhibitted Against David Hunt a private in Capt. George Mabourns company. Charge 1st. Mutany Specification in this. That on

By your last letters, it seems probable that a considerable British force had been landed at Pensacola, with the connivance of the spanish authorities there, and at Havanna, and by other intellegence it may be presumed that a pressure or at least menace will be made, on the Western side of the Mississippi, by Nacogdoches and Natchitoches which latter will probably be by spanish Troops and for the purpose of menace only.

You have had at your command all the regular force in the District with the detailed Militia in Louisiana, the Mississippi Territory and Tenessee, and you have also had authority to engage on our side the Warriors of the chocktaw chickesaw and creek nations or so many of them as you might think proper to employ having it in view at the same time to secure the affection and neutrality of all the members of those tribes. It is known that the regular troops are distributed into many posts and that the militia of Louisiana will be less efficient for general purposes from the dread of domestic insurrection so that on the militia of Tennessee your principal reliance must be.

The President taking all circumstances into consideration has thought proper to order five thousand additional troops from Tennessee to march to your aid as soon as possible by the most direct and convenient routes unless before they set out on their march they shall receive countermanding orders from you. He has likewise requested the Governor of Georgia to hold in readiness subject to your order twenty five hundred men on the presumption that a cooperating force from that quarter may possibly be necessary. I send you a copy of my letter to the Governor of Tennessee to whom you will hasten to communicate your views and wishes, full confidence is entertained in your judgment in the discharge of this discretionary

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this day there was an Advertisement found on the fort gate post with the following words Viz.

Look Below we are the Boys.
That Fear no Noise,
Nor Orders that we hear,
Eighteen days more,
And then we go,
And you cant find us here,
For home we go,
Or Be found in gore,
And never come here no more,
To Suffer as we and many others have Before
Liberty Street.

And that Lieut. Rodney Earhart and Wm. Owen,s was Standing in the gate Talking about the said Advertisement, and Said Hunt came up to them and said he could tell them what he intended to do. And the Lieut. ask'd him what it was he intended doing. and he Replied he would go home at the end of three Months or he wou'd loose his life in the attempt. In treating his Officer with disrespect. Charge the second Specification in this. in making use of contemptuous Language to his Officer in telling him he shou'd go with him to the Colo,l and after the said Lieutenant Ordered him under guard he the said Hunt Ordered the Lieutenant to go and bring him some water"

Jan. 16, 1828, a resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives calling for a copy of the proceedings of the court martial which condemned the six militiamen on Dec. 5, 1814. When received, the documents were referred to the committee on military affairs, with instructions to report on them. The committee replied by giving a full and unreserved indorsement of the action of the court martial and of Jackson in respect to this affair. Its report, with the documents submitted by the War Department, is in *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Aff.*, III. 693-793, and in *Niles' Register*, XXXIV.

power vested in you.[1] Measures are taken for procuring in the neighbouring towns and forwarding to your orders blankets and some other presents for the creeks chocktaws and other friendly Indians. These will be sent by waggons direct to [*blank*].

Apprehending much difficulty in the prosecution of your campaign which it may not be in your power to remove without money I have transmitted to Governor Blount One hundred thousand Dollars in Treasury notes to be applied to the necessary expences of the campaign, in discharging Indian claims and supplying their wants, an object to be attended to at the present time equally from motives of policy and humanity. You will there-

[1] Monroe's letter to Blount, dated Sept. 25, 1814, is as follows:

"*Sir,* Intelligence has been received that the Enemy contemplate an expedition against the state of Louisiana, thro' the mobile, with intention to occupy all the Country from cape Florida to the provinces of spain westward of the Mississippi. the disolating spirit with which the British Government now wages War against the United States looking to conquest and subjugation with the enlarged means which their successes on the continent have given them, entitle this intelligence to full credit; indeed recent accounts state that they have landed a considerable force at Pensacola which if true leaves no doubt of the object.

"should the enemy take possession of Louisiana I need not describe to you its pernicious effect, not on the interests of that growing state only, but of all that portion of the united states lying westward of the Alleghany mountains. Its whole commerce would be in the hands of an inveterate foe. It is therefore indispensably necessary to repell this invasion at once and for that purpose to put forward an adequate force to meet it.

"On full consideration of this important subject the President desires that you will immediately detach five thousand troops of your state in addition to those already detailed which it is presumed have been called for by General Jackson and that you will hasten them to him by such routes as with the intelligence you may possess may appear best calculated to afford the necessary aid in repelling the expected invasion. As soon as you receive this letter I have to request that you will transmit a copy of it to Genl Jackson informing him of the time the troops called for will begin their march and of the routes they intend taking that he may give any advice which appears to him to be proper on either point.

"It may happen that the force already under his command and called for by him may be adequate to the object or that he may wish this additional force to proceed in some other direction than that contemplated. If so, by giving him prompt notice of what is intended he may advise you of the actual danger and of the necessity there may be of the aid intended for him. Viewing the danger of the crises and its possible consequences to so vast and important a portion of our Union, in the light in which I have placed it, the President has considered it his duty to take this measure to arrest it, aware that too prompt and effectual a remedy cannot be afforded should the intelligence received be well founded. It is proper however in taking this step, to guard against the unnecessary exposure of our citizens and unnecessary expence, should General Jackson on a nearer view and more correct knowledge of the actual state of things, think the force already under his command adequate to the defence of the Country against any force the Enemy may bring against him. For the Arming, equiping and supplying of these troops we must rely in the first instance on the local resources and the Arrangements of your Excellency. The staff which have heretofore been employed for the Tennessee Militia are probably well qualified for this expedition.

"Herewith enclosed you will receive copies of the contracts for supplying rations and I must request your Excellency to make such further arrangements as may be found necessary. It is impossible at this time to furnish the funds for this object. The proper Agents must be authorised to draw on this Department at sixty and ninety days untill money can be remitted to meet the expenditures. I have the honor to be

"P. S. To guard against any misconception of the views of the President, I wish it to be distinctly understood that the march of these 5000 men is not to be delayed till you hear from Genl. Jackson, but is to commence without a moments delay, after the receipt of this letter."

fore draw on him for the necessary funds. Of these expenditures you will keep a regular account. Should it be found more convenient you are authorised to draw on this Department, for such necessary expenditures at sixty or thirty days sight.

I have the honor to be

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

Mobile, September 30, 1814.

. . . . I am much pleased to learn that the Louisianians have become sensible of the importance of the contest in which we find ourselves engaged, to their local interests. As far as the law permits me will I go hand in hand with you, in drawing forth the energies of your member of the Union. I particularly approve the call upon the mounted men of Feliciana. As to the Corps to be raised in New Orleans, I will guarantee the promises made to them by you, and steps will be taken to furnish the necessary supplies.

Permit me to express my extreme regret and astonishment, that those wretches, the refugees from Barataria and its dependencies, should find an asylum in your city; that they should even be permitted to remain in it, without being strictly scrutinized under your existing vagrant laws. Should not your consultations with the City Council and Parish Jury have already eventuated in some provisions on this head, let me beg you, immediately, to cause them to be arrested and detained, until further advice. Unless some precautions of this nature are used, you rest in a fatal security; you will have to lament your country ravaged, and your city reduced to ashes by these incendiaries.

I am much at a loss with regard to the topography of the west bank of the Mississippi. You will therefore, if you please, procure, and transmit as early as possible, a correct chart of the country including opelousas, atakapas, Barataria and the Balize. I am credibly informed that Lafon's Map is very inaccurate in these particular points. Therefore forbid a reference to his authority.

Until this desirable information is obtained, together with an exact sounding of the shores of Grand Isle, Grand Terre, Cheniere, Caminada, La Temple, etc. it is morally impossible for me to form a correct estimate of the force requisite for, or the propriety of occupying that point. Indeed, under my present impressions, the position would serve as for little more than a bait for the enemy. A vast length of time would be consumed in erecting works and should the enemy advance before those works should be completed, the troops would have no other recourse than a speedy, disgraceful retreat. Disgraceful, because, in occupying the ground they had thrown the gauntlet. . . . .

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 29.

[2] Maj. B. Lafon, formerly chief engineer of the military district, made, in conjunction with Maj. A. L. Latour, a map of the Louisiana region, *Carte Générale du Territoire d'Orléans, comprenant aussi la Floride Occidentale et une Portion du Territoire du Mississipi* (New Orleans, 1805). Latour however speaks of it as very accurate. See *Historical Memoir*, p. 8, and p. 68, *ante*.

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Head Quarters 7 M D Mobile September 30, 1814.

Sir, I had the honor to receive your letter of the 19 Inst by the hands of Captain Doherty and beg your Excellency to accept my thanks for the promptitude with which you have assembled and marched your quota of troops. Captain Darhertys Troop is composed of fine young men calculated to endure hardships. Their horses have arrived in tolerable order and I anticipate great advantage from their service in procuring intelligence of the enemys movements and ability to take him in detail whenever he shall have the temerity to cross the Perdido. My dissappointment in procuring a supply of Muskets from New Orleans has made it necessary that I should have every one in possession of Colo Arbuckle[2] as well as those to be procured from the Posts on the Alabama and Tombigbee brought on to head Quarters without delay.

I have directed the Quarter Master Genl at New Orleans to furnish you with any number of arms you may want for your cavalry and the necessary Tents and camp equipage for your troops upon your order. I have ordered the D Commissary of ordinance at New Orleans to have all the arms in his possession immediately repaired and may probably have it in my power to spare you any number of muskets you may require. I approve of the disposition you have made of your troops and beg you will hasten them on to Mount Vernon.

I had received the degrading news of the burning of our capital by the enemy previous to the receipt of your letter, and although I like every American fealt much mortification at an event so well calculated to shew the embecility of our military preparations and I might add the general measures adopted for the protection of the country as well as the general apathy which has prevaded the greater section of the Union, Yet I am well assured that it will have the happy tendency to arouse the people, to a vigorous, and united effort, in the defence of the country. That it will render the war popular and that such men will be selected as are calculated to, and determined on discharging the duties assigned them regardless of interested or popular motives. We may then look forwarded to a termination of the war upon terms honorable, and advantageous to our country and not until them. I sympathise with you most cordially in the afflicting loss of your Brother Major Holmes.[3] But I am still doubtful of the rectitude of the report as sufficient time has elapsed since the report has been circulated for the receipt of Colo Croghans[4] official report, without its appearance. Yet I would advise you to prepare your mind for the worst, and console yourself with the pleasing reflection that he has nobly yielded himself a sacrifice to the good of his country and that his memory will live in the greatful reccollection of his countrymen. Accept my best

[1] The original, written by T. L. Butler, Jackson's aide-de-camp, is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

[2] Mathew Arbuckle, lieutenant-colonel of the 3d Infantry.

[3] Maj. Andrew H. Holmes, 32d Infantry, killed near Mackinaw Aug. 4, 1814.

[4] Lieut.-Col. George Croghan, 2d Rifles, who in July had led an expedition from Detroit to attack Mackinaw, but was defeated and returned.

wishes for your own health, and believe me very respectfully yr mo obdt servt

By command

P S Since writing this the Genl has been taken so sick that I did not wish to ask his signature and have taken the liberty to put my own name.

T. L. Butler aid de camp

To Edward Livingston.[1]

Mobile, September 30, 1814.

Sir, I was highly gratified by the letter which I had the honor to receive from you, under date of the 21st inst. At the same time I experience a degree of mortification, that I could not avail myself of your polite offer to afford me the benefit of your general information and observation.

By law I am allowed only two Aids de Camp; and those two are already chosen; and altho' I should be proud to receive your services; yet my ideas of military etiquette would not admit the solecism of an Aid de Camp detached from Head Quarters. However, Sir, as Chairman of the Committee of public safety, and in your individual capacity, I shall be extremely thankful to receive every information, which you may communicate, which may more effectually enable me to extend protection to your portion of the 7th Mil'y District. Permit, me, sir, to assure you of the sincerity with which I reciprocate your expressions of respect and esteem, and

Remain, sir,

To Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Benton.[1]

Pierce's Stockade,[2] October, 1814.

. . . . Your note of yesterday evening, the petition of the officers ordered on the recruiting service, has been received and submitted. I am directed by the major-general commanding to reply that he applauds the patriotic ardor that it breathes, but from the conclusion of your letter accompanying the report of the consolidation of the companies, added to the frequent applications made by Major Peacock for a furlough to visit Nashville, and lastly if he could not obtain it would make a tender of his resignation, the major-general did believe that having no command here that not only the wishes of some, but the publick services would be promoted, by the order given and he further adds, that he cannot in justice to the feelings he bears, to the brave and meritorious services of many of the platoon officers, whose names he sees on the list, that served with him

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 28.

[1] Benton served in the 39th Regiment, of which Col. John Williams was commander. This regiment was disbanded May 17, 1815, and its units were distributed among other regiments. The letter from which this matter is taken was written by Colonel Robert Butler, adjutant-general, "by command"; but part of it is in Jackson's handwriting, and it is this part which is here reproduced. Its interest is chiefly due to the strained feelings between Jackson and Benton, and the incipient quarrel between Jackson and Williams.

[2] See p. 9, n. 3, *ante.*

in the last winters campaign, and for whom he has no command, intermingle in the ranks of the Choctaws. He has seen their prowess and has no doubt on similar occasions occasions would offer, that it would again be exemplified. The major-general for these reasons and having a sincere desire to see these brave officers at the head of their respective commands, where fresh laurels await them, and finding that they cannot fill their companies here cannot think of recinding his order.

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, October 2, 1814.

. . . . The Drafted Militia have not attended as punctually as could have been wished; but the Law must be brought to bear against them. I have called into service two companies of Horse; one will be here probably on Tomorrow, and another in three weeks. I am anxious to hear, that you had planted the American Standard on the Forts of Pensacola; The Government must anticipate it, and the Nations will applaud the Act. . . . .

I am Sir

COLONEL GEORGE T. ROSS TO JACKSON.[1]

NEW ORLEANS, October 3, 1814.

Sir, I have the Honor to address you from this City, whither I have returned after an absence of twenty days, on a fatigueing but as it has turned out a fortunate expedition; my letter of the 8th September gave you the information of the intended attack on the Pirate Lafites Establishment. On the 11th of September at one in the morning I embarked with a detachment of seventy of my Regiment (the Governor having requested my personal services) on board of Gun barges, prepared for the occasion by Commodore Patterson, and dropped down the river, arriving at the English Turn Barracks by Sun rise, thus passing the City and suburbs with out being observed. On the night of the 13th we arrived at the Balize and the 15th in the morning embarked on board the Gun Vessels, reascended the Mississippi, to the South west pass, crossed the Bar and on the morning of the 16th stood in for the Harbor, of Grand Terre. The Vessels of Lafitte then plainly in view, formed in Line of Battle, awaited our approach altho: in some confusion, as our appearance was the first intimation they had of our intentions. The Gun Vessels on board of which were the Commodore and myself both grounded on going in, we however immediately took to our Barges; the other four Gun Vessels with the small schooner the Sea horse, Two Gun Barges and a ships Cutter continuing their Course as was ordered in the event of any of the Vessels grounding in crossing the Bar. The Enemy suddenly broke Cutting loose some and firing others of their Fleet. They were pursued by such boats as could even be brought within Cannon Shot of them who succeeded in saving a Fine Schooner with a Twelve pounder and four smaler pieces

[1] Colonel Ross commanded the 44th Regiment of Infantry. Jackson considered the immunity that the pirates had enjoyed in Louisiana a national disgrace, and issued orders that they should be broken up. Colonel Ross's report shows that it was not a difficult thing to do.

fired by the Enemy. The Gallantry of Lieut Jones of the Navy [2] effected this, who boarded after the vessel had been a long time on fire, The fore shrouds and foresail burnt as also the Plank around the foremast. Lt. Gordon of the 44th [3] and Purser Shields distinguished themselves In the pursuit. Of mr. Shields it is not my province to Speak as the Commodore will do him justice; but as it respects Mr. Gordon I am proud he belongs to my Regiment.

Many prisoners have been taken some of consequence, who have been delivered over to the Laws of the Country they have been offending by outrageous acts of Piracy and generally believed of horrible murders, inasmuch as we never hear of the Crews of the vessels taken by them. After burning all the Establishments, Telegraphes along the Coast, etc. of this Band repairing the vessels taken (except those we were obliged to Burn, to wit an unrigged Brig and two Schooners aground) possessing ourselves of their Merchandise to as great an Extent as time would allow, we with our Prises Eight in number, proceeded to Sea, Entered the South west pass and on the first of October in the evening anchored the whole Fleet opposite this City.

I cannot but congratulate this Station on the acquisition of this Fleet, the injury is done not only to Lafite but is a loss to our British Enemy. The letters of Col. Nichols his Proclamation with Capt. Peircys orders which have been forwarded you inform you of their views and the Enclosure No 1 shews Lafites acceptation. This may be termed the first enterprise of the 44th and from the conduct of the officers and men, I presage to my Country a valuable regiment, particularly as you have with you some [of] its officers and men. I wish it was in my power to fill it Speedily. The scattered population of this state the coming in of all most all my officers from Tennessee, the Regiment not more than half officered and many of them not Speaking a word of English are heavy impediments. I am however after all Casualties which have happened since recruiting Commenced Four Hundred Strong. The prospect brightens too in recruiting. Lieut Peters made Twenty five recruits at Baton Rouge last week, and as the militia will Soon cease paying heavy Bounties for Substitutes I calculate to increase rapidly if Funds shall be furnished me sufficiently large to carry it on with Spirit. my Supplies have been received in dribbs, and irregularly; the paymaster Sometimes informing me he has no funds for the 44th at others he can spare a small sum. Frequently when a particular Station is successful and apply for funds I am without it. This will however from information recvd by district Paymaster Pemberton not long be the case.

A Mr. Patteson has applied for the discharge of Jeremiah Hinton of the 44th from Tennessee; this old Gentleman has one or two Sons in Service which he appears to rejoice at and only asks the discharge of Hinton in consequence of his being married having several children and some Estate which he says is known to you. He promises me a younger man in his place and if it meets your approbation I have no objections. Enclosed

[2] Thomas ap Catesby Jones, afterward commodore.
[3] Smith W. Gordon of Louisiana.

is a plate of Barataria, Painted and Laid down by Lafon [4] from my observations and soundings taken Some Eighteen months since but found by Captain Patterson and myself Correct.

I hope sincerely your health is reestablished and am with Respect

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

FAYETTEVILLE, TENN., October 4, 1814.

Dear Sir, Agreably to your order calling for volunteer mounted gunmen, a Rendezvous was ordered at this place on the 28th Ult. owing to the short notice, and the distance the most of the men had to travel, the companies were not complete untill the 2nd Instant, since which time I have been detained by the contractors for want of traveling rations, they have now a supply, and in the course of this day, I shall take up the line of march cross the Ten. River at the upper end of the shoals, by Levy Colberts,[1] James Browns, Pichlands, and to Fort St. Stephens, where I shall expect to receive your orders.

Enclosed is a Roster of officers and companies that are mustered into service under my command, besides two other companies, towit, Capt. McMahan and Capt. Steel (late Col Steel) the latter of whom is ordered to take charge of the hundred public horses ordered by you from Nashville. I was notified by the Q. M. Mr. Camp that the horses would be ready by the 6th and a request for men to carry them. Capt. Steels company has been detached for that service. Four companies from East Ten. has been reported to me and will come on through the creek nation.

I have been induced to receive the increased number of men over and above your first call, from several circumstances, towit, the Presidents proclamation, yours to Col Butler, wherein you mention the enemy on your coats, and believing, the Militia Infantry from Ten. will not reach you in time to meet them, and finally believing their services absolutely necessary to the protection of your District—from the foregoing reasons and many others, I hope you will approve the measure and receive my command as organised. Major Wm. Russell will follow after us with a few choice men. I shall use every possible exertion to reach you the soonest possible—of the time required you can judge as well as I can, I think I can march 30 miles a day, and will probably reach St. Stephens by the 19th or 20th Instant

I am Sir,

TO GOVERNOR BLOUNT.[1]

MOBILE, October 7, 1814.

Sir, Your letter of the 20th Ulto. reached me on the night of the 4th inst. and had I not been confined by extreme indisposition, it should have been answered by the return mail.

[4] See p. 63, n. 2, *ante*.
[1] See vol. I., p. 323, note.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 45.

With all the attention which I have devoted to the examination of my order calling into the field the quota of the militia from Tennessee, I cannot discover wherein it requires the militia to be furnished otherwise than "*as organized*". Should there be such a passage in the order, let me beg you to point it out. I have not been placed in my present situation by my government merely to conciliate the feelings of the militia. And you well know, that I shall endeavour to do my duty, and defend my country with the means in my possession, regardless of popular whim or the murmurs of a mutinous faction; of men, who *talk* of their feelings for their country's rights, interests and honour; but who have never justified their feelings by their actions.

At Fort Jackson, very recently, has been furnished a disgraceful proof of the existence of such a faction. At a moment when the safety, nay, the very existence of our goverment required all our strength to keep down the influence of the enemy among the conquered Creeks, opinions were insidiously propagated, which resulted in dangerous, open mutiny. Those concerned in it, declare themselves to have been induced to it by the ground taken by Genl. Washington, and by the explanation of the law given by you last fall; by which, they say, they cannot be continued in the service of the United States, longer than three months at any one time. But sir, were you to say to these deluded people, publicly, what is the truth, that their term of service was six months, and that for that space of time they were bound to perform all the duties of the soldiers of the United States, our State would be no longer degraded in the eyes of the Union by continued mutinies. Even now, sir, a remedy may be applied to this evil. Let a proclamation be issued, publishing their mutiny and desertion, directing every step to be taken for their apprehension; and ordering them, when apprehended, to be immediately sent to my Head Quarters.

In my appeal to the people for their voluntary service, I left them free to the choice of all, other than their field officers. In this exception I was justified by long experience, which has shewn that to fill the superior stations in an army, requires a degree of information and energy, which is not ordinarily possessed by those individuals, who wou'd, most probably, unite the suffrages of the Soldiery. What is the fact established by the recent disturbances among the militia, governed by men of their own choice. It is that he alone will become their idol, who gives the greatest latitude to their insubordination. Permit me, here, also to observe, that the good of the service would be materially promoted, if the example of the patriotic Shelby [2] were followed; if in assigning Commands, respect was paid, rather to merit and qualifications for duty, than to the date of Commissions.

However, I shall be very thankful, for any volunteers, in any shape, which your Excellency may be pleased to send. Our country needs them. I had hoped, and do still hope to see you stand forward in a patriotic

[2] Isaac Shelby, governor of Kentucky.

appeal to the citizens of Tennessee on this subject; inviting them to the field to save their country from subjugation and ruin. We have too long rested on feelings unsupported by proper action. By a careless, misplaced confidence our Capital has been lost; and we shall not recover the national disgrace, unless energy becomes the order of the day.

I have the honor to be,

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Mobile, October 10, 1814.

Sir, Since the affair of the 15th ulto. at the point of Mobile, the British have remained quietly in Pensacola, awaiting, it is said, reinforcements, and, in the mean time, employed in drilling their Indian allies. The Citizens of Pensacola have become tired of their guests; even the infatuated Governor, Don Manriques, has quarelled with the British Commandant, Col. Nicoll. The latter, to convince the Governor of his power and prowess, paraded his savage force, marched it thro' the town, saluting his Excellency with the war whoop, and threatening to scalp all the inhabitants. Thus, as we are informed, ended the strife.

My patroles keep the hostile Indians in close quarters. A party, seven in number, ventured out the other day; the patrole from Fort Montgomery[2] fell in with them, killed four, and wounded three; two of whom got back to Pensacola.

My undivided attention and all my disposeable force have been employed to place Fort Bowyer,[3] in, a complete state of defence. I have sent to new Orleans for heavier guns, and hope to have them well mounted, in a few days, on the battery of the fort. Major Lawrence has succeeded in raising from the wreck of the Hermes, 11 32 lb. carronades, and one 12 lb. Carronade. He expects to be able to recover the rest of her guns. This Fort, when completed, together with the ship now on the stocks at Tchefoneti (which I would recommend to be finished), well manned, and armed with long 24 and 32 pounders, would effectually protect the Bay, and of course the Town of Mobile. These points being thus safe, the troops now kept here to cover them, might be disposed of for other purposes. I beg leave to refer to my former letters as to the necessity of having possession of Pensacola, and confidently hope to receive instructions relative thereto.

The Citizens of New Orleans have addressed me, calling for additional defence. My whole force would not satisfy the demands they make.[4] I take the liberty of enclosing a Copy of their Communication

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 52; also in War Dept. files.

[2] Near Pierce's stockade; see p. 9, n. 3, *ante*.

[3] At the entrance to Mobile Bay.

[4] This sentence shows how little Jackson at the time had come to realize the danger threatening New Orleans. He still thought that the British wished to seize Mobile and march overland to the Walnut Hills (Vicksburg), and thus isolate and seize New Orleans.

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

War Department, October 10, 1814.

Sir, There is strong reason to presume from intelligence just received from our Ministers at Ghent that a British force consisting of twelve or fifteen thousand men would sail from Ireland early in september for New Orleans and the Mobile with intention to take possession of that city and the Country through which the great Rivers on which the whole of the states westward of the Allegany mountains so escentially depend. This invasion must be met with firmness and repelled with promptness. I have required the Governors of Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia to communicate with you relative to the march of the troops detached from those States to meet the Occasion, viz. 7500 from Tennessee 2500 from Kentucky and 2500 from Georgia the whole will be subject to your orders and disposition.

I have the honor to be,

PS. you will not fail to secure the friendship and cooperation of the Creeks, Chocktaws, and other tribes in our favour, should the menaced invasion take effect. To enable you to do this blankets etc. will be forwarded to you without delay to our agents with those tribes. You may however calculate on the supply in your communications with them.

[*Indorsed, in Jackson's handwriting:*] Note these blankets never got on untill June 1815.

Major Alexander Ralston to Jackson.[1]

Fort Jackson, October 10, 1814.

Dear Genrl. I have this day in the absence of the Col receved your order of the 2nd Inst ordering him to call on Genrl Taylor to aprehend the diserters from this Regement your order of the 19th our col has strictly attended to but the diserters pased Deposit before the armey. they heard of the armey comeing on and dispersed in difrent directions pased one Regement that was ordered to stop them and about thirty was attacted by a company of Regulars who fired on them kiled one and wounded two at Huntsvill. Col Pipkin sent on an expres on the 20th to Tennesee with a list of their names to go in the papers ofring a reward of ten dollars for each: there is fifteen voluntaraly returned to their posts; we have a verey helples Regement at this time there is upwards of one hundred that have not yet entred the servis and by disertion and sicknes we have not three hundred men fit for servis. at fort williams they have sufered verey much it appears principely occationed by spoiled flower. there is fifteen dead at that fort and nearley all the privats that could walk diserted from that fort the fue left are stil mostley sick. Mjr Smith and Dr Clark I heard yesterday were at the point of death. there is more sick at this fort than was some time back. Dr wm Wyne[2] is verey unwel with fevour: I lament our situation and perticularly thos unhapy diserters who have

[1] Alexander Ralston was second major of the First Regiment of Tennessee militia (Col. Philip Pipkin). For details as to "the Execution of the Six Militiamen", see p. 60, n. 1, *ante.*

[2] See p. 19, *ante.*

willingly brought distruction on themselves after every exertion had ben made to shew their dainger: . . . .

To Mrs. Jackson.

Mobile, October 11, 1814.

My Love: Colo. Butler reached me late last night and I have barely time to acknowledge the recpt of your letter by him, I shall write you fully by next mail

I hope ere long to have it in my power to fix on some point where you can meet me. I hope the force that is comeing on will put it in my power to drive the enemy from this quarter, as soon as that is done I shall move my head quarters to orleans and send across for you and our little son. be comforted, be calm be resigned to the will of heaven. I trust he has in store for us, a few years of social retirement and earthly comfort and bliss. I am recovered. I am clear of fever, and I hope to regain my strength shortly. With my prays for your health, and my family, I bid you an affectionate adieu.

P. S. the Patriotism of the family does them great honor, and fills me with affection for them. Genl Smith for his example deserves well. I wish my little Andrew was able to ride.

To the President and Directors of the Nashville Bank.[1]

Mobile, October 11, 1814.

Gentlemen, The very liberal manner in which the Nashville Bank has advanced funds to the agents of the United States, to facilitate the operations of War in the district under my immediate command, reflects the highest honour on the Direction of that Institution, and calls for an expression of my warmest feelings. Unfeignedly do I thank you. I had on various occasions witnessed the patriotism of the citizens of Tennessee: on a late appeal to them, my most sanguine expectations have been exceeded. They voluntarily step forward to defend their country, and if necessary, to offer their lives as a sacrifice for its preservation. You, gentlemen, have declared by your acts that there is no consideration which should not be sacrificed to the attainment of these desireable objects. With me, be it, to convince you and Tennessee that your confidence is not misplaced.

With a hope that the Nashville Bank may long retain the high commercial standing which it now possesses, and which it undoubtedly merits, I remain, with sentiments of respect and consideration, Gentlemen,

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Mobile, October 14, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th ulto. with its inclosures, by an express which reached this place yesterday. Mine of the 27th August, will have given you information, similar

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 56.
[1] *Ibid.*, p. 62; also in War Dept. files.

to that communicated by you, which I had received from Pensacola; and of the steps taken by me, in consequence thereof. A letter of the 17th Septr. will have informed you of the check which these British braggadocios received on the 16th Sept. at Fort Bowyer. Since that they have very quietly retired to Pensacola to repair their much damaged vessels; and have not again insulted us or our country with addresses or fulsome proclamations.

The organised militia from West Tennessee are on their march, and will join me in a few days; those from the Eastern division are far in the rear. The brave volunteers, from West Tennessee, whom I had invited to the field, with Genl. Coffee at their head, 1000 strong, are close at hand.[2] As soon as I am thus reinforced, I will endeavour to dislodge the enemy from his stronghold, before the additional force which is expected, can reach him. With this valuable body of men, added to my present force, I hope to be able to defend the country without the loss of a village. They have, from their alacrity in obeying my call, realized the maxim that every citizen is a good soldier.

A severe attack of fever has confined me for several days; but I am recovering my strength, and shall be able to take the field the moment I have a disposeable force to wield. As soon as security is given to this section of my district, I shall hasten to New Orleans. In the mean time I have directed the forts to be put in the best state of defence, good videttes to be employed, and recommended vigilance in every quarter. The militia of Louisiana are in the field; and should an attempt be made to approach that quarter, my mounted men, can, by forced marches, soon reach any point of attack.

The Choctaw nation has been much disaffectide; but I am induced to believe that the measures which I have pursued, have restored them to a proper mode of thinking. I have called them to the field, and about 600 of the Lower Six Towns, chickasa boys and Uwanies[3] have assembled. The Upper Towns are also coming in. Thus I hope to circumvent Capt. Woodbine, and his red allies. I have ordered Majr. M'Intosh of the Cowetas[4] to raise a force and destroy the British establishments on the

[2] The state of the aid coming to Jackson from Tennessee is summed up in the following letter from Governor Blount to Jackson, Oct. 13, 1814: "*Sir,* I have the honor to transmit to you, a copy of the Secy War's letter to me, of the 25th Septr. The five thousand Troops called for by that letter are, of this date, ordered to rendezvous, two thousand from the 1st Division, at Knoxville, on the 13th of Novr., and three thousand, from the 2d Division, at Columbia, on the same day. They will be commanded by one Major Genl., and two Brigadiers (Coulter and Smith). By my order they will take the routes which the Major Genl. will direct, and he most likely will direct those of the 1st Division to march by Fort Jackson, and those of the 2d, to cross Tenn., at the lower end of the shoals, or by Colbert's ferry, thence by St. Stephens to your Head Quarters, or as you may otherwise order him. The returns of the election for Major General are not recd. as yet, but are expected in tomorrow, and report, verbal, says that Col. Carroll is elected, if so, he will command the detachment, every exertion will be made to give you the aid of Tennessee; how our Troops may be armed, I cannot say; it will be well for you to provide arms for a number of these Troops, if in your power to do so, and let me know how many may be relied on there, they will march to you with, or without arms, relying, in the latter case, on you for a supply."

[3] The Six Towns were the southeastern division of the Choctaws. The Yowani were also a branch of the Choctaw nation.

[4] Major William McIntosh, son of a Scottish trader and a Creek mother, was the chief leader of the Creek party friendly to the whites.

Apalachicola. He marched on the 23rd ulto. therefore I may daily expect to hear from him. The gun boats have not, as yet, regained their stations in our waters. Indeed, rumour states that they are blockaded by the Frigate Chesapeake [5] off Barataria.

Information was received last night from Pensacola, that the British are fitting out a number of Barges, mounting 22 lb. and 12 lb. carronades. I have no doubt their intention is to capture all vessels bound from New Orleans to Mobile, and thus cut off all our supplies. Should it be true, that Commodore Patterson with his flotilla is blockaded, as before stated, the whole of our coast from Pass Heron to Petite Coquille is exposed to the operation of their armed boats. It is to be [me] unaccountable that that officer does not advise me of his situation, that I might provide for the defence of that frontier, and hasten on from Tennessee supplies for my army.

I transmit you copies of an order to Col. Milton of the 3rd Infantry, who was ordered by Genl. Pinckney to Georgia on the recruiting service; as also, of his letters to me. He has not yet joined his Regt. he has with him all the officers, noncommissioned officers and music that can be spared for that service; and Lt. Col. Arbuckle, of the Regt. who was ordered by the War department to superintend the recruiting service for it, in the district assigned to it, is at Washington, M. T. with the funds, and without either officers or music. I request that an order may be taken by the Department of War upon this subject.

I have the honor to be,

Brigadier-General John Coffee to Jackson.

Camp at Peachlands,[1] October 14, 1814.

Sir, I send on Lt. Dochsey to advise you of my approach, shall use every industry in my power to reach you the earliest possible, indeed every thing urges me to do so, not only the probability of being wanted to act under your directions, but supplies, will be very scanty untill I get down, our rations nearly out, corn, none, at this place I have purchased one peck to a horse, which is all I can get, I learned from Col Butler and others, that 30 miles below this can get plenty of Beef, have sent on one of my quarter masters to have it ready when I arrive, I observe in yours to Col Butler, you directed him, by way of St. Stephens, and then to mount Vernon, by young Peachland, James, and others I learn it is 30 miles out of the way to pass St. Stephens, to Mount Vernon, and also, that at the former place there is no supplies of any kind, if I find this to be correct as I approach the parting of the roads, and do not hear from you, I shall take the direct road to Fort Stoddart or M. Vernon; when I shall hope to draw rations for my men, as by that time they will have lived several days on Jerked beef alone.

[5] The American frigate which had been captured by the *Shannon* June 1, 1813.

[1] John Pitchlynn's, in the Choctaw nation (see vol. I., p. 358, note), was sometimes called "Peachlands". Coffee left Fayetteville, Tenn., where he organized his force, on Oct. 5, marching southward through the Chickasaw and Choctaw lands in what is now Mississippi.

I left Fayitteville on the mor[n]ing of the 5th Inst. and to this place is about 200 miles, from this down the road is better, and I suppose a similar time will carry me to Fort Stoddart, perhaps less time,

I have the honour

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Benton to Jackson.[1]

Fort Montgomery, October 16, 1814.

Sir, A messenger from Boyles [2] has come in since dark, and brings the two letters which are enclosed. He met the Choctaws, 2 or 300 in number who left this post to day, and directed their course to the Escambia, on the waters of which the Red clubs [3] have collected and are still collecting cattle; and the balance of them (the Choctaws) will be pushed out in the morning to occupy a pass on the Escambia called *Chemuckly*,[4] through which the Clubs must all run to arrive at Pensacola when started in the woods above. Boyles is guarded at his own house by a piquet of 40 Indians and 6 Spaniards; and earnestly begs that he and his family may be brought off. Col. Carsons command and that of Major Hinds will go down to do him that service; and the messenger offers to return and conduct them to the spot where the piquet sleeps every night without fires.

The messenger states that the English are reparing St. Georges Redoubt *one third* of which is now down. He also states than when the expected reinforcement arrives, which they represent to be very formidable, they will make an instant movement upon the interior of the country by the way of this post; intending to march with so much rapidity that the news of their coming shall not preceede them. I would send the messenger to you, but deem him essential to Col. Carson as a guide, by whom he is to be brought back, and then he will be forwarded to you. . . . .

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, October 17, 1814.

. . . . The marshall will send you by this occasion, some interesting letters shewing what is doing, and expected at *Pensacola*. In every sence of the word, *it* is an Enemy's Port, and I have requested Colo MacRea to prohibit all vessels proceeding from hence to Pensacola passing the Forts under his command.[1] The Seventh Regiment has arrived here; its

[1] Jackson had stationed Lieutenant-Colonel Benton, with a part of the 39th Regiment, at Fort Montgomery, to keep his eye on the hostile Creeks. From Benton he received many letters relating to the Indians and several, like this, giving information about affairs in Pensacola.

[2] See p. 48, n. 2, *ante*.

[3] Or Red Sticks; Indians disaffected to the United States.

[4] Chumuckla, some 25 miles above Pensacola.

[1] This request was dated Oct. 15, 1814, and was as follows:

"An English Force having taken part at Pensacola, that place must for the present, be considered as an *Enemys Port*, and having reason to believe, that a larger Intercourse between *it* and New Orleans, might be used for carrying to the *Enemy Information useful to him and injurious to us* I have to request you sir, to permit no Vessel bound from *hence to Pensacola* to pass the Forts under your command."

On Oct. 14 Jackson wrote Commodore Daniel T. Patterson, commanding the naval forces at New Orleans, a sharp note complaining that vessels carrying supplies were allowed to go from New Orleans to Pensacola. See p. 80, n. 2, *post*.

presence was desirable. 550 of the detached Militia will be here from Baton Rouge in a few days, and will be stationed at the English turn until your further orders: a hundred mounted Riflemen at St. Francisville, stand ready to move at a moments warning, and Colo. Johnson of Rapide is organizing a partisan Corps to be composed entirely of young men. A patriotic spirit prevades the state, and I observe with sincere pleasure, that you possess the entire confidence of the people. Colo. Johnson writes me, that he will with pleasure, proceed *promptly* to Mobile, provided you should think his corps would be serviceable in that quarter, and he begs me to be the orgain of communicating the same. his corps will probably be from 250 to 400 strong. . . . . .

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, October 17, 1814.

Sir, Your letter of the 27th of September, with its inclosures, did not reach me until the evening of the 15th Instant. By some mistake, this letter was sent to Natchez, and from that place it descended to New Orleans, and in this way arose the delay. I regret it, because your address to the Louisianians is calculated to produce the Greatest Good, and I should have been happy to have laid it *earlier* before the people; But it shall be printed on this day, and I will take care to give it circulation; the General order respecting the Glorious defence of Fort Boyer, has already been printed in all the papers here, and a republication is unnecessary.

The Publication of your address to the free people of Colour, is delayed a few days; an unfortunate misunderstanding between the officers of the Battalion of Colour, which excites much Interest, is the subject of investigation before a Court of Enquiry now sitting; the difficulties will I hope be soon arranged, and in the mean time I have deemed it *best* to postpone giving publicity to your address. I must not disguise from you the fact, that many excellent citizens will disapprove the policy you wish to observe towards the free people of Colour; The Battalion already organized, limited as it is, excites much distrust, and I should not be surprised, if at the insuing legislature, an attempt should be made to put it down;[1] I must confess however, *that for myself,* I have no cause to lament the confidence, which the local Government has placed in these

[1] The following act was passed by the Louisiana legislature and on Sept. 6, 1812, approved by the governor: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana in General Assembly Convened, That the Governor of the State of Louisiana is Authorized by virtue of the Present Act, to organize in a corps of Militia, as soon as he may judge proper, for the defence of this State, certain free men of Colour, to be chosen from among the creoles, [*i. e.*, natives of America] and from among Such as Shall have paid a State tax. The Commander in Chief shall provide for the choice of their officers; Provided however, that their commanding officer be a white man; and for the manner of arming Them, and he Shall prescribe the Kind of discipline Which to him may appear most conducive to the success and good order of the Said Corps; Provided always, that the Said Corps Shall not consist of more than four Companies, each of Which, officers included, shall not consist of more than sixty four men, and that such as shall enter into Said corps must have been for two years previous thereto, owners, or sons of owners, of a Landed property of at least the value of three hundred dollars."

men; their General Deportment has been correct and they have done nothing to create in my Mind, any doubt as to their fidelity. It does appear to me, that at the present crisis these men ought to be attended to; that it is not probable, they will remain careless and disinterested spectators of the Present Contest, and *more particularly if the war* (as is apprehended) *should be brought into the bosom of Louisiana.* But on the contrary, that their feelings and best wishes would be enlisted in some way, and that if we distrusted their fidelity the Enemy might with the more ease, acquire their confidence. But Sir, this mode of reasoning, makes no impression upon some respectable citizens here; they think, that in putting arms into the hands of men of Colour, we only add to the force of the Enemy, and that nothing short of placing them in every respect upon a footing with white citizens (which our constitution forbids) could conciliate their affections. To two Gentlemen of Influence (members of the committee of defence) with whom I conversed on last evening, your policy of raising a Regiment, was suggested, and that by removing it from the state, the Jealousy and distrust of the citizens would cease; they however, seemed to think, that the Measure was only advisable, provided there could be a guaranty, against the return of the Regiment; But that if at the close of the War, the Individuals were to settle in Louisiana, with a Knowledge of the use of Arms, and *that pride of Distinction,* which a soldiers pursuits so naturally inspires, they would prove dangerous. Such are the Sentiments of men well informed, and well disposed, and I transmit them for your perusal. My impression is, that several companies composed of men of Colour may be raised upon the plan you suggest. But I cannot say to what number; such as are natives of Louisiana, are much attached to their families and Homes, and I am inclined to think would not inlist during the War; But such as have emigrated from St. Domingo and Cuba, may most probably be desirous to Join the army.

I am Sir,

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

War Department, October 19, 1814.

Sir, The great calls on the General Government for the supply of the militia of the several states with arms; has very much reduced the numbers in the several Depots; as this demand will probably continue and be encreased; and as the waste and destruction of arms in the hands of the militia is a growing and most serious evil; it becomes an important duty of the Commanding officers of the different Military Districts, to pay the most prompt and strict attention to remedy the evil, and to take immediate and effectual measures for the safe keeping and repair of all such arms.

To attain this object you will issue a general order, directing that all arms which have been issued by the United States to the Militia within your Military District, should on their quiting the service, be deliver'd to some officer of the ordnance department, or such other as you may ap-

point, who will take care to have the arms safely kept and who's duty it shall be made, to collect all arms that may be found within your District; that are out of repair, and to employ proper persons either of the army or others to put them in complete order. . . . .

THE GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY (ISAAC SHELBY) TO JACKSON.

FRANKFORT, KY., October 20, 1814.

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 26th Ulto. by the last southern Mail. on which day I also received a letter from the Department of war requesting me to forward to your aid 2500 men from this state with the greatest possible dispatch.

I have in pursuance thereof ordered three regiments to rendezvous at different points upon the Ohio River, as you will discover by the enclosed copy of my General order for that purpose, these regiments are part of the 5500 Militia organised under a former requisition from the Secretary of War, and are by the details each one thousand strong, but as their organization was compleated some time ago they may not from deaths, removals and other casualties march more than the number called for and I deemed it better to exceed than fall short of the requisition. I was induced to take this course from the Conviction that the troops would reach you sooner by descending the Mississippi to some point at which they would receive your orders to land and march directly to your Head Quarters or elsewhere as you may direct.

The Deputy Quarter Master General Colonel Richd. Taylor,[1] is directed to use all possible diligence to procure boats for the transportation of the Detachment and you may be assured that every exertion shall be made to forward the troops to you. The want of funds however in the hands of the Q. M. Genl. may create delays that I cannot foresee.

I have the honour to be

P. S. The troops will leave this state without arms I presume they will be forwarded by the Governmt. should you not already be supplied. There is no public arms in Kentucky[2]

TO MRS. JACKSON.

MOBILE, October 21st, 1814.

My Dear: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the recpt of your affectionate and Patriotic letter of the 10th instant I wrote you last night which will reach you by the same mail that carries this to which I refer you.

Genl Coffees near approach, gives not only confidence to me, but to the country, and I trust shortly that I will be able to drive the lyon from his den, and give thereby permanant security to this section of the lower

[1] Father of Gen. Zachary Taylor.

[2] Col. William Carroll, about to lead his detachment from Nashville to New Orleans, wrote to Jackson Oct. 28, 1814, that he had no arms but that a supply was in Newport, Ky. Governor Blount, he said, refused to apply for them. Carroll said he would take the responsibility and apply for them himself.

country. The approach of the British to and burning the capitol, may be considered a disgrace to the nation, but it will give impulse and energy to our cause, the change too, in the Secrataries of war, will add much to the energy of measures, and the safety of our cause. from our late successes, we have a right to hope that the great ruler of the universe, who holds the destiny of nations in his hand is on our side and as you Justly say, if that is the case we will be successful, we will conquor.

you ask me where is the bone that came out of my arm I enclosed it, in the letter that announced that I had sent it, when you opened the letter it has fell out, but do not grieve at its loss, it gave me pain therefore the loss of it from my arm give me pleasure. I am happy you are suited in a carriage, I wish I could hear you were suited in a pair of horses, for I have great hopes of shortly seeing this country in a state that I can invite you to vissit me. Say to my son, I expect to see him shortly, on his cosee filly, that he must learn to ride, be a good boy and never cry, that he must do every thing his sweet mama tells him, and he must learn to be a soldier. as to you I can only say your good understanding, and reflection will reconcile you to our separation, the situation of our country require it for who could brook a British tyranny, who would not prefer dying free, strugling for our liberty and religion, than live a British slave.

I will Point out some way to have the horses brought on. I wish them kept in good order, and my coalts well fed. They will bring a fine price in a short time.

With my warmest wishes for your health and peace of mind, and my nightly devotion for the prolongation of your life, that we may meet once more—believe me to be affectionately yours.

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

War Department, October 21, 1814;

Sir, Your letter of the 9th ultimo covering your correspondence with the Governor of Pensacola is received; and I hasten to communicate to you, the directions of the President, that you should at present take no measures, which would involve this Government in a contest with spain. A minister having lately been appointed on our part, to that Government,[1] and our relations with it being amicable, it is deemed more proper, that a representation of the insolent and unjustifiable conduct of the Governor of Pensacola, should be made to that Government thro' the Ordinary channels of communication than that you should resent it by an attack on Pensacola. The President approves the manly tone with which you have asserted the rights of your country in your correspondence with the Governor of that province. Very important interests are committed to you, and great confidence is entertained, that you will meet the expectation, of the Government in the discharge of your duties.

[1] George W. Erving of Massachusetts, commissioned minister plenipotentiary Aug. 10, 1814.

It is thought very probable that the British forces expected from Europe, under Lord Hill,[2] will be directed against Louisiana. To enable you to meet this pressure 7,500 men have been Ordered from Tennessee 2,500 from Kentuckey and a like number from Georgia, and it is expected that the Warriors of all the friendly tribes of Indians, will be secured by you on our side. One hundred thousand Dollars have been placed, subject to your Order, in the hands of the Governor of Tennessee, for the public service; and blankets and other Articles will be forwarded without delay for the use of the Indians.

I have the honor to be

To Commodore Daniel T. Patterson.[1]

Mobile, October 23, 1814.

Sir, Your communication of the 17th inst by Mr. Boyd, reached me this morning.

I regret that you Should have misconceived my construction of the relations existing between the Navy and army. I never had an Idea that you were bound to acknowledge my Command. I know that we can together act only, by common consent; and So only can we effectually Serve our Country. Therefore I thought that a Communication of my wishes would have ensured an instant arriving cooperation on your Part. And I Still hope, when you receive the Letter, I had the honor to address to you on the 14th inst[2] you will Immediately take the Steps necessary to effect the objects therein detailed. Our situation has been extremely disagreable, during the absence of the Naval force from our waters. The enemy has advanced into our Territory, but wanting the aid of a few Gun Boats to Protect this Section of my Command, I could not make even a Temporary movement to Punish his Temerity.

Now that I hear of a Part of Your flotilla, approaching this Station, I Shall leave here for a Short time. during my absence, I Shall rely confidently on the Navy, for the Preservation, of the Coast from the ravages of the enemy, and of the Communication from New orleans to Mobile Point, without this is open, our Supplies for the Army will be very Pre-

[2] Lord Hill, who had been one of Wellington's chief lieutenants in the Peninsular War (as afterward at Waterloo), was at first intended for the command of the expedition to Louisiana. Later Maj.-Gen. Robert Ross was designated, and, after his death at Baltimore, Sir Edward Pakenham.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 92.

[2] The letter to Commodore Patterson alluded to (*ibid.*, p. 61) was in the following words: "*Sir* Information reached me last evening that Vessels with Flour are daily passing from N Orleans to Pensacola to feed our enemy contrary to my express orders and the rules of warfare. Through the same channel I am informed that the British are fitting out Barges mounting 22 and 12 pound carronades, which must be to cut of[f] our communication and supplies from New Orleans. I have therefore to request that you will without delay advise me whether I am to rely upon the employment of your Flotilla in preserving the communication through the Lakes and along the coast to pass Heron. The existance of my army and the defence of the District assigned to my command and protection may depend upon the preservation of this communication, and the safety of N Orleans greatly depends on your vigilence with the Flotilla. I must consequently request of you a prompt and decisive answer to the above enquiries. Not a moment is to be lost. The Barges fitting out at Pensacola, with proper vigilence on your part may be easily destroyed with a few Gun Boats."

carious. the Cannon lent by the Navy have arrived; for the loan of them, Permit [me] to thank you. . . . .

To Edward Livingston.[1]

Mobile, October 23, 1814.

Sir, Time will not Permit me fully to answer the Letter I had the Pleasure to receive from you this morning. Receive my thanks for the Claret of Barataria, and for Your flattering expressions in my favor. Every Precaution has been, and will be adopted for the defence of New Orleans. The Troops raised in West Tennessee, under the last order from the war department, has been ordered, by forced Marches, to New orleans. Should any be raised in Kentucky, they are also ordered to the same Point. The Caddo Chief has Tendered his Services, and all the Neighbouring Warriors with them. I have accepted them, and ordered them to be mustered into Service, and Placed under the Command of the U. S. officer Stationed at Natchetoches, their force is from 500 to 1000, and they are well armed, this will make that quarter secure. my health, thro' the favor of Heaven is restored, and I am enabled to leave this Place for a few days. I Start to day. With great respect and esteem

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, October 24, 1814.

Sir, Your address to the Louisianians is well received, and will make a favorable impression. a feeble attempt has been made in a paper, called the Louisiana Gazette, to take *exception to the stile and manner;* But I do not learn, that a *single worthy citizen* unites in opinion with this news paper scribler. The natives of Louisiana are for the most part, a virtuous and Gallant people, you have inspired them with confidence, and I am proud in the belief, that in any event, they will prove faithful to the united states. The natives of the united states, residing in this state, have for the most part, manifested the most favorable disposition; but I have cause to be particularly satisfied with the Militia of Baton Rouge District; their quota of the requisition, was furnished with the greatest promptitude; an Excellent company of volunteer cavalry from that district are also in service, and a volunteer company of Riflemen are expected in a few days. an excellent company of cavalry composed of creoles of Louisiana, arrived on last evening from Attakapas, and about five hundred and fifty of the Detached Militia Infantry, are expected here in two or three days from Baton Rouge. Major General Villere of the first and Major General Thomas of the 2nd Division of Militia,[1] have manifested the greatest Zeal, and I am much indebted to them for the support they have given, and continue to afford me. I have also abundant reason to be satisfied with the conduct of Colonel MacRea, and the Quarter Master General Colo Pratt; I find these Gentlemen greatly disposed to promote the good of the service

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[1] Jacques Villeré, afterward (1818-1822) governor of Louisiana; Philemon Thomas, M. C. 1831-1835.

and to afford the Militia every proper accommodation. Your address sir to the chosen men of colour will be printed on this day. I will use my best efforts to promote your wishes; but I do not know with what success; I have already apprized you of the *Distrust* which exists here against this corps of people; I believe it to be ill founded But its existence, may, and I fear, has, in some degree indisposed them towards us; The difficulty among the officers of the Battalion of colour of which I informed you, is nearly arranged, and I continue to think, that in the moment of trial they will prove a meriterious corps. Fort St Philip at Plaquemine is in need (I learn) of a reinforcement; if it meets your approbation I will detach to that post, a Lieutenant and forty men of colour.

I am sir,

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Pearce's stockade, October 26, 1814.

Sir; I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo with it's inclosure.

My several letters, will have advised you of the hostile conduct of the governor of Pensacola. By it I have been induced for the safety of this section of the Country to determine to drive the British and Indian force from that place, possess myself of the Barancas [2] which I expect to find occupied by the former, and all other points that may be calculated to prevent a british fleet from entering Pensacola bay. This will put an end to the Indian war in the south as it will cut off all foreign influence. For the above purpose I arrived here last night to organize a competent force, having been previously advised of the appr[o]ach made to [3] the Tenessee volunteers and militia from the Western part of the State. The scarcity of transportation for provisions etc etc. will I fear, detain me a day or two after the arrival of the Infantry which I expect to join me here in two days. But the moment transportation can be obtained I will move, and in five days from the movement, with the smiles of heaven, I trust I will be able to reduce Pensacola.

As I act without the orders of the government, I deem it important to state to you my reasons for the measure I am about to adopt. First I conc[e]ive the safety of this section of the union depends upon it, The Hostility of the Governor of Pensacola in permitting the place to assume the character of a British Territory by resigning the command of the Fortresses to them, Permitting them to fit out an expedition against the U. S. and after its failure to return to the Town refit, and make arrangements for a second expedition. At the same time making to me a declaration that he (the Governor) had armed the Indians and sent them into our Territory. Knowing at the same time that these very Indians had under the command of a British officer captured our citizens and destroyed their property within our own Territory. I feel a confidence that I shall stand Justified to my government for having undertaken the expedition. Should

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 99; also in War Dept. files.
[2] Below Pensacola, on the west side of the bay, nearer its entrance.
[3] By.

I not I shall have the consolation of having done the only thing in my own opinion which could give security to the country by putting down a savage war, And what to me will be an ample reward for the loss of my commission. I enclose you the report of Major McIntosh of the Cowetas which will shew you this is the moment to strike the enemy in his strong hold. A successful attack will make all the Indians our friends from fear.

I have now with me about seven hundred Choctaws, who have been out and killed seven of the hostile creeks, which has so animated them with a thirst for military fame as to bring to our standard the whole warriors of the nation. The Chickesaws have not yet Joined me, but the march of Genl. Coffee through the nation will no doubt have a tendency to bring them out. I have ordered to be purchased a Blanket Flap and shirt for each of the choctaws, to be deducted from their pay. And have authorised colo Hawkins [4] to purchase for the friendly creeks who are willing to take the field the same clothing to be in like manner deducted from their pay.

The Caddo Chief with the neighbouring tribes twelve in number have made a tender of their services with betwen 500 and a 1000 warriors to the united states. They are well armed with Rifles and I have ordered them to be enrolled and placed a[t] the disposal of the officer commanding Fort Claibourn (Natchitoches) This will afford security to that country for the present, both from external and internal enemies. I hope in a few weeks to leave this section of my District in security, and to move with Genl. Coffees mounted men to New Orleans. The Gun Boats have not yet reached their station on the Lakes, and I have f[e]ared least the enemy should be inabled to cut off our supplies from New Orleans before a sufficient stock could be procured from Tennessee, But This fear has been some what abated by the receipt of a letter from Commodore Patterson assuring me of his exertions to keep open the communication by the Lakes

The contracters as usual on the rout from Tennessee to Fort Jackson have starved and detained my troops except the 1st Regt. of West Tennessee militia and Captain William A Butler [5] of the 44 U. S. Infty who with the spirit and enterprise of good Soldiers have surmounted all difficulties and reached me. I thank you for the Treasury notes sent to Governor Blount, and feel confident that they will enable me, with the sums advanced by the Banks of Nashville and New orleans, to restore the credit of the government. The affair at Mobile Point of the 15th Inst has also had a salutary affect in restoring confidence to the people in the resources of the government. I shall in a short time be enabled to Judge of the forces necessary to the defence of my district, When all surplus force will be discharged. I have ordered the troops lately required of West Tennessee direct to New Orleans, but can change their destination on their rout if requisite. I hope I may not have occasion for the Georgia requisition.

I have the honour to be respectfully etc

[4] See vol. I., p. 228, note.
[5] William O. Butler; see p. 34, *ante*.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM MACREA TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, October 27, 1814.

Sir, I had the honor to receive your letter of the 12th inst: by Captn. West.

At the particular solicitation of His Excellencey Governor Claiborne, and believing myself the measure would be beneficial to the public service, as being the most efficient plan that could be adopted, to prevent the enemy from penetrating into the Country, without our receiving early intelligence of their designs and movements, I have ordered a company of the drafted Militia of this state, under the command of Captn. Hicks, to take a favorable position on the Lafourche, to erect a small batterry, and to keep small parties of observation always out.

Another company of the drafted Militia of this state under the command of Captn. Dupas will take post on the waters of Barrataria at a place called the Temple, for the same purpose as the former. Those Companies have each been furnished with a peeice of Iron Ordnance, Ammunition and provision, with the necessary equipments. The first company started this day for the Lafourche, the other will leave this for Barrataria on the 23d.

A Troop of Cavalry consisting of about forty five men from Feleciana, has been mustered into service at the request of the Governor, by the Assistant Inspector General. Those men are quartered in the upper Fauxburgh of this City, and will be employed on such duties, as may be found adviseable for this kind of force, particularly in reconnoitering the passes towards Chef Menteur, and the settlements on the Terre au Bouf, to which place small parties will be occasionaly detached. Those are the only troops that have been delivered over to me by the Governor on the requisition, and I hope the disposition made of them may meet your approbation. I should be glad to receive your orders on the subject of the Militia called into service, how far I am to consider myself authorized to employ them.[1]

It is the will of the Governor, that the six hundred men expected from the second division of the Militia of this state, should be stationed at the Cantonment at the English Turn, untill your pleasure respecting them should be made known, and I have made the necessary arrangements for this purpose. Those troops are expected to reach New Orleans by the 30th inst.

I feel great embarrassment for want of assistance in the Engineer Department; The gentleman who last acted in the capacity of Engineer

[1] The situation described by Lieutenant-Colonel MacRea was confused, for a large number of Louisiana militia were in service. Jackson acted promptly to strengthen the hands of his subordinate. On Oct. 31, 1814, he issued the following order: "Lieut. Colo. MacRea of the corps of Artillerists will assume the command of all the posts and troops within the state of Louisiana, and commandants of corps (except those selected and placed on the recruiting service by the War department and not subject to any other military command) will report to him, until further Orders. The Major General expects the most prompt compliance with this order, to the end that the Lt. Colo can bring into the field all regular as well as militia forces should the enemy attempt an invasion."

for this district, Mr. Bartholomew Lafon, was discharged by General Flournoy some time before he left this City. He informs me that he made plans (from actual measurement) of all the Military posts in this district, and delivered them over to General Flournoy in a portable form. Mr. Lafon I am informed had a regular appointment from the Secretary of War, he is not now in this City but is daily expected. His services are at this moment particularly necessary. I think his pay and emoluments were about that of a Captain of Infantry. . . . .

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Pierces Mill, October 31, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Dispatch of the 10 Instant. I have duly noted and weighed its contents, and taken every precaution within my power, for the security of this District. The friendship of the Choctaws I think is secured. 750 are now with me. I have as you will have perceived from my letters, taken every precaution with the creeks. From the report of Major McIntosh, you will have been informed of the friendly declarations of the Seminoles, dependance may be reposed in their fears, but not in their friendship. If I can expel the Indians and British from pensacola, all the Seminoles, and Creeks will be our friends. I shall make this attempt in a very short time. We are destitute of arms, a supply must be afforded speedily.[2] Half of the Arms now in the hands of the Militia here, are not fit for use, and no Artificers to repair them. Permit me to suggest the propriety of establishing a deposit of arms at Nashville. It is a safe position, and water carriage at all seasons may be had to any point below. The East Tennessee troops, and part of West have not yet arrived, of the first requisition, and from General Taylors report one half of them are without guns of any description.[3] They report to me a detention from the want of provisions. I have experienced a little ill health, but hope to be able to keep the Field.

I have the honor to be etc.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 118; also in War Dept. files.

[2] On Nov. 3, 1814, Monroe, Secretary of War, wrote to Governor Blount as follows: "Five thousand stands of arms with ammunition etc. and as many tents and Camp Equipage as can be spared immediately, have been ordered from Pittsburg to the Commanding Officer of the United States Army at Baton Rouge for the use of the detached Militia of Tennessee and Kentucky. I must however request your Excellency to have all the troops Armed and Equipped if practicable before they march, as this supply will be very limited even for a deposit in reserve at that point." These arms were shipped from Pittsburgh Nov. 24, 1814. In order to reduce the cost of freight they were sent by a boat that stopped at many places on the river. Their progress toward New Orleans therefore was slow. Carroll overtook them and armed with them that part of his troops that had no rifles. The remainder of the supply arrived in New Orleans, after the battle of Jan. 8, 1815. See A. Edwards, of the deputy quartermaster-general's office in Pittsburgh, to the United States officer commanding at Baton Rouge, Nov. 24, 1814.

[3] General Nathaniel Taylor marched from East Tennessee by way of Fort Jackson, where he was on Nov. 9, 1814.

To Governor Shelby.[1]

Fort Pierce, October 31, 1814.

Sir, From my last advices from the War Department, it appears highly probable, that a large British force will be thrown on the southern Coast in a short period. It is said that twelve or fifteen Thousand men were to have been embarked from Ireland early in September for New Orleans. Under these circumstances it becomes necessary to strain every point in collecting a respectable force at as short a Day as possible.

You will therefore be pleased to have detached, Organized, Armed, and Marched to New Orleans without delay, The twenty five hundred men detailed from your state, by an order of the War Department for my District. You will be pleased to procure all the Arms within your reach from the resources of the Country. And if you cannot thus collect the number necessary for your troops, you will require of the Military storekeeper at Newport the ballance. Should the stage of the Water justify the Transportation of the troops, and the necessary Boats can be procured, you will direct them to descend the River from Louisville, otherwise I concieve they may be more expeditiously moved by land. It will not do to wait the building of Boats. The Quarter master of the Genl staff stationed in K'y. will be required to provide the Transportation and Camp Equipage necessary for your troops.

I have the honor to be respectfully

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Head Quarters, 7th Military District.
Pearce's Stockade, Oct. 31, 1814.

Sir, Information has been received, from sources which entitle it to the highest credit, that twelve or fifteen thousand men were to have been embarked from Ireland, destined to attempt the conquest of Louisiana, early in the month of September. This justifies me in preparing for immediate use all the resources afforded to me by government for the protection of this district. You will there fore, immediately direct the whole militia force of the Mississippi Territory, to be prepared, and held in readiness to take the field at a moment's warning. From the alacrity you have heretofore displayed in furnishing the quota from your Territory, I anticipate an early and effectual compliance with this requisition.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obt Servant,

Major John Reid[1] to Jackson.

Franklin, Tenn., October 31, 1814.

Dear General, Your letter of the 11th Inst, reached me by last mail. It has been, some weeks, since I advised the sec: of war of my acceptance of the appointment which had been offered me.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 112. Fort Pierce is usually mentioned as Pierce's (or Pearce's) Stockade, or Pierce's Mill.
[1] The original is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
[1] See vol. I., p. 247.

The health of my family continues ill; and my own is not thoroughly restored. I have the fullest confidence, however, that I shall be able to leave home in a few weeks. You will probably see me in company with the first who leave *this* Country for *that*.

I sincerely rejoice at the great accession of force which is about to be furnished you: I foresee, in it, the discomfiture of the hopes of our enemy and the full establishment of your own fame. I am no flatterer, General; and you will believe me when I say the latter object will always be dear to my heart. Neither, General am I ungrateful, But my returns are all, those of the heart; and these, I know, are the only ones you would accept. I cannot bow, and scrape, and make professions; and it is my happiness that these are not the pasports to your favour or friendship. This language, however, I must use—he who "cherished the good that was in me, and did not harshly rebuke the bad" ought to find me, a faithful follower, "through good and through ill report." He is entitled to my gratitude and my services; and while I live they shall always be his.

With the warmest sentiments of friendship

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

Pierce's Stockade, October 31, 1814.

Sir. Being desirous to place New Orleans and its Vicinity in a State of perfect security, I have ordered a force of 5500 men from Tennessee and Kentucky to proceed by forced marches direct to your City. Independant of this, I have notified Governor Holmes to hold the whole body of the Territorial Militia in readiness to march at a moments warning. To afford a rallying point, and to prevent confusion in the hour of danger, I have placed Lt Col MacRea of the Artillerists in Command of all troops and posts within your State. This arrangement will continue untill the whole force destined for your defence is assembled, and some superior Officers in the Field.

Recent information from the most correct sources has been received of an expedition of twelve or fifteen thousand men, sailing from Ireland early in September last, intended to attempt the conquest of Louisiana. You will therefore see the necessity of preparing for service at an hours notice, the whole body of Louisiana Militia. I rely on your patriotism and activity, and hope not to be disappointed.

I have the honor to be most respectfully

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

Pierce's Mill, October 31, 1814.

Sir, I open my letter to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24 Instant. I am pleased with the Patriotism of the Louisianians. My best hopes are reallized. On the subject of a reinforcement at Fort St Philips. If needed it is certainly right and proper to afford it, or at any other point, first consulting with Colo MacRea, to whom I have given the direction of

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 113.
[1] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

the Troops and defence of the City and State, untill a superior Officer is in the Field.

As to the free people of Colour I have remarked the policy that directed the address. I was aware of the jealousy of the Citizens toward them. This was an actuating motive for the address. If they can be enrolled, They may when danger appears be moved in the rear to some point where they will be kept from doing us an injury. If their pride and merit entitle them to confidence, they can be employed against the Enemy. If not they can be kept from uniting with him. I am respectfully

Colonel John Williams to Jackson.[1]

Knoxville, November 1, 1814.

Sir, ... Your letter of the 17th ulto. excites both regret and astonishment. Regret at having incured the displeasure of my commanding General—And astonishment at the position assumed in that letter. Had you been acquainted with all the circumstances attending the transaction, I feel confident you would not have considered me, meriting, such a harsh reprimand. I was apprised that a communication had been made to you from Knoxville, by Genl. Taylor. But supposing, that it would be understood by you, and that it would be treated as it deser[v]ed; I was perfectly silent on the subject. It is the opinion of every military man that I have conversed with, that situated as General Taylor and myself were, he had no authority to give me an order. I admit when a Militia Genl. and a United States colonel are associated in the same service, by the order of their superiors; that then the former has a right to command, and the latter is bound to obey. Genl. Taylor was on one discription of service, and myself on another. General Taylor had the same power to demand of me, the military clothing, in my possession, for the use of his troops; as he had to demand my arms. And I should have been as criminal in delivering up the one, as the other. In either case, I should have been accountable to the Government, and bound to have paid the amount, out of my private funds. A system of accountability has been established, And nothing but the order of a legitimate superior would justify me in disposing of the public stores in my possession; in a manner different from the one intended.

[1] Colonel Williams, of the 39th Regiment, regulars, was in Knoxville trying to recruit his regiment. He had 1000 stand of arms in his possession for that purpose, but as recruits came in very slowly the larger portion of the arms was not in use. When therefore Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel Taylor, of the East Tennessee Militia, about to set out to join Jackson with 1000 men, half of them without arms, called on him for 500 of the unused arms, he met a curt refusal. Taylor's request, accompanied with an offer of proper receipts, was first made as a request and then as a peremptory demand. To the demand Williams sent the following reply:

"*Sir:* By your order of this date, you require me to deliver into the hands of the militia the muskets which have been furnished for my regiment. You have been already informed that it is not in my power to part from the arms in my possession. I am under the necessity of refusing positively a compliance with your order. I deem it unnecessary at this time to investigate your authority to give me an order. I have the honor to be with great respect,"

All this Taylor reported to Jackson Sept. 28, 1814. This was the beginning of an emnity between Jackson and Williams, who was popular in East Tennessee, that cropped out with great evidence after Jackson was a candidate for the presidency.

I am assured that Genl. Taylors correspondence with me, was not commenced, with an expectation of promoting the public service.

I entered the army with no other view than to perform honorable service to my country. Altho the unwearied and unceasing exertions of myself and others on the recruiting service, has not been crowned with much success, during this season, It is not owing to causes over which I have any control. No person on earth more than myself regrets the ill success of the recruiting officers. I agree with you that this is not a time to investigate nice military questions of rank. From the many proofs which I have given of the truth and importance of this remark (within your own observation) I did not expect to be reminded of its necessity. I yield to no man in a disposition to promote the service of my country. And it would afford me infinite satisfaction to deliver over all the public stores in my possession to promote the service, if I had a legal order to that effect. But I never will envolve myself in ruin by squandering the public stores confided to my care. And I will resist every attempt to make me responsible for others faults. I am always ready and willing to have every act, both of my civil, and military life, envestigated. In the exercise of your discretion you seem to think these are sufficient grounds for my arrest. I shall therefore hold myself in readiness to recieve your order of arrest, And to repair without delay to such place as may be appointed for my trial.

I have the honor to be

Major William Wootton[1] to Jackson.

Fort Mitchell, November 3, 1814.

Sir: . . . . Inclosed you will find a proclamation of Vice admiral chochrane[2] it came to me accompanied by three letters addressd. to George Roan James Willis and David Walker all of Georgia. I opined the letters and found inclosed the sd. proclamation they Came by the hand, of a half Breed living in Cowitaw who had been in search of some negroes which left him, lately he found and took them but they were retakan and furnished with arms and amunition, he states they meditate an attack on fort Jackson shortly he was near the apalachacola saw two british officers who

[1] Of the Georgia militia.

[2] Proclamation of Vice-Admiral Alexander Cochrane, April 2, 1814. "By the Honorable Sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B. Vice Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels, upon the North American Station, etc. etc. etc. A Proclamation.

"Whereas it has been represented to me, that many Persons now resident in the United States, have expressed a desire to withdraw therefrom, with a view of entering into His Majesty's Service, or of being received as Free Settlers into some of His Majesty's Colonies.

"This is therefore to Give Notice, That all those who may be disposed to emigrate from the United States will, with their Families, be received on board of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, or at the Military Posts that may be established, upon or near the Coast of the United States, when they will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's Sea or Land Forces, or of being sent as Free Settlers, to the British Possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with all due encouragement.

"Given under my Hand at Bermuda, this 2nd day of April, 1814.

Alexander Cochrane.

"By Command of the Vice Admiral: William Balhetchet. *God save the King.*"

gave those papers to him to convey to the above mentiond persons, he says they wore Epauletts on their left shoulder, had under their Command with them thirteen men.

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, November 4, 1814.

. . . . So far as regards the advised Co-operation on the part of the navy in the defence of the *Balize and South West Pass,* I have been informed by Captain Patterson, that *it* cannot be given, without abandoning the lakes, and leaving the Communication between New Orleans and Mobile wholly insecure. Captain Patterson complains much of the want of Sailors. The Brig Etna has not more, than 26 persons on board: The Ship Louisiana is wholly without sailors, nor can they be obtained; 6 Gun Boats and one schooner is Captain Patterson's effective force; he was asked by me, whether he had *Authority* to purchase Vessels, and answered, *it* had been expressely denied him; but that nevertheless *in case of exigency he would purchase*; but thought it useless, as additional Sailors could not now be procured on this station. Captain Patterson Seems disposed to Co-operate with promptitude and Zeal in such manner, *as his means* permit; but is of Opinion, that *these* will not enable him for the Present, to do more, than to guard the lakes, and keep the communication free between this city and Mobile.

In a late Letter, I advised you of the Publication of your address to the free-men of Colour. Its effects are beginning to be Manifested; a Mr. Bourgeois, a Frenchman by Birth, but who has resided here for several Years and supports a good Character, came to me to day and said he could raise a Company of 100 men, provided, he could receive the Commission of Captain. I requested him to raise the same without delay, and promised to recommend him to the General commanding the District, who alone had the power of Commissioning him. There are I am told, two other Gentlemen who desire to raise companies; but they have not yet named the subject to me. . . . .

EDWARD LIVINGSTON TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, November 5, 1814.

Sir. I have the letter of the 23d Octr. with which you have honored me and was in hopes before this to have sent the Other topographical sketches mentioned in my last; they will be prepared I believe by the next mail.

The Citizens of this place see with pleasure the measures you are taking for their protection, and the Confidence your reputation inspired every day encreases; I speak of those who really are attached to the government and are willing to defend it, but I should lead you in to an error should I give the idea that there are no Others, unfortunately there are, they are however not sufficiently numerous, to operate actively; but they hang like a Dead weight upon the Zeal of the well disposed and paralyze their Efforts. I speak of them that I may renew the entreaty contained in my former letters that as soon as your Operations will

permit you will pay us a visit and by your presence encourage exertion and overawe disaffection. In the mean time If an Officer of Confidence and Rank can be spared be asured sir that there are few points where he is so much wanted, the Consequence of our Militia General [1] hav[i]ng the Command may be easily imagined and need not be Enlarged on and I know that the Officers of the line as well as the reflecting Citizens Anticipate much Evil from that state of things.

Every Days reflexion Convinces me that the Estima[te] of 4000 men exclusive of Garrison say 5000 in all with works at the balize at the Chef Menteur, the terre aux Boeufs, and the Temple, are indespensible to our Safety besides the forces under your immediate Command, if you should receive any advice Contrary to this I entreat that it may be well examined before it is acceded to from any credit it might derive from the rank of the persons who may give it.

My friend Mr. Duncan [2] who is already honored with your acquaintance, is perfectly well qualified to represent the true situation of our state we have had several Conversations on the subject and his Opinion perfectly Coincides with my own. On any other than a business so extremely interesting to us all I Should Apologize for the liberty I take, in these Communications should they prove unimportant they will be received with indulgence in favor of the Motive by which they are dictated

I have the honor to be

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, November 5, 1814.

Sir, I Omitted to mention in my Letter of Yesterday, that a company of mounted Riflemen from St. Francisville 70 strong, had arrived and were for the present quartered with the Feliciana Cavalry. A company of volunteer Infantry from Rapides, are stil expected, and a Detachment of fifty volunteers have, I believe, Joined Captain Hicks on the Lafourche. The Requisition of a *thousand Militia Infantry,* will very soon, I trust, be Completed, and to which the cavalry and Riflemen being added, will give you from this state, an auxiliary force of 1,200 men. In this city there are several uniformed Militia Corps of much promise, and my impression is, that in *these,* with some other Companies of the Militia, much confidence may be reposed *in the moment of trial.* There are Individuals who believe otherwise; It may be, I am in error, but there certainly has been a sensible Change in the Public mind. there is not displayed by the people at large that enthousiastic order, which is to be found in the western states. But there is no symtoms opposition to the Government and Laws; a strong hatred is manifested towards the Enemy, and a Determination expressed, *to unite in defence of the state.*

You will observe sir, that I speak of the people at large; I know there are some disaffected Characters, and in this city are many Vaggabonds, who, if the Occasion served, would be disposed for mischief. the Legisla-

[1] Maj.-Gen. Jacques Villeré.

[2] Abner L. Duncan, a prominent lawyer of New Orleans.

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ture of the state will be in session on the 10th Instant, and *their Zealous support at this moment of danger,* will confirm the Louisianians in their present good disposition. But if unfortunately, a *spirit* any thing like that, which led the Legislature the Last winter, to oppose a Militia Requisition, should again prevail, I shall incounter great embarrassment and much opposition. But as I have already observed, a great change in the Public mind has apparently taken place; many members of the Legislature, have always had American feelings and sentiment; Others whom I have lately seen, profess the most patriotic Intentions, and all will I hope act a part which the crisis advises, and the surety of the country demands. . . . .

To González Manrique.[1]

Head Quarters U. S. Army, Camp near Pensacola,
November 6, 1814. First Note.

Sir, The various violations of that neutrality which under existing treaties should have been faithfully maintained by you towards the U. S. Our declared enemy the British having been permitted to take possession of your Fortifications, and fit out expeditions against us. Your having given an assylum to the savages hostile to the U. S. feeding and arming them to war against us, have compelled me to approach your City. I come not as the enemy of Spain but I come with a force sufficient to prevent the repetition of those acts so injurious to the U. S. and so inconsistent with the neutral character of Spain. To effect this object is my determination.

I Therefore demand possession of the Barancas and other Fortifications with their munitions of war. If delivered peacebly the whole will be receipted for and become the subject of future peaceble arrangements between our governments and the property religion and laws of yours citizens shall be respected. But if they are not peacebly let the blood of your subjects be upon your own head. I will not hold myself responsible for the conduct of my enraged soldiers and Indian warriors. I give you an hour for deliberation. The bearer hereof Majr H D Piere of the 44 U S Infty awaits your determination.

I have the honor to be with profound respect yr Excellencys mo obedt. Servt.

To González Manrique.[1]

Head Quarters U. S. Army, Near Pensacola,
November 6, 1814. Second Note.

Sir, When I arrived with my Army near to your Town I dispatched an officer with a Flag (accompanied by a sufficient escort to protect him

[1] Copy. This letter was delivered by Major Peire, of the 44th Infantry, with an escort and a flag of truce. The party was fired on and returned with the letter undelivered. During the night the second letter of Nov. 6 was sent forward, by the hand of a Spanish sergeant who had been captured. The governor thereupon sent his aide with a reply. Then Jackson sent, by Major Peire, his first note of the 6th and the note of Nov. 7. Copies of these notes are in the War Department files, with Jackson to the Secretary of War Nov. 14, 1814.

[1] Copy. This letter was enclosed in Jackson's report to the Secretary of War Nov. 14, 1814, which is in the War Department files.

against the Savages in your service until he arrived within the Suburbs of the Town) to make certain propositions to you for the surrender of the Town and fortifications. Upon the arrival of the officer at such place a Gun was fired from your Fort, when he immediately halted his escort and proceeded with the Flag. He was then fired on by the Fort, and returned to my head Quarters. I am at a loss Sir to know whether this conduct has been with an intention to insult the Flag of my government, contrary to the usages of war in like cases. And wishing to spare unnecessary effusion of blood, I send you this by one of your corporals whom I made prisoner at Boyles's to learn your real motives on this occasion. Should you not answer this in the course of two hours I shall ascribe them to the worst intentions

I have the honor to be respectfully

González Manrique to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, November 6, 1814.

Sir, Your enquiry in your note of today respecting the Discharge of Cannon on what you announce to me as a Flag for a parly, (parlamentario) surprises me, since these are only used between nations who are at War with each other, in which situation ours are not, and for that reason we could never be persuaded on our part that the Detachment which you say approached the Fort, presented itself as such

as to the propositions which you intimate the officer who bore the Flag would have made to me, they are in no manner admissible you may therefore spare yourself the trouble of similar messages; as I am resolved to repel by force the attempt you may make, holding you responsible for the blood which may be shed by your attempting to carry into effect your ill-grounded demand. God preserve you many years

To González Manrique.[1]

Near Pensacola, November 7, 1814.

Sir, I had the honour this moment to receive by your Aid Major Morant your answer to my note of the 6th inst. by your Corporal, requiring of you the motives which actuated you in firing on the flag sent by me and cannot from your answer draw any justification for this outrage, inasmuch as you still hold out an observance of the neutrality which ought to subsist between

[1] Copy. This letter was enclosed in Jackson's report to the Secretary of War Nov. 14, 1814; War Dept. files. The original, in Spanish, in the Jackson MSS., is as follows: "Panzacola 6 de Noviembre de 1814.

"*Exmõ Señor* La pregunta de V. E. en su papel de hoy sobre los canoñazos tirados al que me anuncia como Parlamentario me sorprende, pues solo se sirven de estos entre Naciones que están en guerra, en cuyo caso no nos hallamos, y por lo mismo nunca puede persuadirse de nuestra parte que se presentó como tal el destacamento que V. E. dice se acercó al Fuerte. En quanto a las proposiciones que V. E. me indica devia hacerme el oficial Parlamentario, de ninguna manera son admisibles, y por tanto puede V. E. excusar semejantes mensajes, pues estoy resuelto a rechazar por la fuerza quantas tentativas haga V. E. haciendole responsable de la sangre que se derrame en guerra llevar V. E. a efecto su demanda infundada. Dios guarde a V. E. muchos años."

[1] Copy. This letter was enclosed in Jackson's report to the Secretary of War Nov. 14, 1814; War Dept. files.

our governments. If, as you seem to wish me to believe, it were not necessary to send you a flag for the protection of my officer bearing the dispatches, as we were not at war, I would ask you how I could calculate on his safety without one, as you have violated this pledge of safety universally respected by civilized nations. But although your conduct on this occasion should forbid further negociation, I am still unwilling to proceed to extremities until I have made to you the propositions which I first intended, and I now send to you by Major Peire of the 44th Infantry the letter which I first designed him to hand to you; and shall expect from you an answer by 6 A. M. which will decide the future course to be pursued by me. I shall not at this time attempt a discussion of the causes which have brought me here to make of you the demands contained in my letter of yesterday. Our respective governments and future generations will decide on whose head the blood which may be spilt, should fall.

I am, with respect and consideration,

Gonzalez Manrique to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, November 7, 1814.

Most excellent Sir. I received from major Peire Your Excellency's letter of the 6th of this month in which you set forth the motives which obliged you to approach, with your troops, this Place; ending with suggesting that I surrender the fortifications and munitions of war, to be in the future a subject for friendly negotiation between the two governments.

As for the hostilities which the British forces committed from this place, in violation of neutrality—it was without my knowledge or commitment, and because the commanders of these forces asked me to give them possession of the fortifications. I refused them. The few land troops which they had have embarked, and the Indians whom they had with them have now retired. I make this frank exposition with the desire to satisfy Your Excellency and to make you understand that I never have tried to violate the neutrality existing between our respective nations, and that all my acts are directed to this end.

As for Your Excellency's proposal concerning surrendering the fortifications to you, my duty does not permit me to agree to it, nor to the bloodshed which may occur instead, since Your Excellency's objections are met by my response.

God keep Your Excellency many years.

To Colonel Arthur P. Hayne.[1]

Near Pensacola, November 8, 1814.

Sir. You will immediately repair to the Town of Pensacola and relieve Major Peire in the command of that place. You will find there, Captain Richardsons troop of Cavalry, Captain Butlers Company 3 Infantry, Captain Bakers Compy. 44 Infantry, and three Companies West Tennesse Militia of Lt. Colo Hammond Regiment. These will all remain with you.

[1] Translation.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 128. Col. A. P. Hayne, inspector-general. (See p. 49, n. 2.) Pensacola had been occupied on the seventh.

You will take in addition to this force, the remainder of the W. T. Militia, and Choctaw Indians. Lieut Stephens of the 3. Infantry will relieve Lieut Bosque now at the Fort. The Fort St Michael must be occupied by such number of men as you may from circumstances deem sufficient. All munitions of War, supplies of Public Provisions, and all property belonging to British subjects or agents, now on board the British fleet, must be immediately taken into possession and secured.

Any private supplies belonging to Spanish Inhabitants, necessary to your use, should be taken. And the Quarter Master directed to pay at a fair Valuation for the same. The Waggons going to Fort MontGomery, should be laden with the Arms in Pensacola, worthy of Transportation. The several Block Houses should be dismounted and their Cannon prepared for an exigency. The troops under your Command will be disposed of, to annoy the Enemy, control the Town, and to prevent any [s]acrifice of lives exceeding the importance of the objects in View. The mode of executing this order, your own Judgment will direct. And a change in the aspect of affairs will justify a more rigorous course of procedure than the one pointed out. By Command very respectfully.

To González Manrique.[1]

Near Pensacola, November 9, 1814.

Sir, Finding that the Barancas and fortifications adjacent thereto, for the protection of the Bay of Pensacola, have been surrendered to, and blown up by the British, contrary to the good faith I was induced to place in your promises to me, I now find it out of my power to aid you in the protection of your neutrality as I was willing to have done. And the enemy having disappeared and the hostile creeks fled to the Forest, I retire from your Town, and leave you again at liberty to occupy your Fort as I received it for the protection of your citizens.

I have the honor to be

Gonzalez Manrique to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, November 9, 1814.

Most excellent Sir. I received your much appreciated letter of this same date in which you are pleased to recommend to me Captain Williams [2] of the United States army. Your Excellency may be persuaded that he will have complete security, as will also any troops [3] he may need, together with the consideration deserved by an official [officer] or other troops [3] who have earned for themselves the eternal gratitude of the inhabitants of this town.

I am, Sir general, with the greatest consideration, your obedient and faithful servant, and I ask God to preserve your life many years.

[1] Copy. This letter was enclosed in Jackson's report to the Secretary of War Nov. 14, 1814; War Dept. files.

[1] Translation.

[2] Capt. William Laval, of the 3d Regiment, was severely wounded on the 7th and had to be left behind when Jackson marched back to Mobile. Laval was confided to the humane consideration of Governor (Commandant) Manrique, by letter of Jackson. The governor takes the first name for a surname, as Spaniards not infrequently do in the case of foreign names.

[3] *I. e.*, individual soldiers.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

November 14, 1814.

Sir, In my last I advised you of my intended movement against Pensacola. Having obtained such transportation as I deemed necessary to effect the movement, I took up the line of march on the 2nd Instant. With the 3d Regiment U S Infantry, two Companies of the 39. and two of the 44 U S Infty making an effective force of regular troops lead by Majors Peire and Woodruff and one Regiment of General Coffees Brigade dismounted strong Commanded by Colo. Williamson, one Regiment mounted consisting of [*blank*] lead by Lt Colo Lauderdale, The Mississippi Dragoons Commanded by Major Hinds, and the West Tennesse Drafted Militia Commanded by Lt Colonel Hammonds, with about seven Hundred and fifty Choctaw Warriors commanded by Major Blue of the 39. Infantry, and Major Kennedys of the Mississippi Territo[r]y Militia making an aggregate of [*blank*]. We reached the neighbourhood of Pensacola on the evening of the 6th after experiencing considerable delay from the br[e]aking down of our Ammunition Waggons on the way. I immediately sent Major Peire with an escort, under the protection of a Flag to the Governor of Pensacola, making the demand of which the enclosed is a copy marked No. 1. He advanced within view of the Fort St George Als. [?] St Michael with his Flag displayed. The Fort fired a gun to leeward, he halted his Escort and proceeded alone when the Fort fired directly at him, and continued the fire as long as he was in view. Major Peire returned to me with the information, and from the unusual hostility of the act, I was determined to humble their pride, by taking both the Town and Fort. I Immediately with the Adjutant General (Colo Butler) Major Peire and a company of rangers, went and examined the Fort, from the remains of an old Fort in its view, and found that Fort St Michael was occupied by British as well as Spanish Troops. I could, through my glass dist[i]nguish both. Having made the necessary discovery I returned and Encamped my troops for the night, making the necessary preparations to storm the Town the next morning. Being induced to believe that the British had fired on my Flag, I sent a Spanish Corporal, who with a guard of six men had been taken by a reconoitering party on the night before With the Document No 2 to the Governor of Pensacola. About midnight I received by the hands of Majr. Marant the enclosed answer marked B wrote him the communication marked C, and sent it by Major Peire who accompanied Major Marant back to Pensacola. And at 7 in the morning of the 7th brought me the answer marked D. I immediately ordered my camp to be secured, and placed its defence under the command of my Adjutant General (who the night before on an alarm Gun being fired, had mounted his Horse repaired to the line, and in the darkness of the night his Horse having plunged into a deep hole, sprained his left knee so badly that I have been deprived of his services ever since) and marched the effectives of the regulars, part of General Coffees Brigade, mounted and dismounted, The Mississippi Dragoons, part of the West Tennessee Drafted Militia, and

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 132; also in War Department files.

the effective Choctaws. I was encamped west of the Town, and from the view I had of its situation, found the safest point to enter the City, was from the East, as in the West I could be raked, not only from the Batteries of the Fort, but from the British Vessels, in the Bay. I therefore sent out part of my Mounted men to shew themselves upon the West, whilst I passed out of view in rear of the fort round to the East side of the Town, so that untill my Colums appeared in full view, the enemy was preparing to receive me from the West. As I anticipated that the enemy would have Cannon planted in the avenues of the Town and their Block Houses, I had ordered one company of the regulars to precede my left column, to storm and carry any Battery that might be in the way. The Company was taken from the 3 Infantry commanded by the brave Captain Laval, and covered by two pieces of Artillery. The Dismounted Volunteers were ordered to enter the Street, upon the right of the regulars, the drafted militia, the street on their left, and the Choctaws by the nearest avenue on the right of all.

When we approached the beach I expected the British Vessels to open a General fire upon us, but they remained silent from a dread of our Artillery; or a supposition that they were not near enough, until we were under cover of the houses. On our entering the city a Battery of two pieces was opened upon the column of regulars, and a brisk fire of musketry from men concealed behind the garden fences. The cannon were immediately carried by Captain Laval, who fell near them with a severe wound by a Grape shot which broke his thigh and the musquetry silenced by a Spirited fire from the line of the regulars, the Spanish Colours were seized and pulled down by Lieut. Robertson of the 3d Infty. The Governor met Colos. Williamson and Smith of the dismounted Tennessee Volunteers begged for mercy, and surrendered the town and Fort, I had halted a moment in the Street with the brave Lavall, who had so nobly fought and fell, When I was notified of the circumstance, and immediately repaired to the Intendents house, where the Governor was, who announced to me a surrender of the city and all the Fortresses. The British Vessells had by this time began to fire at the troops as they would cross the Main Avenue leading from the Bay to the Fort. I ordered them to be formed in the Streets, covered by the Houses untill a final erangement could be made with the Governor for the possession of the Town and Fort. Urged the necessity of immediate possession being given of the Fort. He sent an Officer with his order to deliver it, and after hearing from the Fort, requested permission, before he would Strike the colours to fire three Guns from it. Viewing Spain at peace with us, any hostilities that had been carried on from Pensacola, as being unauthorized by the Government, and my march to Pensacola not as the enemy of Spain, but to drive from its shores the British and their Savage Allies, I yielded consent to this request. I soon learnt the Treachery that lurked within the breasts of Spaniards. My Dragoons and choctaws made there appearance in view of the fort, when it fired upon them, wounded Slightly two Indians and killed three Horses. I was then Justified, to have carried destruction every where. But the pleading of the Citizens and the avowal of the Governor, that he had

ordered the Surrender, witheld the just arm of Vengeance. I however ordered Capt. Denkins who commanded the Artillery, Supported by one company of regulars to take possession of the Old fort on mount St. Bernard, errect a battery, and prepare to open upon Fort St. Michael.

Capt. Denkins on his way from the town to mount St. Bernard was frequently fired at from fleet and Barges detatched for that purpose, as was every Detatchment of our troops but without damage until A 4 Pounder taken from the Spaniards was Mounted on a small natural platform near the beach, which afterwards kept them at a distance. After demanding a positive order for the surrender of the fort from the Governor, obtaining it, and waiting a sufficient time for the answer without receiveing it, I left the Town to order my Batteries to be opened upon the fort.

I had not gone more than a mile when I was informed that the Fort was surrendered. I sent back an Officer to receive it in writing, When, Majr. Piere Came up, and told me it was posatively agreed on, and in an hour possession was to be given. I nevertheless proceeded on to Capt. Denkins, who had his battery nearly completed, remained with him some time, without any information, when I dispatched Majr. Gales into Town, who (after some delay occasioned by consultations among the Spanish authorities) returned with a note to me that Capt. Denkins might move up his Detatchment and take possession of the Fort; Having been much indisposed, and being still weak, when Capt. Denkins advanced to take possession of the fort, I retired to my Camp, and with astonishment learned in the morning that when the Capt. reached the Fort they threatened to fire upon him, he immediately sent to Majr. Piere whom I had left in command of Pensacola, for Orders, was directed to open his artillery upon them, and storm their Works. This Order was not sent, as orders were given by the Commandant to deliver the Fort immediately upon hearing the Orders of Majr. Piere to Capt. Denkins.[2]

The next morning I was prepareing to march and Storm the Barancas, when a tremendous explosion was heard, and a column of smoke seen to assend in that direction, repetitions of the explosions soon convinced me that the British and Spanish were blowing up the works. I detached 200 men with Major Gales, (my Voluntary Aid-de Camp) who returned in the night and informed me that the fortifications were blown up, and all the Combustible part consumed, The cannon except 2 Eighteen pounders spiked, three Carriages Burnt, and that the British fleet lay within gun-shot of the ruins. Not having the Sanction of my Government,

[2] The terms of the surrender of Fort St. Michael were as follows:

"Article 1. That possession of Fort St. Michael be immediately delivered to the Troops of the United States

"Article 2nd. Said Troops will return the possession of the Fort already mentioned to Spain whenever a sufficient force shall arrive from Spain to defend the same against a nation who violates the neutrality of the Spaniards

"Article 3rd. In the meantime devolution has its due effect. The Spanish Flag will remain flying in the said Fort.

"Article 4. The American Troops will respect with the greatest punctuality the persons and property of Spanish subjects whilst they remain in said Province." See Jackson to Col. José de Soto, Nov. 15, 1814, Jackson MSS.

or the means of repairing the fortifications, I determined not to occupy them, restore Fort St. Michael to the Spanish Governor as I found it, and withdraw my troops to this point for the protection of the frontier; But before I did this I had the Satisfaction to see the whole British force leave the port and their friends at our Mercy; Altho they had promised much and boasted that they could land sixteen hundred men from their Shiping.

The undaunted Bravery of my Columns displayed on entering the City with a heavy Battery in the fort upon our right, the British flotilla on our left, strong Block houses and batteries in our front has drawn a tribute of respect from our enemies. The Orderly conduct of our troops after Storming the town in religiously respecting the rights of the Citizens, and their private property, has elicited from the Spaniards a declaration, that our Choctaws are more civilized than the British; The hostile Creeks fled to the E. Side of Pensacola Bay have been taught that the British are not able to protect them, and they have now no assylum but in the friendship and protection of the U. S. They beheld from the British shiping, those batteries, and Blockhouses of the enemy stormed without a halt in the columns. In short there was never more cool determined bravery displayed by troops. The whole reallized my highest hopes; Capt. Lavall who led the front company evinced the true american Character, he is severely wounded but I hope he will survive, and meet a just reward from his government. I have to regret that Alfred Flourougnoy [3] acting under my Order as 3d Lt. in Capt. W. O. Butlers Compy. 44th Infantry; recd. a severe wound in the leg, he is a brave young man and deserves a Lieutenancy in the Army.

Thus Sir I have broken up the hot bed of the Indian war and Convinced the Spaniards That we will permit no equivocations in a nation professing neuterality, whilst we most scrupulously respect national, neuteral and Individual rights. For information as to the route pursued on the March, and my entry into Pensacola I am indebted to the inteligence and disinterested exertions of Col. Smith who conducted the right, Mr. Boyles who was with the centre, and a half breed Mr. Cartin who was the Guide to the left column, as also to Capt. Devereux who leaving his Volunteer Company offered his services as a guide, was usefull in that capacity and in loosening the bouys of the Sea horse frigate left before Pensacola, whilst exposed to his fire.

I beg leave to submit the enclosed report of the Officers commanding Regts. and have the honour to be respectfully [4]

[3] Flournoy.

[4] With this report are the reports of Major Blue of the 39th Regiment, who commanded a band of Choctaws in the attack on Pensacola, and the reports of Brig.-Gen. John Coffee, Maj. J. Woodruff, and Maj. H. D. Peire, together with a statement by two Creek Indians, Fullasepau and Noacoose Hoyo, who said they had been at Forbes's store, where British officers told them that seven nations were now fighting the United States and that the country would be reconquered and remain British territory permanently.

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, November 16, 1814.

Sir, Your letters of the 31st Ultimo, are the last which has reached me. The probable destination of the forces, which were to have sailed from Ireland in September last, makes me solicitous to hold in requisition all the energies of this state, and if I am supported by the Legislature now in session, you may calculate with certainty on my efficient Co-operation. The Enclosed Copy of my communication to the two Houses of the Legislature, will shew you my sentiments as to our National affairs, and how ardently I desire, that the Just war in which are engaged may be prosecuted with Union and Vigour. It is certainly true, that the Louisianians have of late manifested the most patriotic disposition, and that if the Spirit which exists, be cherished and encouraged, we have every thing to hope from the great majority of this population. The Legislature have not as yet done any thing to damp the public ardour. I hope this body will be justly impressed with the dangers to which we are exposed, and will warmly second all my efforts; But I fear, I much fear, they will not act with the promptitude and the Energy which the crisis demands.

I am Sir,

GENERAL ORDERS.[1]

FORT PIERCE, November 16, 1814.

Majr. Blue of the 39th Infantry will take command of the Companies of West Tennessee Mounted Gun men, Commanded by Capt. Russel Senr. and Junr., Capt. [*blank*] Majr. Child's command, now at Fort Montgomery, Capt. Cummens and Childs Companies, from East Tennessee, and Capt. Hodges from Madison M. T. with all other mounted Gun-men, left on the East bank of the Alabama, together with the Choctaw, Chickesaws, and friendly Creek Indians. And after having them supplied for the expedition, will without delay, march and scour the Escambia on the East and west side, in such direction as he may be advised any hostile Creek Indians may be lurking, or encamped, destroying or making prisoners all the men, preserving the Women and Children as prisoners of War, takeing all cattle or Corn he may find and applying it to the Use of the troops under his command, burning and destroying all Villiages that may be found. The Majr. will send for Capt. Devereux as a guide, or may employ him to command a Spy company. All of the friendly Creeks who understand and speak the Creek language should be employed as linguisters and guides. Saml. Manac of the Friendly Creeks and his party will be of Great Service on this excursion and ought to be engaged—they are twelve in number, and Many of Whom speak good English. The Majrs. discretion from the best information he can obtain, must govern him in the route; he will use great precaution to prevent ambuscade and Surprise; Perfect order, and silence, must be obtained on

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 150. Maj. Uriah Blue's force was established to hold the hostile Indians in Florida in check and thus give Jackson liberty to attend to matters at New Orleans.

the line of march and no fireing Suffered unless at an enemy. When the Majr. progresses beyond the Escambia as far as his Judgt. may direct, he will send five hundred of his mounted-men, to Fort Jackson for the defence thereof, and to Scourge any party of the Seminoles that they may fall in with. Information, has this moment reached me from Col. Hawkins that they are for war. It would be desireable if your supplies would Justify it, that you could reach the Semi[n]ola Towns, and destroy them, but this is left to your Judgt. to act agreeable to the Supplies.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Mobile, November 20, 1814.

Sir, I reached this place last evening, and have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 19th and 21st Ulto. That of the 19th respecting the preservation of Arms has been promptly attended to and a General order issued upon the subject, which will I hope perfectly secure the desirable objects the Goverment has in view.

My communication of the 14 Instant will have advised You of my visit to and return from Pensacola, by those of a previous date you have been informed of the hostility of the Goverment of W. Fla. towards the United States and the aid which he gave to our declared Enemy. In addition to this I have only to call your attention to the ficility afforded to the British by a position at Pensacola for driving off the cattle of our citizens and to the disaffected amongst us of holding correspondence with them; and furnishing them with supplies. About eight days before I marched, four hundred head of cattle were driven from the Alabama to the enemy, by whom I have been unable to discover. Part of them was regained, by me, driven back, delivered to the contractor with orders to him to account to the Individuals who owned them.

I flatter myself that I have left such an impression on the mind of the Governor of Pensacola, that he will respect the American Character, and hereafter prevent his neutrality from being infringed. Should he suffer the British again to occupy his Town, and the Indians to return, This District cannot be protected unless they are (as you have expressed in your letter of 7 September) promptly expelled.

I need not again mention to you the Geographical situation of that place, the goodness of its harbours, and with what ease an enemy from thence may attack any point in the west of the 6 or 7 Military Districts, and keep up an intercourse with the Indians. These subjects have been all laid before you in former communications. Let me state that it is with nations as individuals, let them decisively know that our rights will be maintain'd, that the least infringement, will be punished, and they will respect them. We have nothing to expect from the friendship of Spain her weakness and the exposed situation of her American possessions will alone secure her good offices. From the conduct of the Choctaws in the late expedition, I have every reason to hope that their attatchment to us is insured; The inconvenience attending Indians, is, that you cannot keep

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 156; also in War Dept. files.

them in the field, As soon as they perform an excursion, and take a scalp, they must go home and have a dance. The greater part of those in the service will now go home.

The Chickesaws are on their way to join me, and Col. Hawkins writes to me that he has taken the field at the head of the friendly Creeks, to Chastize the Seminoles who have shewn a spirit of hostility against us. The Cherokees inform me they will be with me shortly. I leave this for N. Orleans on the 22d Inst., and if my health permits, will reach there in 12 Days. I travel by land to have a view of the points at which the enemy might effect a landing.

It is with regret I do this before the arrival of Genl. Winchester.[2] I have been indisposed of late, but still hope to keep the field. I have ordered General Coffee with 2,000 of his Brigade to march and cover N. Orleans, untill the militia from West Tennessee, and Kentucky reach that point. I have ordered the dragoons from M. T. to a half way point between this and N. Orleans to be foraged (there being no longer any supplies in this quarter.) This Squadron can be ordered to any point at which there services are most wanted. I have directed about 1.000 Volunteer horse, part of Genl. Coffees Brigade, with what Indian forces can be raised to scour the ascambia yellow watter, under the command of Majr. Blue of the 39th Infantry with orders if the necessary supplies of forage and provision can be obtained, to persue the fugitive Creeks into the Seminole towns and destroy them and their Crops. Thus I leave this section of my District, and its security much depends on the speedy arrival of General Winchester, to take the command. The recruits of the 24th and 39th ordered to this point have not arrived, nor have I had any Account from them since their March, they ought to have been up as soon as Capt. W. O. Butler of the 44th who joined me on the 1st Inst.— he Marched with the Spirit of an Officer who panted with ardour to meet the enemy.

As General Taylor of East Tennessee will be up in a few days, and being the oldest officer will assume the Command. He has delayed the militia on their march, constantly complaining, and rumour States is very subject to intoxication. I have by a Special order confined his command to the militia, leaveing Lieut. Col. Arbuckle of the 3d Regt. (who having no recruiting Officer left Washington to visit me) in Command of Fort Charlotte, Fort Boyer, and the 3d U. S. Infantry with instructions to co-operate with the militia for the General defence of this quarter untill the arrival of General Winchester.

I hope Lieut. Col. Arbuckel will be permitted to remain in command here, as he is the only Officer of that rank of the U. S. Army, in this quarter, since the Order to Colo. Sparks[3] to Superintend the recruiting service, for his regt. If he is not permitted to remain, when the Militia and regulars act together, the Colos. of Militia will of course command. This will be unsafe, one of his Majors can superintend the recruiting district.

[2] See vol. I., p. 280.
[3] Richard Sparks, colonel 2d Regt. Infantry.

Before I close this communication permit me to suggest a plan which will on a fair experiment do away or lessen the expences, under the existing mode of calling militia forces into the field; whenever there happens to be a deficiency in the regular force in any particular quarter, Let the Government determine on the number of troops necessary to be employed for example 150,000 men. This number should be apportioned to the different States agreeably to the representation thereof, and called into service for and during the war. The respective quota's, will in my opinion be soon raised by the premiums offered by those subject to militia duty, rather than be harassed by repeated drafts, Let the bounty at present offered by government, be also given. I will insure an immediate force in the field; who (being placed under the Officers now in commission, and the most experienced men *selected* for Office) will present an effective army in every quarter, sufficient to drive all enemies from your shores, and to reduce Canada. At Once to put an end to the Indian warfare, in the N. West; offer a large bounty of land in that Country to an army who will enroll themselves to engage in that contest; and make themselves master of the soil; furnish them with rations only, and you will have immediate possession of the Country, and notwithstanding the pretensions of G. B. to the contrary, Peace with the Indians.

I have the hon'r to be

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Mobile, November 21, 1814.

Sir. Since I arrived at this place Colo Sparks has made known his orders received from the Adjutant and Inspector Generals Office dated Washington 1st October 1814

Lieut Willis resignation was not approved by the war department. He has completely recovd. and will be placed on the recruiting service in the States with subalterns appointed, and if we can furnish him with a sufficiency of funds he will perhaps Join the Regt in the Spring with a full company. Every thing shall be done to fill your Regt with officers and men.

You will please to make immediate application to the Dept. paymaster, Mr. Pemberton in New Orleans for $20,000 for bounties and premiums $2000 will be sent to you for contingencies with recruiting instructions

You are at Liberty to send your Officers into the States where you think they will be most Successfull.

I am Sir
Yr. Obt. Servt.
John H. Bell Ast. Insp. Genl.

Col. R. Sparks 2d Regt.
Infantry. Mobile

The defence of the Dirisct having been intrusted to my care, and being held responsible for its safety, I made the necessary erangments for this Section of it preparatory to my departure for New Orleans on the 22d Inst. I never can thus Situated permit Subordinate Officers to derange

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 160. Jackson's protest in this case was like his protest in the more famous case of Maj. Stephen H. Long, in 1816.

my plan of defence, for which I am alone responsible. From the tenor of the above order all the Officers might have been taken from its defence without my knowledge or consent. I have been taught from my infancy to believe it Military that all Orders to inferiors Should pass through there Superiors; any other System tends to disorganize all the plans of the Superior, without his knowledge or consent, And might place the most important points of defence under the superintendence of Officers not quallified.

Knowing the necessity that all supernumery Officers of the 2d Infantry, should be engaged in the recruiting Service, I have Ordered Col. Sparks on that duty, with such Officers as I think can at this important crisis be spared from the command of that Regt. which I intended for the defence of this Section of my District, and have placed them under the command of Lt. Colo. Arbuckle, Whom I have ordered to take command of Forts Charlotte, Bowyer, and all the regular forces in their Vicinity to cooperate with the militia in the general defence of this country untill the Arrival of Genl. Winchester. The names of the Officers retained for duty is subjoined hereto. I trust hereafter that all orders will come directly through me to any inferior Officer within my District. If I am incompetant to Judge of the talents and merits of Officers for special commands within my district, I am incompetant to defend it, and whenever my Government harbours that Opinion, it will find in me no disposition to continue longer in her Services.

I am Sir respectfully

González Manrique to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, November 22, 1814.

Most excellent Sir: I received from Mr. Stewart Your Excellency's letter of the 16th of the current month in which you are pleased to tell me that in one of the carriages of your highest Excellency, was found a box, containing various church ornaments; on this account I am begging Your Excellency to tell me in what place it was put; according to the information I have acquired the afore mentioned box was found in the drill hall of the Louisiana Regiment. Mr. Stewart gave me the flag which Your Excellency was kind enough to return to me. Permit me, Your Excellency, to give you my most hearty thanks and to sign myself, with the additional consideration and respect due you, your most obedient faithful and grateful servant, who kisses your hands.[2]

To Brigadier-General James Winchester.[1]

Head Quarters 7 M Dist Mobile, November 22, 1814.

Sir: I have waited with great solicitude your arrival. I was in hopes from the tenor of your letter of the 20th ultimo that, I should have had the

[1] Translation.

[2] It should perhaps be explained that this phrase, like "God guard Your Excellency many years", found at the end of a previous letter of Governor Manrique, was "common form" in the conclusion of a Spanish gentleman's letter.

[1] N. Y. Hist. Soc.

pleasure, of seeing you previous to my departure for New Orleans, and I can but regret my disappointment in this expectation, as I could verbally have given you, a more extensive idea of this section of the country, and more particularly have drawn your attention to its weak points, than I shall be enabled to communicate by a letter of instructions.

The enemy having been driven from Pensacola, they may be induced to abandon it, as a place of deposit and, concentration for their troops, betake themselves to Appalachicola, and from thence attempt to penetrate the country by the creek territory, take Fort Jackson, and cut off our supplies from that Quarter.

This you must guard against with vigilence, keeping up frequent communication with Colo. Hawkins the Agent of Indian Affairs, from whom you may derive much information. To guard against an incursion by way of the creek country, I have ordered Majr. Blue of the 39 Infty with the detachment spoken of in my letter to you of the 18th Inst. from Judge Tolmin, to scour the Escambia [and] Yallow Water, and if his supplies would Justify him to strike the Seminolies in their towns and destroy their crops. I have also ordered Colo Hawkins at the head of the creek warriors, and such auxillary force as the Governor of Georgia might furnish for the purpose, to attack the Seminolies and hostile creeks from thence. Aded to this I have instructed Major Genl. McIntosh,[2] who commands the Georgia troops, on their way to this place, if he found upon enquiry of Colo Hawkins, that his warriors and those troops furnished by the Gouvenor of Georgia were not adequate to the accomplishment of the object intended to march with the whole, of his command, or, detach such number as he might concieve competent, for the purpose. And immediately after effecting it to repair to this place. I have ordered the Brigade from East Tennessee commanded by Genl. Coulter to march directly to Fort Montgomery.

You will find stationed at Forts Montgomery and Claibourn Genl. Taylors Brigade, about two thousand strong, Colo. Pipkins Regiment,[3] and about three hundred of the Madison and Mississippi Teritorical militia here and at Fort Bowyer. The Second and third Regts of U. S. Infantry, with four companies of the 24 and one of the 39th, which will give you an effective force, exclusive of the Indians (all of whom you are authorized with the frontier Regt. of the Territory, to call into service) of four thousand one hundred and fifty. Add to this the twenty five hundred on their march from Georgia, and two thousand from East Tennessee, and you will have an effective force of at least eight thousand, which I trust will be competent for the complete protection and security of this section of the district, and to afford me a reinforcement if required. The Indians must be stimulated and kept in the field. To give you the ideas of the Secretary of war on this head I enclose you a copy of a letter received from that department of the [*blank*].

[2] John McIntosh.
[3] First Regt. Tennessee militia.

The General Order of the 19th Instant predicated on an order from the War department of the 19 ultimo relating to the repairs, and safe keeping of arms, will claim your attention. The scarcity of arms in the district, demands the utmost expedition in the organization of a corps of Artificers for their repair. Before I close this communication, I must bring to your view the original plans of the enemy for penetrating this country, as far as I have been enabled from various sources to collect them. They first intended to have carried Forts Bowyer and Charlotte, ascended the Rivers Mobile, Tombigby and Alabama, aroused the Indians to war, drawn them to their standard passed across the territory to the Mississippi, produced an insurrection of the negroes, cut off from supplies from the uper country, and thus compell the lower country to surrender at discretion.

The attempt agreeably to the original plan of operations, was made upon Fort Bowyer where the enemy were nobly repulsed. But they may again renew their attack upon an augmentation of their forces. Every exertion must be used to strengthen and support this important point which forms the Key of communication between this and New Orleans from whence the supplies must necessarily be drawn. I again repeat this point must be maintained. The Gun vessels on the station may be expected to cooperate with you for that purpose. I have ordered considerable alterations to be made in the Fortification of the point agreeably to a plan submitted by captain Chamberlain,[4] under the direction of that officer, which will claim your first attention. I have added to the Fort since the attack of the enemy Guns of a large, caliber, and I feel a conviction when the alterations proposed are completed that ten thousand troops cannot take it. The enemy may attempt a landing at Pascagola, and from thence to penetrate the country in that direction, and by that means cut off our supplies from New Orleans. But I flatter myself that our Gun Boats on the Lakes will be enabled to keep open the communication. Should the enemy effect a landing he will be without transportation, can and must be cut off before he penetrates the country far. I have the principal part of the troops encamped at Fort Montgomery, as the most eligible point to cover Mobile, check the enemy from Pensacola, and afford relief to Fort Bowyer if invested by land. But as the reinforcements arrive you will use your discretion in posting them in the best positions to give security to the country committed to your care. You will endeavour at all times to gain the earliest information of the movements of the enemy, to enable you to Judge of his intentions, and thus to guard against feints which he may make to mask his real designs. The 2nd and 3d Regts. of Infty. are equal to any troops in the world, and their officers not inferior to any. They may be relied on for the execution of any order within the reach of possibility. For them the post of honor is the post of danger. The militia are fine material, but not well officered. I have appointed Captn William O. Winston Assistant Adjutant Genl. and ordered him to report to you.

I have also appointed Lieut. Charles Stephens of the 3d Infty Assistant Inspector Genl. and leave him subject to your orders. The first of these

[4] Capt. Reuben Chamberlin, 2d Regt. Infantry.

Gentlemen I presume you are acquainted with, And the latter I reccommend to you as a modest well informed officer, and inferior to none of his age.

With the foregoing remarks I assign you the immediate command of this section of my District. That is to say from Pascagola to the Eastern limits of the same and as far North as the River Tennessee. Upon all matters not mentioned in this letter you will use your discretion, and take the steps in your opinion best calculated for the defence of the country committed to your protection, Keeping me always advised of every occurrence worthy of communication, and you will at any time receive from me any further instructions you may wish as I may have in my power to afford you.

I have the honor to be respectfully yr. obdt. Servt.

James Jackson to Jackson.

Nashville, November 27, 1814.

Dear Genl. It is some time since I done myself this pleasure, from having nothing to say worth communicating. Mr. Hutchings advised you of Pacolet's success and will no doubt be with you ere this gets to hand and can give all news relative to raceing matters, nothing new in that way has occured since he left us, except Parks's tawlking about running Doublehead against Pacolet a single mile for Ten Thousand dollars. If he is in earnest, fear I'll have to run him, altho you do not want the Horse run again 'till after the War, It would be sure money, but I do not want to make the race if he'll keep himself quiet. . . . .

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Balize, December 1, 1814.

Sir, In obedience to your order, I repaired with all possible expedition to New-Orleans. I left the City on the 27th ultimo, "to examine and determine, whether a Fortification at the Balize, would give greater security to New-Orleans". I have duly appreciated the high trust which you have done me the honor to repose in me, and have very sensibly felt my own incompetency to perform it in the manner I could wish. I have performed the duty, and now do myself the honor of making the following report.

In order to be clearly understood, it is necessary to describe the various *Outlets* to the Mississippi. The principal Outlet, is the South East Pass, commonly called *Ship Channel* or *Main Bar*—this has one Branch, called North Channel—the former gives from 12 to 14 feet Water—the latter 10. The former is known by the appellation of the New-Orleans Bar, and is the point most to be guarded. The next principal Outlet, is the South West Pass, which is about 21 miles, below Fort St. Philips, and about 11 miles *above the Balize*. It gives from 10 to 12 feet Water. There are two other Outlets, but the obstacles which they present, are insurmountable to the enemy.

I have examined the Balize, and am decidedly of opinion, that a Battery, can not be erected, in such a situation as to Command the Bar. The following are my reason's and sure I am, I risk nothing in expressing the *Belief,* that *every disinterested man endowed with common sense, will concur with me in this opinion.* It is only necessary then, that I should inform you, that the *Distance from the Battery, which has been constructed at the Balize, to the Bar, is at least 5 miles.* The *Pilots* call it *six.* Can Cannon of any Calabre, be efficient and effectual at that distance? If it can, the Balize ought to be fortified, but if it cannot, which is the fact, then I say, a *Fortification* in *Siberia,* would be of as much service, in defending the Bar of the Mississippi, as the *Work which has been constructed at the Balize.* But again, if the British approach us, by proceeding up the Mississippi, it will be by *Gun Brigs,* carrying from 4 to 6—24 pounders—and would not the *South West Pass,* afford the enemy an opportunity of entering the Mississippi, with nearly equal advantages, leaving our Battery at the Balize, in the rear, nor is there at the South West Pass, any situation, on which a Fort could be placed, so as to command the Bar of that pass. I would however advise, two or three Vessels prepared for the purpose, to be at the Balize, and to be sunk in the Channel, so soon as the enemy should make his appearance. These Vessels might be sunk in such a position, as to prevent any Vessel drawing over 9 feet, from entering the Bar. I would also strongly reccommend that a *Corps of Observation* be permanently stationed at the Balize.

I have the honor of reporting that I have examined Fort St. Philips. It is the *Key* as well as the *Kings Port of all our positions on the Mississippi,* and one upon which all of our defences must turn, all other points must be subordinate to that, and made *Links in the great Chain.* Fort St. Philips, is a military position, and well calculated for defence. Batteries placed so as to co-operate with the Fort, would in my mind, be far preferable, and would not be attented, with half the *time* or expense. It is the first position, which holds forth the prospect of a vigorous stand. The following are the positions which I would select for the Batteries. viz. one at the position, where the old Spanish work called Fort Bourbon stood, about ¾ of a mile, on the opposite side to Fort St. Philips, and in a diagonal direction, the other on the same side with Fort St. Philips, one mile higher up the River, and about ¾ of a mile, from the above mentioned Spanish Work. Thus defended and fortified, it would be impossible for such Vessels as could enter the Bar, to pass Fort St. Philips—*at least if they could, it would at once establish the principle that no Batteries can prevent the passage of Armed Vessels.*

I have the honor also to report, that I have examined the English Turn and the Battery opposite, combined they form a strong position, but must be held subordinate to Fort St. Philips and its dependancies—the *latter* defended and Fortified, the former at once becomes an object of consideration.

I should do *injustice to my own feelings,* if I did not inform you, that my friend Capt. Henly of the Navy very politely accompanied me to the Balize. To his talents and information I owe more than I can express.

I have the honor to be sir, very respectfully

Diary of a British Officer.[1]

Before New Orleans, December 5, 1814, to January 5, 1815.

1814, 5th of December. went on board the Europe Transport from the Bucephalus in the Gulph of Mexico, found there Colonel Paterson, Capns. McKay and Hall, Dr. Nice, Lieuts. K. McKay, Fonblanque and Spottiswood, remained on board Untill the 15th when all the Regt. left their Ships, in Flat and other boats, in the evening we got on board the American gun Vessels taken yesterday, remd. on board them all night.

16th. Disembarked on a small Island,[2] the whole of which except about 6 Acres was a compleat swamp, passed a cold night.

17th. Remained on the Island, a wet day, and the night colder than the last

18th, 19th, and 20th. remained on the Island. Suffered more from cold Since landing in this place than I did in all my Spbr [Spanish?] Campaigns,

21st. Embarked on board the Gun Vessels, where we remained all night,

22d. The remainder of the Army consisting of the 4th, 85th, and 95th, left the Island in small boats, and we all got under Weigh, at dusk anchored, when the small boats proceeded up the Creek, and surprised a picquet of the enemy of ten men, on board all night,

23d. The advance landed and at dusk arrived on the Banks of the Mississippi, where they had scarcely piled Arms when they were attacked on the left by a Schooner mounting 14 Guns and on the Right by about 4,000 Americans, who were beaten back with a considerable loss in killed and wounded and 65 taken prisoners, our loss was about 220 killed wounded and taken prisoners the latter was Major Mitchell 95th. Captn. Curran and 14 of ours were killed and 10 wounded.

24th. Halted, on fatigue at the landing place,

25th. Do. on picquet—fine weather, but the nights very cold.

26th. Do. on fatigue—destroyed the American Schooner.

27th. Do. a fine day.

28th. Advanced from our encampment, to within about 800 yards of the enemys position found them strongly posted about 6 miles from New Orleans, their Right Resting on the Mississippi supported by a 20 Gun ship, their left on an impenetrable wood. and their whole front covered by entrenchments and palisades, Sir Edwd. Packenham deemed it imprudent to attack them, in consequence of which we retired about half a mile and encamp'd

29th. Halted, on fatigue, fine weather.

30th. Halted, fine weather.

31st. Halted on picquet—Do. w.

1st of January 1815, Commenced fireing on the enemy Lines from Upwards of 20 pieces of Cannon, at 10. At the same time the Rocket

[1] This paper is in the Jackson MSS., without information as to its author or its procurement.

[2] Isle aux Poix, in Lake Borgne.

Corps began to play but with little effect, the enemy received our fire very coolly and returned it in a spirited manner, our fire appearantly made very little impression on their works and at 3 p m it compleatly ceased, the intention in the morning was to attack but now it was entirely, dropped, on picquet all night.

2d. Halted, on fatigue from 12 to 6 pm.

3d. Do. on Do. from 6 to 12 pm.

4th. Do. fine weather.

5th. Do. on Picquet on the Right flank of the army.

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

War Department, December 10, 1814.

Sir, Intelligence was received yesterday from Cuba on the 9. ultimo, that the British force from this bay, under admiral Cochrane, had united at Jamaica, with other troops, and had sailed, or were on the point of sailing, to make an attack on New Orleans. It is hoped that you will have long since taken a suitable position, on the river to afford complete protection to that City. Mobile is comparatively a trifling object with the British government. Your presence at such a point, on the river, with the main body of your troops will be of vital importance. It will inspire the Inhabitants with confidence, and animate them to vigorous exertions. It will enable you to direct your whole force to the proper points and to make the necessary preparations to meet the enemy, on either pass, and to overwhelm him, whereever he presents himself. All the boasted preparation, which the British government has been making thro' the year, with veteran troops from France and Spain, after having been gloriously foiled, in attacks on other parts of our Union, is about to terminate in a final blow against New Orleans. It will, I hope, close there its inglorious career, in such a repulse as will reflect new honor on the American arms. . . . .

[*Note in margin, in Jackson's handwriting:*] at this date I could not have wielded more than 2500 and neither arms or flints. 7500 flint Pistol was obtained from the Baratarians

[*Note on a duplicate copy of the same letter:*] Note first. This communication by express as stated on the envelope from the War Department was received at night on the 18th Feb. 1815. R. Butler, Adj General

Note second. The Tennessee troops did not reach New Orleans until 21st of Decem 1814 no arms until they arrived, no flints only what was got from the Baratarians until after the 8th of January 1815

[*Indorsement on this duplicate in Jackson's handwriting:*] The Sec of War letter of the 10th of December 1814 recd by Genl Jackson on the 18th of February 1815 at Neworleans—note this was the first letter I recd from the Dept, after I reached N.orleans, and the first after those of the 19th and 21st of octbr 1814, acknowledged by mine of the 20th of Novbr. from Mobile—see my answer to that of the 10th of Decbr herewith sent you

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

New Orleans, December 10, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to inform you, that I returned last evening from exploreing the right and left banks of the Mississippi as low as Fort St. Phillips. And should have descended as low as the Balize, had I not previously Sent my Inspector Genl. from Mobile, with special instructions, to proceed to that point, explore it, and make report Whether the reoccupancy of the Old fort would give protection to the River, from an invadeing enemy and whether the Fort could be Strengthened so as to defy the assault of an enemy. His report reallized the information I had recd. from all Military men on this subject, that It could not protect the enterence over the bar, nor could it be made so strong as not to be carried by an invadeing enemy. I therefore halted at Fort St. Philips, viewing that as the key to the defence of the River Mississippi. I have explored it well and have directed two temporary batteries to be erected in Aid to Fort St. Philips, one on the site whereon Old Fort Burbon stood (which is on the right bank of the River to work five 24 pounders). This battery will form a cross fire on the enemy for a distance of half a Mile. The other on the left bank about a mile above Fort St. Philips.

The enemies fleet will be compelled to come head on to this Battery for at least two miles, and will work 4. 24 lb. one 32 lb. and a 13½ Inch Mortar. I have the assureance of the Legislature, that it will provide the means of speedily completeing those batteries. Two hundred negroes in ten days will complete the labour. The batteries Mounted, and a sufficient number of Artilerists to work the Guns, and the boasts of the enemy in this quarter will be as ineffectual as Colo Nicholas and Sir William Henry Percy proclamations. In addition to this the committee of defence have recommended the Fortification at the English Turn to be Occupied, and a battery aided by a ditch from the river to the marsh to be established. This work was progressing when I reached New Orleans, and I have said to the Legislature, if they will find the labourers, I will furnish the Guns, And men to Occupy a Battery at Terraux Beauf, which (in case the British fleet should Pass Fort St. Philips) will be able to halt them at this point, when with fire Ships and flying Artillery, they can be destroyed.

This with the promised aid of the Legislature of Louisiania (if afforded) will be the defence of the River Mississippi. The Gun Boats on the Lakes will prevent the British from approaching in that quarter. And was the Fire Ship that lies on the Stocks finished, and placed in Mobile Bay, to Aid Fort Boyer in defence This would be the securest section of the Union from invasion.

Here permit me again to recommend, that this Vessell be immediately finished, and placed in the Navy cove which will protect the rear of Fort Bowyer, and my life on the event that Ten thousand Troops, and all the British Navy cannot take the place or enter the Bay. Fort Bowyer will be there point of attack, if carried, they will endeavour to penetrate the Indian country and there make a stand, excite the Indians to War, our

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 152.

Negroes to insurrection, penetrate (if they can) to the left bank of the Mississippi, and cut off the communication between the upper and lower Country. If they effect this the lower country falls of course. For this reason I so strongly urged the finishing of the Ship, That will give security to this point. I have seen Commodore Patterson, he accompanied me on my late excursion down the Mississippi. He has promised and I have no doubt of his hearty cooperation in the defence of this country as far as he has the means, (I wish they were more ample.)

I have just heard from Pensacola, they are rebuilding the Barancas. The British offered them their aid; they refused to accept it, and replied when they wanted aid, they would apply to their friend General Jackson. I therefore hope that my visit to Pensacola will have a good effect.

I have the honor to be

N. B. Permit me to remark that from the increase of the Army proposed, I find there are a number of new regiments to be raised in giving a head to each would it not add Greatly to the Publick Service, to take the Colos. of the new Regts. from the Lieut. Colos. and Majrs. of the Old. Should this plan be adopted, I beg leave to recommend Colo. Butler Adgt. Genl. of the 7th M. D. and Majr. Woodruff of the 3d U. S. Infantry as fit persons for the Command of two new Regts. A. J.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.

New Orleans, December 11, 1814.

D'r General: I reached this place on the 1st instant, halted two days and proceeded down the river to examine its defence as low at Fort St. Phillips, and find with a few auxiliary Bateries, it can be made impregnable against any invading foe, orders have been taken for the necessary defence which will be compleated in a short time. I returned to this place night before last, and on yesterday was informed by Mr Brant Contractors agent that you had reached the neighbourhood of Baton Rouge where he had furnished you sufficient supplies of rations. I hope you have ample supplies of forrage. your Position is a favourable one to cover the Amite, and prevent an enemy from advancing through lake Maurapa, and up the Manshack.[1] The vessels of the enemy has made there appearance, on the coast near Ship and cat Islands, and the contractors vessels on their voyage to Mobile has returned. I expect this is a faint, to draw my attention to that point when they mean to strike at another—however I will look at them there and provide for there reception else where. I beg of you to advise me of your wants and that of your Brave men, and as far as I can they shall be supplied. to your Brave officers and men Present my approbation and thanks for their prompt and speedy march from Mobile to this section of the District, and enduring their privations without complaint or murmur—they have set a fit example to the oldest veteran troops and Established a fame for themselves as durable as marble. forward me a report of the state of your Brigade, and if you have heard from Jackey I pray you inform me. I have had no information

[1] Maurepas; Manchac.

from Tennessee since I saw you, except I see in the Nashvill Gazette—that "*Packolett has beat the noted horse Double-head with great Ease*". two mails are due from the East. I suppose detained by high waters. I have had incessant rains on me untill today ever since I left you, and from the unusual height of the Mississippi, it is fair to Judge that there has been a great fall of rain in the upper country.

I have only to add, that you will hold your Brigade in compleat readiness to march at a moments warning. We may, or may not have a fandango, with Lord Hill, in the christmas holidays. If so you and your Brave followers must participate, in the frolic. I hope the west Tennessee militia and the Kentuckians will reach here in due time to participate. With a Tender of my best wishes believe me to be

respectfully yr mo. ob. serv.

Major-General William Carroll to Jackson.[1]

Natchez, December 14, 1814.

Sir, We arrived here last night at 10 OClock after a prosperous Voyage of 18 days from Nashville.

I had expected to receive orders from you at this place pointing out our destination. But being disappointed I have despatched Colonel Hines to your Head Quarters in order to learn your pleasure on that subject. The Troops having been much fatigued by incessant duty require some relaxation and an opportunity of Washing their cloathes. Besides we have some sick, who will require every possible care and attention and in conformity with that design I shall establish a hospital and leave them here. A Keel Boat is in company with us or a little distance in our rear frieghted with about 14.00 stand of Arms and amunition for the use of the Army;[2] and a great number of my Men, being badly armed, and many others not armed at all, I wish to ascertain if you will not permit me to furnish them from this boat. After remaining here one day or two at farthiest I shall

[1] Carroll was elected major-general of the second division of Tennessee militia, Jackson's old position, about the middle of October. He proceeded to raise the Western Tennessee quota called for by Jackson and set out for New Orleans by water on Nov. 27.

[2] A part of a supply sent from Pittsburgh early in November. A. R. Woolley, deputy commissary of ordnance, wrote from that place, *i. e.*, Fort Lafayette, to Jackson Nov. 8, 1814, as follows:

"*Sir:* I have the honor to inform you that agreeably to the orders of the Honbl. the Secy of War, I have caused to be delivered over to the Q. Masters Dept. 5000 stands arms with accoutrements Flints etc. and 300000 Musket Catridges to be forwarded with the least possible delay to Baton Rouge which Place I presume they will reach in 20 or 23 days from this date. The secy of war is desirous of having in addition to the above mentioned arms etc. 4 or 5000 stands arms forwd to Baton Rouge, as many more will be forwarded as our Deposit at Franklinton ohio will afford and measures will be taken to have them forwd as soon as possible.

"In addition I have been directed that if from any information I might suppose any more artillery would be servicable in your quarter I would forward such as could be spared and of the calibers and kind I might Judge advisable. I shall have it in my power to forward you on the receipt of and order from you any artillery ordnance Stores and Equipments you may require and if the navigation will permit they will reach you by mid winter."

fall down to Baton-rouge where I understand Genl. Coffee is stationed with his Brigade of mounted Men, and where I will await the return of Colo Hines and your orders.

I have the honor to be

Resolutions of the Louisiana Legislature concerning the Barataria ns.

December 14(?), 1814.

Whereas in the Present state of Public affairs it is of the greatest importance to procure seamen for the Service of the United States, and whereas many Persons who have served on board or been concerned in, or connected with the privateers lately resorting to Barataria in this state are deterred from offering their services for fear of persecution, as violators of the Revenue Laws of the United States.

Wherefore Be it Resolved by the senate and house of Representatives of the state of Louisiana in general assembly convened, that the commanding officer of the District be requested to use his endeavours to procure an amnesty for all of the Persons above described who are now actually in service, or who shall within thirty days enrole themselves to serve in the land service or in the navy of the United States or other ways when directed by the commanding officer, for the defence of the state during the Present occasion, or while the Enemy shall remain on the coast, and shall continue in such service according to the time of their engagement, and that this Legislature will earnestly recommend to the President of the United States to grant a full pardon to all such Persons for, any offence they may have committed against the laws of the United States as aforesaid.

And Be it further resolved that the Governor of the state and the said commanding General be requested to use their endeavours to procure the Attorney of the United States with the leave of the court to enter a nolle prosequi against all such persons now confined for any of the offences aforesaid on the Conditions above stated.[1]

Magloire Guichard,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
Fulwar Skipwith
President of the Senate.

Brigadier-General John Coffee to Jackson.

Mouth of Sandy Creek, December 15, 1814.

Major Genl. Jackson, I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 11th It. by express, this evening, and am gratified to learn the position I have taken meets your approbation, as the spot chosen was not selected untill the best information to be had, was obtained, the particulars whereof is

[1] Dec. 15, 1814, General Coffee wrote to Jackson saying that he was informed that Lafitte had concealed $200,000 worth of smuggled goods in a French settlement on the Mississippi north of New Orleans. He suggested that he be authorized to seize the goods.

more fully expressed in my report to you of date the 13th Instant by mail, which you will have recd ere this comes to hand. . . . .

Inclosed I send you a report of my Brigade of the 13th Instant, since which time I have not had a report, the Regts. being still in Country forageing, for want of forage at this place, from report of my forage masters on the river, by tomorrow night I shall have delivered to me here, about one thousand bushels of corn, in two barges sent up the river for the purpose, if I had money I could purchase as much forage here, as I wanted at a very low price, but they will not agree to take drafts, at any price, the forage masters have been compelled to promise Cash before they could get any corn, since on the river; if consistant that I could have about 2 or 3 thousand dollars in money sent from the quarter masters department, it would very much save the credit of my forage masters in future, and would enable them to furnish me amply, and as I mentioned to you in my last, could I be authorised to draw drafts on the Q. M. at Orleans it would be much more convenient to the people of this Country that are disposed to sell in that way.

Tomorrow I shall be able to call my Brigade together to this place, where I shall use every industry in my power to improve and instruct them, and will be always ready to receive your orders, and march when called for at the shortest notice; a number of the arms, are in bad condition, shall repair them as fast as possible, I have no amunition, nor am I advised if any at Battonrouge; will make the enquiry, but should there be none, I presume it must come from Orleans.

I have no information from Genl, Carroll, or the Kentuckyans,[1] save only I am informed by Col Dyer (who has arrived here today) that Genl. Carroll would sail from Nashville on the 21st Nov. he also says abundance of rain fell in that country about the same time, therefore the river must be up, and they must be here in few days—no information neither of the corn coming down. I am glad to learn you feel secure from an enemy by the way of the Mississippi, as I cannot believe they can ever land at orleans through the lake, and should they attempt landing on this side, in the swamps, we would ask no better Christmass frolic, than cut them off from their Crafts, and never let them again embark, I cannot believe they will land at all. . . . .

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

New Orleans, December 16, 1814.

Sir, I fear the Gun Boats on the 14th Inst: were captured by the British on the Lakes. If so, the communication with Mobile is closed for the

[1] The movements of the Kentucky militia may be partly understood from the following letter from their commander, Maj.-Gen. John Thomas, to Jackson, Dec. 8, 1814, dated at the mouth of the Cumberland River:

"*Sir:* In obedience to the orders of the governor of the State of Kentucky I have taken the Command of the detachnt. of Kentucky Millitia destined to act under your Command I have now about 2300 men and officers who have been mustered into service, and will be ready to move at 4 oclock this evening, Our transportation (such as it is) is now ready, and our provisions are nearly all in the commissarys boats, and I presume that (without unforseen Casualties) we may calculate on being at Natchez in 20 or 25 days, when I hope to receive your further orders",

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 171.

War, and all supplies for the troops in that quarter must be sent from Tennessee. I was fearful of this event when I urged the fire Ship on the stocks to be finished, And took the precaution of makeing a requisition on the agents of the contractors, Wood and Taylor, to lay in a supply of provision for six months for three thousand men at Forts Strother, Williams and Jackson. This will feed the Army in that section of the country, until ample supplies can be sent on to Fort Jackson and from thence down the Alabama to Mobile.

The communication shut with Mobile, and the lakes in the peaceable enjoyment of the enemy, will give him great advantages over us, but I still trust with the smiles of heaven I will be able to repulse him, if he lands, or attempts an invasion up the River. The Tenessee and Kentucky troops have not reached me, but I hope they will in a few days. I am labouring to have the defence of the River compleated; The British are in the Balize, and have captured my piquit and taken off with them three Pilots, There must have been treachery in this. The corporal of the Piquit was ordered on the sight of the enemy to retire and bring off the Pilots. I fear that Williams the Inspector of the port has proved faithless to his Government, as the enemy have not interrupted him.

I have declared the City under Martial Law, and called on the Militia of Louissianna in Mass. The Country shall be defended, if in the power of the Phisical force it contains, with the auxiliary force ordered. We have no arms here. Will the Goverment order a supply, If it will let it be spedily, without Arms a defence cannot be made.

I am respectfully

To Major-General William Carroll.[1]

New Orleans, December 16, 1814.

D'r General, I have the pleasure of acknowledging your letter by the hands of Col. Hynes, I have only to observe, that all our Gun Boats, have fell into the hands of the enemy. The conflict was dreadful, and in their fall they have nobly (from the report of the Spectators) sustained the american Character. Our lakes are open to the approach of the enemy, and I am with my feble force prepared to meet him and die in the last ditch before he shall reach the city.

Your presence and your brave companions in arms are much wanted here. The express through Genl. Coffee, I hope has reached you, and you will be with me in the course of the night or early tomorrow. You will bring with you the Arms and fixed ammunition; The other you will deliver to the Comdg. Officer at Batton Rouge,[2] and proceed immediately with your division to this place; Notifying me before you reach the city.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 172.

[2] The word "other" probably refers to ammunition that was not fixed. It is hardly to be said that Jackson means that any of the arms should be left at Baton Rouge; for he was in dire need in that respect. Compare with Carroll's allusion to the boat with arms and ammunition, in his letter to Jackson of Dec. 14, 1814, *ante*.

Ground of encampment is chosen for your division, four miles above the City, (which will be occupied by you, unless the approach of the enemy should make a change necessary, and at which point), The Inspector Genl. and myself will meet you.

I am yours with respect

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

"CAMP AT MOUTH OF SANDY CREEK,
four OClock A. M.", December 17, 1814.

Dear Genl, Your orders through your Adjt. Genl.[1] by express per Captain Gordon, was handed me, about eight OClock last evening, one of my Regiments was absent 4 miles foraging, (never as yet being able to procure that article here) my orders were sent immediately, and by exertion shall move my command this morning at sunrise, no time will be lost by me untill I reach New Orleans, I think we will reach you in four days, say by the evening of the 20th Instant.[2]

My arms are in bad condition, and now I have no time to examine into their state, but I know we have from 2 to 4 hundred that are not good—if I could be furnished with muskets, and Cartridge Boxes to that amount I should be glad, it would be well to have the Boxes filled with cartridges before my arrival, all my powder has been destroyed, by the rains on the march to this place. furnish us with the best rifle powder that can be had,

My command are in fine sperits, and if we can reach you before Lord Hill arrives, we will give him a warm reception. Any supplies of arms and Amunition that I am to receive from you, would be well to be forwarded to some point above Orleans, and reced. before we enter the town. I have dispached an express to Genl. Carroll, have not heard of him since Col Hynes passed me, have also sent for Major Hyds Dragoons, every thing here is in motion, have two large Barges here, and my quarter master will some how or other, fill them with corn, say 2000, bushels and meet me at orleans.

I have the honor to be

[1] These orders, by Robert Butler, adjutant-general, dated Dec. 14, were as follows:

"*Sir,* You will immediately on receipt hereof move your command day and night (as far as practicable) to this place where you will receive further orders. Make arrangements for the immediate transportation of forage down the river to meet the demands of your brigade, despatch an order to Major Hinds commg. M. Dragoons to hasten in like manner his movements to this point. Should any of the troops from the upper country be near you, notify them of the importance of their immediate exertion to reach their destination. The British are arriving on our coast at or near cat island in considerable force. Near thirty sail came in last evening and more in sight, principally calculated for the lake navigation.

"To you it is deemed unnecessary to say—hasten to the field of danger."

[2] Coffee arrived at New Orleans in the early morning of the 20th and went into camp four miles north of the city. On his march, see Bassett's *Jackson,* I. 170, n. 1. Carroll arrived Dec. 21 and went into camp with Coffee.

Jackson's Address to the Troops in New Orleans.[1]

December 18, 1814.

[On Sunday the 18th instant, General Jackson reviewed the militia of the city, the battalion commanded by major Plauché, and a part of the regiment of men of colour. Being drawn up on their respective parades, the following addresses were read to them by Mr. Livingston, one of his aides.]

TO THE EMBODIED MILITIA.

Fellow-Citizens and Soldiers: The general, commanding in chief, would not do justice to the noble ardour that has animated you in the hour of danger, he would not do justice to his own feelings, if he suffered the example you have shewn to pass without publick notice. Inhabitants of an opulent and commercial town, you have by a spontaneous effort shaken off the habits, which are created by wealth, and shewn that you are resolved to deserve the blessings of fortune by bravely defending them. Long strangers to the perils of war, you have embodied yourselves to face them with the cool countenances of veterans—and with motives of disunion that might operate on weak minds, you have forgotten the difference of language and the prejudices of national pride and united with a cordiality that does honour to your understandings as well as to your patriotism. Natives of the United States! they are the oppressors of your infant political existence, with whom you are to contend—they are the men your fathers conquered whom you are to oppose. Descendants of Frenchmen! natives of France! they are the English, the hereditary, the eternal enemies of your ancient country—the invaders of that you have adopted, who are your foes. Spaniards! remember the conduct of your allies at St Sebastiens, and recently at Pensacola, and rejoice that you have an opportunity of avenging the brutal injuries inflicted by men who dishonor the human race.

Fellow citizens of every description! remember for what and against whom you contend. For all that can render life desirable—for a country blessed with every gift of nature—for property, for life— for those dearer than either, your wives and children—and for liberty, dearer than all, without which country, life, property, are no longer worth possessing: as even the embraces of wives and children become a reproach to the wretch who could deprive them by his cowardice of those invaluable blessings. You are to contend for all this against an enemy whose continued effort is to deprive you of the last of those blessings—who avows a war of vengeance and desolation, proclaimed and marked by cruelty, lust, and horrours unknown to civilized nations.

[1] This address is reprinted in Parton's *Jackson*, II. 63. Parton says that the original manuscript of it exists, and is in the handwriting of Edward Livingston. He does not say that he has seen it; and it is not in the Jackson MSS. It is also printed in Latour, pp. xxxvii-xxxix.

Citizens of Louisiana! the general, commanding in chief, rejoices to see the spirit that animates you, not only for your honour but for your safety, for whatever had been your conduct or wishes, his duty would have led, and will now lead him to confound the citizen unmindful of his rights with the enemy he ceases to oppose. Now, leading men who know their rights, who are determined to defend them, he salutes you, brave Louisianians, as brethren in arms, and has a new motive to exert all his faculties which shall be strained to the utmost in your defence. Continue with the energy you have began, and he promises you not only safety, but victory over the insolent enemy who insulted you by an affected doubt of your attachment to the constitution of your country.

TO THE BATALLION OF UNIFORM COMPANIES.

When I first looked at you on the day of my arrival I was satisfied with your appearance, and every day's inspection since has confirmed the opinion I then formed. Your numbers have increased with the increase of danger, and your ardour has augmented since it was known that your post would be one of peril and of honour. This is the true military spirit! this is the true love of country! you have added to it an exact discipline, and a skill in evolutions rarely attained by veterans; the state of your corps does equal honour to the skill of the officers and the attention of the men. With such defenders our country has nothing to fear. Every thing I have said to the body of the militia, applies equally to you—you have made the same sacrifices—you have the same country to defend, the same motive for exertion—but I should have been unjust had I not noticed as it deserved the excellence of your discipline and the martial appearance of your corps.

TO THE MEN OF COLOUR.

Soldiers! From the shores of the Mobile I called you to arms—I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities that must render you so formidable to an invading foe—I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war—I knew that you loved the land of your nativity and that, like ourselves you had to defend all that is most dear to man—but you surpassed my hopes; I have found in you, united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.

Soldiers—the President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on this occasion, and the voice of the representatives of the American nation shall applaud your valour, as your general now praises your ardour. The enemy is near; his "sails cover the lakes"; but the brave are united; and if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valour and the rewards of fame.

By command, THOS. L. BUTLER, Aide-de-camp.

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, December 20, 1814.

Sir, I have the honor to enclose you a Return in part of the Militia of the state of Louisiana.[1] You would sooner have received it, but for causes, which I could not controul. The enclosure (A) is a Return of the regular Militia, *at present* within the city, and Environs of New Orleans; their numbers have been diminished by several Detachments, *heretofore* ordered into the service of the United States, and by two or three Companies recently raised, I learn, under your authority, and of which description are the Detachments under Mr. Ogden, and Mr. Jacques Vienne.

The enclosure (B) will shew you the strength of the several *Rifle, Marine,* and *veteran corps,* of *Chevaux's Troop of Cavalry* and of the *fire Company.* The Rifle Company is an *Independant Corps;* organized under a particular Law, which accords to *it* peculiar privileges, and among these, is the *one* of being immediately under the orders of the Governor of the State. *The Marines* have recently been raised and consists for the most part of *transient Persons.* They have been organized by me into a Battalion, and fully officerd; They were inspected on this morning, and are anxious to be put on duty. *The veterans* are men exempt by law from militia service, or incapable by age or bodily Infirmities of active Duty. Chevau's Cavalry is an Independent Company, entitled by law to peculiar privileges, one of which is, to be more immediately under the orders of the Governor. The *fire Company* is composed of Fathers of families, entitled by law to exemption from ordinary militia duty; but who at the Present crisis, have made a voluntary tender of service, *within the city.*

The enclosure (C) will shew the strength of a volunteer Battalion of free men of colour, which I have recently organized and officered. They have been inspected, and are armed with good musket Cartridge Boxes and Bayonets Belt have not been furnished them, nor have I any at my disposition. This Battalion is solicitous to be put in activity, and if you think proper, to make me *the vihicle of Conveying your wishes,* it shall be ordered to any Point you shall designate.

I have not accurate information as to the Present Condition of the Battalion of uniformed militia, (Plauchés command) at Present under your immediate orders; It has of late been much added to by Recruits from the Regular militia, and indeed *the practise* of leaving one company to join another, has of late become *so common,* that to prevent the total

[1] Dec. 12, 1814, Lieutenant-Colonel MacRea made the following report to Jackson: "Detachments and Corps Stationed in the City of New Orleans and its Dependencies Viz.

"In Fort St. Charles Capt. Humphreys Company Corps of Artillery.

"In Barracks 7th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

"On Marignys Canal. Capt. Gordons Company of Volunteer Infantry from Rapide.

"In the Fauxburgh St. Mary. Capt. Smiths Dragoons and Capt. Griffiths Company of Mounted Volunteer Rangers from Feliciana.

"At Declouets house lower Fauxburgh, Captain Dubuchets Hussars from Tech.

"At Fort St. John a Detachment from the 7th Infantry of 1 Sub. 1 Sergt. 1 Corporal and 19 privates.

"On the Lafourche Capt. Hicks Company of Louisiana drafted Militia.

"At Barataria Capt. Dupas Company of Louisiana drafted Militia.

"At English Turn a Detachment of the Louisiana drafted Militia. Under Col. Alexander Declouet."

destruction of some corps, and much derangment, to others I have deemed it proper to forbid it, in General militia orders.

The Return of the Battalion of Chosen Men of Colour, ordered to the Chef Menteur, has been mislaid; another will Soon be furnished me, and a Copy shall be forwarded to you, on Tomorrow if desired; But I take it for granted that of the Strength of this corps, you are fully informed.

As Regards the militia of the state generally, I cannot give you full information; But I have ordered the Adjutant General to prepare a general Abstract from the returns last received, and which shall be transmitted to you.

I am sir

Colonel Robert Hays [1] to Jackson.

Nashville, December 20, 1814.

Dear Genl. Your's of the 2nd Inst. I recevd. by frydays mail and felt quit[e] Happy, to hear of your Safe arrival at Neworlains, I left home last Evening. Mrs. Jackson was well and Andrew has got nearly well after a Severe attact of the fever. Stockley got home on Saterday was a week and Lydia had a fine Daughter next day. Lydia has been very Sick untill a few days agoe. he has been down but cannot Decend the river with Mrs. Jackson and Rachel B. but Captn. Harman Hays will, and when I applyed to Captn. Rapirse [?] Partners I was told a Chimney could not be built as a Stove had, and Andrew being not well I found it would not answer. I found a very handsom keel 30 Toon burthen. Mr. James Jackson and the owner aggred on fraughting her at 420 Dollars which I think high. Jackson says by Loading her with your bacon beef oats and corn and Rachel Butler meat meal and corn as some may be Sold which will help to pay for their passage it may do. I have had Tight Times a Trying to fix the copper and other things. number Talks but none put their hands to but myself as yet. I think Harmon will from this out. The boat could Starte I think in eight days from this, but Since I came to Town I saw Colo. Anderson who says he will start from this place dead or alive on the Tenth of next month and he will take about 20 of the handsome men he has and his Musik and go in her boat and him and Harman can lodge together which I think will be best. I do not want to hear of Mrs. Jackson going down to you without some of the Military as an Escort, and the Colo Say he will double man the oars on boat. no Overseer as yet is got. Fields is Still with the hands he is a good honest man but he drinks too hard and Says get some other person.[2] he will not do without Some person to direct and cause him to do better.

I have been obliged to till [tell] fields he should not keep his hands a doying nothing as the[y] did not Tread out thirty bushells or more of oats in three days, he canot command the negro women. I wish he would answer. I pity him. Your Ason was hired to Saw to Reathurford at Saveren Donelsons. he give Ason a pass to go to Nashville and Ason on Sunday night was a week got into a Stable to take a horse at Colo Campbells on

[1] Col. Robert Hays had married Mrs. Jackson's sister. Previous letters to him are in vol. I., pp. 23, 24, 38, 44, 45, 57, 60.

[2] John Fields had been engaged by Jackson as overseer, for the year ending Dec. 25, 1814. See vol. I., p. 431.

the load [?] to Ride over mill Creek. a whiteman attempted to take him. ason Cut the man with a knife through his Cloaths and the man shot a large load of Small Shot into his back which is Still in him. he is got home and I think will live. I shall do every thing I can as to seeing things goying on well owntill Some confidential person can be had, and then I will act as a Spy. Tell Colo. Butler his Family are all well. Robert begins to walk. I shall send him down meat meal and Corn and do for the best. I want to know what he has done with David Hays bond. My Family are all well and so is all our Friends.

I am D Sir your Frnd. etc

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM CARROLL TO JACKSON.

CAMP NEAR NEW ORLEANS, December 21, 1814.

Sir, The Bearer, Capt Lewis, who brought on the U. states arms, delivered me twenty two Boxes, said to contain Eleven hundred stand. They are without accoutrements, but expect the Cartridge Boxes and belts are behind in the other Boats. I have laid off an Encampment and will pitch our Tents Tomorrow

I have the honour to be

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, December 22, 1814.

Sir, In conformity to your order of yesterday, I am making evry exertion to place the Militia of this City in the best possible Condition for, service, but we are deficient in amunition and flints, and in order to save trouble, will you be pleased to order such Cartridges as they may want (I suppose 24 rounds each man) to be delivered to me on my orders? with great respect I am

NEW ORLEANS, December 22, 1814.

(Private)

Sir, The times perceive no Union, nor is there any thing I more desire, than to maintain with you, the most friendly understanding, and a cooperation zealous and cordial. With this Object in view, I request of you a *private Interview* on this Day, at such hour, as may suit your convenience.[1]

I am Sir,
Very respectfully

TO GONZÁLEZ MANRIQUE.[1]

NEW ORLEANS, December 23, 1814.

Sir, I have had the honor to receive your several communications relative to the distresses of the people of Pensacola for want of provision,

[1] This is the first reference in the Jackson MSS. to the difference of opinion that grew up between Jackson and Claiborne at New Orleans. The order of Dec. 21, 1814, here mentioned by Claiborne, is not preserved in Jackson's papers.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 188.

and beg that you will be assured that I have every disposition to afford them any Supply which may be necessary for them. I have authorized the Spanish Consul Mr. Murphy resident here [2] to dispatch a vessell under Spanish Colours with provisions to supply your present necessities, and will at any time you may send to this place vessells for further supplies, give you any assistance in my power to facilitate their departure. After the vessells leave this port you will have to trust to the honor of our enemy for the ballance.

Except my assureances of respect and esteem.

To Colonel Robert Hays.

New Orleans, December 23, 1814.

Sir: Before this reaches you, you will have heard, of the capture of our gun Boats on the lakes since which the British has made no movement of importance. The Fort at Petit Coquil, they have not as yet attacked that is the only Barier between them and the entire peaceable possession of the Lakes. The[y] are said to be in great force. The citizens of this place, since my arival, has displayed a great share of ardor, and un[an]imity. Genl Coffee and General Carroll has both arived their Troops in good health for the climate and in high spirits, and I have a hope should they British effect a landing at any Point, I will be able to check them. They Kentuckians has not reached me, neither, have I heard from them. I have not recd. a letter or paper from Tennessee since the last of Octobr. I am anxious to know whether Mrs. Jackson has sailed from Nashville under an expectation that she has, has been the reason why I have not wrote her. If she is still at home say to her the reason I have not wrote her—and say to her and my little son god bless them. I am more than anxious to see them. I send you for your perusal the orders and adresses to the citizens of this place. I hope under every circumstance, and let what will happen, you will hear that I have done my duty—*all well.*

with my best respects to your lady and family, and good wishes for yourself

I am respectfully, yours Sincerely

P. S. pray write me.

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

New Orleans, December 24, 1814.

Sir, I was astonished to learn to day that the Chefmontier road [2] was not occupied by any pieces of artillery, but that the pieces were placed to cover fort St. Johns. It was my perticular direction that the above road should not only be well guarded by men, but by two pieces of artillery

[2] Diego Morphy, jr.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[2] The Chef Menteur road leads eastward from New Orleans along the firm ground which separates the swamps that fringe the southern shore of Lake Pontchartrain from those that lie west of Lake Borgne. Governor Claiborne's headquarters were on this road, about nine miles from the city. Fort St. John was on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain; the road to it left the Chef Menteur road three miles north of New Orleans.

which were ordered into the field. The Chefmanteir road must be covered by all the Tenessee Troops now in New Orleans, supported by any other troops in the City and vigilent patrolls kept some miles down the road.

The enemy appear stationary to day. From the information of some prissoners taken last night The number of the enemy, And the extent of the plain on which we fought them last night, with other cogent reasons all combined to induce me to fall back, and fortify here as well as I can, to defend the City. I expect the enemy is pretty sore to day; and I hope with the smiles of heaven I will be able to beat him.

I am very respectfully

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Camp below N. Orleans December 25, 1814.

Sir. I am just advised by Mr. Brent, agent for the contractor, that boats descending the Mississippi with supplies for this army, have halted at Natchez, fearing to advance to N. Orleans:—it is probable that others which are also descending the river under his order, may stop on the way, for the same reason. I must therefore entreat you to use the most effectual means in your power to oblige vessels of this description to hasten hither with all dispatch. This is a critical mement; in which a stopage of supplies may be attended with the most ruinous consequences. To provide effectually against such an evil I must also urge you to use your utmost exertions to induce and even, if necessary require, to *oblige all* vessels, laden with provision-articles, whether under the order of the contractor or not, to descend to Orleans with all dispatch. Let the owners of them be assured that no injustice will be done to them, either in their persons or property.

Early on the morning of the 23rd the enemy landed on the bank of the Mississippi about 2½ leagues below N. Orleans—having passed from Lake Borgne by means of a bayou, which, notwithstanding my express order in writing had been left unobstructed. What is equally extraordinary, I was not advised of his approach until evening, altho I had taken every precaution to receive the earliest intelligence of such an event. The moment I received the information I put a part of Genl. Coffee's brigade, and the 7th and 44th regts Inftry in motion; and attacked him at night in his first position. The result was highly honorable to our arms. He was repulsed at every point on which I attacked him. Genl. Coffee distinguished himself by his usual gallantry. Both armies have remained, since the action, near the battle-ground, making arrangements for something more decisive. The exact force of the enemy is not known. The prisoners we have taken represent it to be six thousand; and a considerable additional force, I hear, has just arrived. My force, on the night of attack, could not have exceeded a third of theirs. In a few days we shall probably measure strength again when I hope to be able to sustain the honor of our arms and to secure the safety of this country.

I am most respectfully Yr. obt st

P. S. Again I must entreat you to send me all the force you can and with all possible expedition.

[1] The original is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

NICHOLAS GIROD [1] TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, December 25, 1814.

General, An order has been given to arrest every person found in the city of New orleans or elsewhere without a pass, and several have already been committed in the guard house of the city hotel. Of the number of them are the following individuals: Jean Dujardin, Pierre L'espagnol, Jean Ronguillo and Simon Giraud, on which youre Excellency may get the necessary intelligences from Mr Delaronde. They came in town with Pierre Bailly, their capn, for the purpose of geting arms. It is of the greatest necessity that youre Excellency would take some measures for those individuals could be disposed of, and I beg your Excellency to let me know what I have to do on this subject.

I am with respect,

Na. B. Before two days, The Guard house shall be full.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, December 25, 1814.

Dr Genl. Since I have heard of the movement of the Enemy towards the wood I have sent for some persons who know the Bayou Bienvenu very [well] to examine whether they may not intend to go down the Bayou and gain our rear by means of the Canal of Piernas or Dupré [1] both of them leading to the Bayou Bienvenu and between us and the town. Mr. Sanviret a very intelligent man long Concerned in the contraband trade tells me it is very possible, as the banks of the canal may be marched on within half pistol shot of the Bayou. Lafite also thinks it possible but not probable, with a very enterprising Enemy however these terms ought to be for our Government synonimous. Lafite thinks our line to afford a complete protection ought to be extended *thro* the first wood, to the cypress swamp and the canal Extended that Distance as they may otherwise turn our left. It being plain that the movement to the wood must be intended for one of these two purposes I have thought proper to give you this Information. Lafite says the wood may easily be marched thro all the Distance to the cypress swamp which is nearly impracticable and affords as good a point of support on the left as the river on the right.

"*Six o clock.*" a citizen has just called to let me know that a Mullatto man declared he had seen the English this afternoon in Mde. Piernas' Bayou. This is probably our Picket that he has seen I have Endeavoured but without Effect to find out the Mullatto; tho his tale is not probable yet I thought it worth communicating to you.

I am very respectfully

It is said the Enemies whole force has disappeared from before Chef Menteur and sailed up the Bayou Bienvenu, probably to unite with the main army and make a bold push on our lines

[1] Mayor of New Orleans.

[1] The Piernas and Dupré canals were respectively one and two miles behind Jackson's first line of defense.

Earl Bathurst to the Lord Mayor of London.[1]

Foreign office, December 26, 1814.

My Lord. I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that Mr A S Baker[2] has arrived at this office, this morning from Ghent, with the Intelligence that a Treaty of Peace was signed between his majesty and the United States of America by the respective Plenipotentiaries at that place on the 24th Inst. It is the same time my duty to acquaint your Lordship that it is understood by the Treaty that hostilities will cease as soone as it Shall have beene ratified by the President of the United States as well as by the Prince Regent in the name and in behalf of his majesty.

I have the honor etc

The following are understoud to be the principal terms of the Treaty that has beene Signed by the respective Plenipotentiaries at Ghent The Americans have waved any stipulation on the subject of marintime rights, as well as respects Compensation for Captives under the order in Council or on any other account. The Interest of the Indians, allies to Great Britain in the War, are provided for in this Treaty by a stipulation that they are to be restored to all their possessions rights and priviledges which they enjoyed, or to which they were entitled antecedent to the year 1812. All the disputed questions of Territory to be referred to Commissones to be respectively appointed under the Conditions named in the Treaty and until the differences respecting them are decided the Islands in the Bay Passamaquidody are to remain in the possession of Great Britain all other Conquests on both sides to be restored. It is understood that there is to be no renewal of the right of Fisheries on the New foundland Coast, and no trade to our Indian Possessions.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Camp below New Orleans, December 27, 1814.

Sir, The loss of our gun boats near the pass of the Rigolets having given the enemy command of lake Borgne, he was enabled to chuse his point of attack. It became therefore an object of importance to obstruct the numerous bayous and canals leading from that lake to the highlands on the

[1] This despatch was sent by Lord Bathurst, secretary of state for war and the colonies, to the commanders of British forces abroad. It appeared in a bulletin issued at Jamaica, and in this form it reached Admiral Cochrane, commanding the British in the Gulf of Mexico, who sent a copy to the American commander. It was a roundabout route of information, and Jackson, who received it on Feb. 21, 1815, held properly that it did not justify him in disbanding his army.

[2] Anthony St. John Baker, who had been an attaché of the British legation in Washington, was secretary of the British commissioners at Ghent. In the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams, III. 126, under date of December 24, after describing the ceremonies of signing the treaty, he says: "We left them [the British commissioners] at half-past six o'clock. Mr. Baker had a carriage in the yard waiting for him to start for Ostend, where there is a vessel in readiness to take him over to England. It was agreed that the signature of the treaty should not be divulged here until to-morrow noon, so that Mr. Baker may have an opportunity to carry the first information of the event to the British Government."

[1] War Dept. files. Printed in Latour, pp. xlv-xlvii.

Mississippi. This important service was committed, in the first instance, to a detachment from the 7th Regt.—afterwards to Col. De Laronde of the Louisiana militia, and lastly, to make all sure, to Majr Genl. Villerè commanding the district between the river and the lakes, and who being a native of the country, was presumed to be best acquainted with all those passes. Unfortunately however, a picquet which the general had established at the mouth of the bayou Bienvenue, and which notwithstanding my orders, had been left unobstructed, was completely surprised; and the enemy penetrated through a canal leading to his farm about 2 leagues below the city, succeeded in cuting off a company of militia stationed there. This intelligence was communicated to me about 12 Oclk on the 23rd.

My force at this time, consisted of parts of the 7th and 44th Regts, not exceeding six hundred together, the city militia, a part of Genl Coffee's Brigade of mounted gunmen, and the detached militia from the Western divission of Tennessee under the command of Major General Carrol. These two last corps were stationed 4 miles above the city. Apprehending a double attack by the way of Chef-menteur I left Genl. Carroll's force, and the militia of the city posted on the Gentilly road; and at 5 Oclk P.M. marched to meet the enemy, whom I was resolved to attack in his first position, with Majr. Hinds dragoons, Genl. Coffees brigade, parts of the 7th and 44th Regts, the uniformed companies of militia under the command of Majr Plauche, 200 men of colour, chiefly from St Domingo raised by Col Savary [2] and acting under the command of Majr Dagwin,[3] and a detachment of Artillery under the directions of Col: McRea with 2 sixpounders under the immediate command of Leiut Spots, not exceeding in all 1500. I arrived near the enemy's encampment about seven and immediately made my dispositions for the attack. His forces amounting at that time, on land to abt 3000 extended half a mile on the river, and in the rear, nearly to the Wood. Genl. Coffee was ordered to turn their right, while with the residue of the force, I atta[c]ked his strongest position on the left, near the river. Commodore Patterson having droped down the river in the Schooner Caroline [4] was directed to open a fire upon their Camp, which he executed at about half after seven.

This being the signal of attack, Genl. Coffee's men with their usual impetuosity, rushed on the enemy's Right, and entered their Camp; while our Right advanced with equal ardor. There can be but little doubt, that we should have succeeded on that occassion with our inferior force in destroying or capturing the enemy had not a thick fog which arose about 8 oclk, occassioned some confusion among the different Corps. Fearing the consequences, under this circumstance, of the further prosecution of a night attack with troops then acting together for the first time, I contented myself with lying on the feild that night; and at five in the morning assumed a stronger position about 2 miles nearer to the city. At this position I remain encamped, waiting the arrival of the Kentucky militia

[2] "who had acquired an honourable and distinguished reputation in the wars of St. Domingo". Latour, p. 67.
[3] Daquin, of the 2d Regt. of militia.
[4] *Carolina.*

and other reinforcements. As the safety of the city will depend on the fate of this army, it must not be incautiously exposed.

In this affair the whole corps under my command deserve the greatest credit. The best compliment I can pay to genl. Coffee and his Brigade is to say they behaved as they have always done while under my command. The 7th led by Majr Piere, and the 44th commanded by Col. Ross distinguished themselves. The battalion of city militia commanded by Majr Plauche realised my anticipations, and behaved like veterans. Savary's Volunteers manifested great bravery; and the company of city riflemen having penetrated into the midst of the enemy's camp were surrounded, and fought their way out with the greatest heroism, bringing with them a number of prisoners. The two field pieces were well served by the officer commanding them.

All my officers in the line did their duty; and I have every reason to be satisfyed with the whole of my field and staff. Colonels Butler and Piatt and Majr Chotard by their intrepidity, saved the Artillery. Col. Haynes was every where that duty or danger called. I was deprived of the services of one of my Aids, Capt. Butler whom I was obliged to station, to his great regret, in town. Capt Reid, my other Aid, and Messrs. Livingston, Duplisses and Davizac who had volunteered their services faced danger wherever it was to be met, and carryed my orders with the utmost promptitude.

We made one Major, two subalterns, and sixty three privates, prisoners; and the enemy's loss in killed and wounded must have been at least [*blank*] My own loss I have not as yet been able to ascertain with ex[actness], but suppose it to amount to 100 in killed, wounded and missing. Among the former I have to lament the loss of Col Lauderdale, of Genl. Coffee's brigade, who fell while bravely fighting. Colonels Dyer and Gibson, of the same Corps, were wounded, and Majr Kavenaugh taken prisoner.

Col. De Laronde, Major Villerè of the Louisiana militia, and Majr. Latour of the Engineers having no command, volunteered, their services, as did Doctors Ker and Flood; and were of great assistance to me.[5]

I have the honor to be

[5] One of the best accounts of Jackson's campaign in 1814 and 1815 is Maj. A. Lacarrière Latour's *Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana* (1816). In the Jackson MSS. are found some notes pointing out errors in it. The notes have the appearance of being written by a reliable witness of the campaign, and are as follows:

"*Note 1st:* Lt. Murray of M. T. Dragoons did not take a Spanish piquet as stated by Latour. The Piquet at Boyles 12 miles from Pensacola was taken on the morning of the 5th November by Capt Kemp of Majr Hinds' Corps, who was detached with his troop and a few Indians in front of the Army, for this purpose.

"*Note 2d.* The assault of General Jackson on Pensacola on the 7th Nov., 1814 is very incorrectly and imperfectly related by Latour. Walker and Long's companies of the 39th and Baker's and Butler's of the 44th formed the command of Majr Payn instead of Majr Woodruffs as stated by L. Majr Woodruff commanded the 3d Iy [Infantry]. A company of this corps commanded by Capt. Laval formed the forlorn hope and marched in front of the column of Regulars. Another company of the same Corps (Dinkins's) had been for some time trained as artillery and followed the same column with a few light Pieces and Howtzers. At a convenient Distance on the Right of the regulars Lowry's Regt of [Tennessee] Malitia was led on by Lt. Col. Hammond. The Choctaw Indians were formed on the flanks and the Brigade of General Coffee and

Colonel Robert Butler to Governor Claiborne.[1]

New Orleans, December 31, 1814.

Sir: the Major General desires that you carry into effect a previous order requiring a search for arms throughout the city, also the enrollment of all men under and over such an age therein expressed without a moments delay. You will please communicate to the Majr. General on the subject.

By command respectfully
Robert Butler Adjt. General

Hind's squadron formed the reserve. On entering the town the column of Regulars conducted by the Inspector General, Col. Hayne a most gallant and valuable officer were fired on by a Battery of two pieces of Artillery placed in the street thro which they were entering. A most gallant charge was made by the Troop. Capt Laval fell badly wounded, but a few moments sufficed to capture the pieces and cleer the street of opposition.—I would advise you by all means to get some office[r] who was on the ground to give you a circumstantial account of this affair as well as of all the other movements on the Mobile frontier as Latour has detailed them without much respect to truth.

"*Note 2d* [*sic.*] The first and last positions given to the corps comprising the right wing of the American Army in the Battle of the 23d Decr. are improperly laid down by Latour. The Marines and Artillery occupied the main road near the Levee. The 7th Regiment was next them. From the left of the 7th to the Right of the 44th was occupied by the Battalions of Plauchie and Daquin. The 44th was on the extreme left of this line, and had an orange grove in front of its left companies. In advancing it was thrown by this grove some thing too far to the right. The river here curving to the left threw the 7th Regt in moving two hundred yards near the right of the 44th. Those two corps then united and fought in conjunction the balance of the action. The volunteer Battalions from some cause did not advance at the moment the troops of the line set forward. When they did so finding the 44th in their position they were thrown into some confusion. Recovering from this towards the close of the action they then and till then attempted to take a position on the left of the Regulars, which accounts for the mistaken opinions which have been taking up on this head.

"*Note 3d.* The circumstances mentioned of Colo Pratt going in advance with Lt. McClelland's company of the 7th is unfounded. The Lt. was killed while in Line with the rest of his Corps. The colonel was wounded and behaved handsomely throughout the affair.

"*Note 4th.* General Coffee says that Majr. Latour's statement that he left two companies to hold the horses of his brigade on the night of the Battle is unfounded. His men were all dismounted before the action commenced and the horses suffered to run at large; so small was our force compared with that we had to contend with that every mans services were required in the Line.

"*Note 5.* All that is said of Major Plantin's and Daquin's Battalions may be set down to the score of verbiage. Their conduct is hinted at in Note 2d of this scrall. The materials were good and the officers generally brave and some of them experienced. Colo Ross had the Chief command and to him the Battalions next day attributed their conduct. Their deportment afterwards was good, they might be mentioned in modest terms of applause but by no means in Mr. Latours high strain of Enconium."

It is not possible to identify the handwriting in which these notes appear. They do not seem to have been by Maj. Howell Tatum, acting topographical engineer during the campaign. They are not in agreement with his accounts as published in *Major Howell Tatum's Journal* (*Smith College Studies in History*, VII.), pp. 70 *et seq.*

[1] Dec. 29, 1814, a similar order was sent to the mayor of New Orleans, N. Girod. In this connection the following letter of Jan. 3, 1815, from L. Bebuys, "Captain commanding veterans", to Governor Claiborne, is of particular interest: "*Sir* On the receipt of your note at this day, I convened the officers commanding the corps of Exempts, the result of their deliberation, is, that the veterans are of opinion that they cannot dispense with the arms now in their hands, but considering that the requisition of the General commanding must be complied with, they will loan to the General 250 or 300 stands, which will be at his disposal to morrow at 12 o'clock."

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Camp 4 miles below New Orleans,
January 2, 1815. 8 Oclk A M

Sir, On yesterday the enemy opened upon us a tremendous cannonade from several batteries which they had erected in the nights preceding. It was sustained by every corps under my command with a firmness which would have done honor to veterans. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on those who managed my artillery: (there names shall be forwarded) before night they had silenced almost every battery of the enemy. Our loss was inconsiderable; and certainly much inferior to that which the enemy must have sustained.

The enemy still occupy their former position; and whether they will renew their attempt to-day or ever, I am not able to judge. Whenever they do, however, I perswade myself, from the spirit of my troops, I shall be able to render a good account. I have thought it my duty to keep you constantly apprised of passing occurrences.

I have the honor to be

P. S. no news from the Kentucky Troops, no arms, amunition or aquipments has arived. A. J.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Camp 4 miles below Orleans, January 3, 1815.

Sir, Again I must apprise you that the Arms I have been so long expecting have not yet Arrived, All we hear of them is that they are on the river, And that the man who has been intrusted with their transportation, has halted on the way for the purpose of private speculations.

Depend upon it this supineness, this negligence, this *criminality,* let me call it, of which we witness so many instances in the agents of Government, must finally lead, if it be not corrected, to the defeat of our armies, and to the disgrace of those who superintend them. It is impossible that I should not feel the utmost solicitude, and even uneasiness on the occasion. It is true we have been enabled, for ten days, by indefatigable exertion to protect the city of Orleans, and to maintain our position before an enemy, greatly exceeding us in number, in disipline, and in all the preparations for war; but this is an instance of good fortune not to have been expected, and which furnishes no safe foundation for future hope. Every reliance may be placed on the bravery of my Men; but without arms it is impossible they can effect much. General Adair, who acts as Adjutant General for the Detatchment from Kentucky, arrived at my quarters last evening, having left the troops at Lafourche. Their arrival before this time has been prevented by adverse winds; but when they come not more than one third of them are armed, and those very indifferently. I have none to put in their hands, and can therefore make no very useful disposition of them.

[1] War Dept. files.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 204.

I have made this statement in the hope that goverment knowing the value of this country, and being made acquainted with its situation, will adopt more effectual means for its defence, Permit me to suggest to you again the propriety of turning your attention, in time to some proper Officer to take command of the Army here when my want of health, which I find to be greatly impaired, shall oblige me to retire from it.

The enemy still occupy their former position, and are engaged in strengthening it; Our time is spent in the same employment, and in exchangeing long shot with them. Having failed in every attempt to drive us from our position; I do not know what may be their further design—Whether to redouble their efforts, or to apply them elsewhere. With the limited means in my power I am preparing for either event.

I have the honor to be, etc.

Hatch Dent to Jackson.

New Orleans, January 6, 1815.

General, In conformity with the joint resolution of both Houses of the Legislature of this State, a certified copy of which is hereunto annexed, I am directed by the joint committee to apply to your Excellency for an order to Colonel De Clouet, commanding him to appear before said committee at the Government House on to morrow at five o'clock, in the afternoon, in order to answer such questions as may be put to him relative to the cause of the military measures taken and executed against said Legislature on the 28th December last.[1] The Joint committee flatter themselves that taking into consideration the importance of the subject, your Excellency will have no objection in issuing and causing to be executed the above mentioned order.

I am respectfully, General,

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Head Quarters 7 M. D., N. Orleans, January 6, 1815.

Sir, I am instructed by Major Genl. Jackson to inform you that he will send about one hundred British prisoners tomorrow for Natchez, and to request that you will have arrangements made for their reception and safe keeping.

No change has taken place in the position of the armies since you must have heard from this, that we have been able to discover, nor can we divine from any thing we have gathered of the deserters, what his intentions are.

I have the honour to be respectfully yr obedt Srvt

P S. Should you receive information of the approach of the arms said to be on the way to this place the Genl. requests that you have a guard put on board the Boat the man secured and the arms hurried on with all possible expedition.

[1] For Jackson's quarrel with the Louisiana legislature, see Bassett's *Jackson,* I. 215-224. Dent was chairman of the committee mentioned.

[1] The original, written and signed by T. L. Butler, aide-de-camp, is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

COMMODORE DANIEL T. PATTERSON TO JACKSON.

WEST BANK OF THE MISSISSIPPI, January 7, 1815.

Sir, I have receiv'd your message by Mr. Nevitt to drop the Louisiana down, I must unman all the guns on the Battery on this side, she is moreover the only magazine for this Battery and has on Board a very large quantity of Powder, which would be greatly endangered, by an exposure to the hot shot of the Enemy—the Field Pices from the Navy Yard will require some time to move down, at the magazine on this side the River there are two Brass 6. prs. Field pieces, with ammunition etc complete which could be brought down and placed at pleasure, by midnight, if you will send an order for them, I will send an officer to bring them. Col: Ross can give you every information respecting them, a portable 12 pd. would be of infinite service over here as with that Caliber I could fire directly into the Canal, and prevent their working during the day. be assured that no exertion on my part shall be wanting to defeat the attempts of the Enemy, but we are extremely weak on this side, require a strong reinforcement; with this I send for your perusal a letter from Lt. Cunningham at Plaquemine; I consider the firing of the Enemy this evening, as a feint to draw your attention from their operations below, which I apprehend they will carry into execution to-night; but I hope and trust they will meet defeat, come when they may, my Guns shall roar long and loud depend upon it! Very respectfully

COMMODORE DANIEL T. PATTERSON TO JACKSON.

WEST BANK OF THE MISSISSIPPI, January 7, 1815.

Sir, I have this moment returned from reconnoitering the Enemy. they have dug out Villeré's Canal to the River, and from the number of men soldiers and seamen, I apprehend they will get their Boats into the River to-night, they have a large Body of men encamped contiguous to the Canals all of whom I saw under Arms. they have also taken Cannon from their Batteries erected near the woods, and deposited them either in Boats or on the Bank of the Canal. I distinctly saw them transporting one piece which from the number of Horses employed (eight), I presumed must be heavy. should they cross to-night, and only the Force at present on this side to oppose them, they must succeed. I would therefore beg leave most earnestly to recommend an increase of our present Force. and that such reinforcement be of Better Materials than the present, who tho individually Brave, cannot be depended upon. I have drawn all the men on shore from the ship, except those indispensably necessary to take care of her. the officer who will hand you this accompanied me on reconnitre. I have informed Genl. morgan of my observations,

Very Respectfully I have the honor to be

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL DAVID B. MORGAN.[1]

January 8, 1815.

Sir, This will be handed to you by Mr. Lafitte whom I have sent to you as a man acquainted with the Geography of the Country on your side

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 210.

of the river, and will be able to afford you any information you may want, with respect to the Canalls and passages by which the enemy may attempt to penetrate. I have also sent Genl. Humbert,[2] a man in whose bravery I have unbounded Confidence for the purpose of Carrying the enemy if necessary at the point of the Bayonet. It is my determination he shall be dislodged, at all events; and I rely upon your determination with the aid I have sent you to accomplish it. We have beat the enemy at all points here, with the loss on their side of at least 1,000 men.

Major-General John Lambert to Jackson.[1]

British Camp, January 8, 1815.

Sir, Having observed the humane attention that has been shewn to several wounded close to your Lines, by affording them immediate assistance I have to request you will have the goodness to direct that a Return of Officers by name, as well as soldiers may be sent to me; and it would be a satisfaction, as numbers are now laying there dead, and perhaps more wounded, to allow an unarmed party to bury the former, or bring such away whose cases are dangerous.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Most Obedient, Humble Servant.

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

Lines below New Orleans, January 8, 1815.

Sir, I have recd. your dispatch of this date. The Army which I have the honor to command have used every exertion to afford releif to the wounded of your Army, even at the constant risque of their lives, your men, never intermitting their fire during such exertions. The wounded now on the field beyond my lines, if you think proper may be taken beyond a line to be designated by my Adgt. General, and be paroled; Otherwise they may be taken to my hospital and treated with every care and attention. The flag sent by Commodore Patterson at my request, has been detained by the Admiral;[2] leaveing him uninformed of the fate of his command that was taken in the Gun boats. The dead on the field beyond the line, above alluded to, you can inter. Those within that line shall be intered by my troops. When a return is made of the wounded and prisoners taken on board the Gun boats, and the few men taken on the night of the 23d it shall be returned by a similar one on my part.

[2] Jean Humbert, French general of the Revolution and Consulate, now an exile in New Orleans and a volunteer in Jackson's army.

[1] This note, signed "Lambert, Major-General", arrived before Jackson's line under a flag of truce "early in the afternoon" of Jan. 8. It will be noted that it was not until Jan. 11, when several notes had been exchanged between the two commanders, that Jackson raised the question of Lambert's authority. Major Tatum tells us he did it then to satisfy himself as to the fate of Pakenham, Gibbs, and Keane. See *Smith College Studies in History,* VII. 131.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 209.

[2] The correspondence here given between Jackson and Lambert was most courteous on each side. Commodore Patterson's experience with Admiral Cochrane was not so satisfactory. On Jan. 8 twenty-six days had passed since the capture of the gunboats, and no reply had yet been received from Cochrane as to the condition of the prisoners or their exchange.

If you should think proper to accede to the above propositions, you will please suggest any arrangement which you may think best for their Accomplishment.

I am respectfully etc.

Major-General Lambert to Jackson.

[British Camp], January 8, 1815.

Sir, I feel much obliged to you; in order to prevent if possible any Wounded man being exposed during the night, I send Major Smith, A. A. G., (to concert upon any line as to the burial of the dead) and a Medical Officer to observe if there [are] any laying dangerously Wounded, when I hope you will permit an unarmed Party to bring them off.[1]

I have the honor to be Sir,

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

Below New Orleans, January 8, 1815.

Sir, When my Adjt. General saw the Officer sent first by you this evening, he was ignorent of the last letter addressed me by you. To have a perfect understanding, I consider the following to be the result of our communications.

Hostilities to cease on this Side of the Mississippi river untill tomorrow 12 Oclock Meridian, to afford you time to Inter the dead, and have the wounded paroled and taken off; That the dead and wounded will be taken by my troops to the line of demarkation.

That hostilities does now cease on the Other side of the river and that no reinforcements are to be ordered from either army untill after the recommencement of hostilities, that the utmost strictness be used to prevent on either side the passing the line of demarcation, which is at the high sedge grass as defined: And it is understood that your troops are not to enter the woods, to prevent difficulties.

The wounded on the field shall be sought after, and every comfort administered them untill they are recd.

P. S. You will have the goodness to send me back a copy of this signed Officially if approved.

[1] When the American adjutant-general, Col. Robert Butler, ordered Brigadier-General Coffee to carry out the agreement here made, that hearty and humane soldier replied (Jan. 8) in the following naïve words: "*Sir:* Previous to receiving orders to forward the killed men of the enemy, to the line of demarcation and there to be delivered to their own army, to be buried, my Brigade from feelings of humanity had proceeded to bury the most of those who fell in front of my line—the balance that were not entered have been sent agreably to order. presuming the object was only to bury the dead, I have not raised those already buried. I am Sir very respectfully."

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 211. The attack ceased on the east bank about eight o'clock in the morning. Later in the forenoon Jackson learned of Morgan's defeat on the west bank and dispatched reinforcements under General Humbert. About noon he received a British flag with a proposal for a truce, to enable them to bury the dead, signed "Lambert". He did not think Humbert had had time to cross the river, and in order to gain time for that desirable action he sent this note.

To Brigadier-General David B. Morgan.[1]

January 8, 1815. 4. P. M.

The Major General Commanding has heard with astonishment and regret, of the retreat of that part of the force under his Command stationed on the right bank of the Mississippi, before an enemy greatly inferior in numbers; This regret is the more poignant as it was totaly unexpected. The General did beleive that men who had left their homes and traversed a vast extent of country for the purpose of defending their sacred soil; at its very threshold would not have been the first to have set an example of timidity, encourageing to the enemy, and destructive of the very object for which they left their homes. Altho the General feels himself bound to animadvert upon the conduct of that portion of the troops, who set so bad an example, he feels the firmest confidence in the Materials of which that Corps is Composed, and does beleive that before tomorrow morning the error of the day will be rectified; and that he will have an opportunity of hailing them as brothers in arms, worthy to be ranked with those who have so gloriously distinguished themselves in defence of their country and honor on this side of the river.

By Command
Jno Reid aid de Camp

Jackson's Address to his Troops on the Right Bank.[1]

January 8, 1815.

While by the blessing of heaven directing the valour of the troops under my Command, one of the most briliant Victories in the annals of the War was obtained, by my immediate command; no words can express the mortification I felt at witnessing the scene Exhibited on the oposite bank. I will spare your feelings and my own by entering into no detail on the Subject. To all who reflect it must be a source of eternal regret, that a few moments exertion of that courage you certainly possess was alone wanting to have rendered your success more compleat; than that of your fellow citizens in this Camp: by the defeat of the detatchment which was rash enough to cross the river to attack you.

To what cause was the abandonment of your lines owing? To fear? No! You are the Cou[n]trymen, the friends, the brothers of those who have secured to themselves by this courage the gratitude of their Country who have been prodigal of their blood in its defence, and who are strangers

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 209. Morgan commanded the Louisiana militia. Jan. 26, 1815, he wrote to Governor Claiborne as follows: "*Sir*, Major Arnaud of the second Brigade of Louisa. Militia, who was the second in command of my advanced on the morning of the 8th Inst., (the Post of honor,) having disobeyed the order, delivered to him by his superior, Major Tessier; and having either by his Example or his orders induced the whole of the Command to abandon in the most shamefull manner the post assigned them, without firing a gun, or I Believe Seeing an Enemy and having deserted from the Encampment and never made his appearance since, I made evry exertion in my power to arrest his person without effect and finding that he is now out of my reach, I take leave to require of Your Excellency that he either be brought to trial before a Competent tribunal, for the flagrant act of Cowardice or struck from the rolls of Militia with Proper and Public notice of his Conduct."

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 202. Printed in Latour, pp. lxiv-lxvi.

to any other fear than that of disgrace. To disaffection to our glorious Cause? No my Countrymen your General does justice to the pure sentiments by which you are inspired.

How then Could brave men abandon the post committed to their care, The want of Dicipline, the want of Order, a total disregard to Obedience, and a Spirit of insubordination, not less distructive than Cowardise itself, this appears to be the cause which led to the disaster. And the Cause must be eradi[c]ated or I must cease to command, and I desire to be distinctly understood, that every breach of Orders, all want of discipline, every disattent[i]on of duty will be seriously and promptly punished. That the attentive Officers and good Soldiers may not be mentiond in the disgrace and danger which the negligence of a few may produce,

Soldiers you want only the will, in order to emulate the Glory of your fellow citizens on this bank of the river: you have the same motives for Action; the same interest; the Same Country to protect, and you have an additional interest from past events, to wipe off the stain; and shew what no doubt is the fact that you will be not inferior in the day of trial to any of your Countrymen. But remember that without obedience, without order, without discipline all your efforts are vain, and the brave man inattentive to his duty, is worth little more to his Country, than the coward who deserts her in the hour of danger.

Private Opinions as to the Competency of Officers must not be indulged, and still less expressed, it is impossible that the measure of those who Command should satisfy all who are bound to Obey. And One of the most dangerous faults in a soldier is a Disposition to critisize and blame the Orders and Characters of his superiors. Soldiers, I know that many of you have done your duty, and I trust in my next address I shall have no reason to make any exception.

Officers! I have the fullest confidence that you will enforce Obedience to your Commands, and above all that by subordination in your different grades you will set the example of it to your Men. And that hereafter the Army of the right will yield to none in the essential qualities which characterize good Soldiers; and that they will earn their share of those honors and rewards, which their country will prepare for its deliverers.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Camp 4 Miles below New Orleans, January 9, 1815.

Sir: During the days of the 6th and 7th, the enemy had been actively employed in making preparations for an attack on my lines. With infinite labor they had succeeded on the night of the 7th in getting their boats across from the lake to the river, by widening and deepening the canal on which they had effected their disembarkation. It had not been in my power to impede these operations by a general attack: added to other reasons, the nature of the troops under my command, mostly militia, rendered it too hazardous to attempt extensive *offensive* movements in an open country, against a numerous and well disciplined army. Although

[1] *Niles' Register,* VII. 372; Latour, app., pp. lii-liv.

my forces, as to number, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, my strength had received very little addition; a small portion only of that detachment being provided with arms. Compelled thus to wait the attack of the enemy, I took every measure to repel it when it should be made, and to defeat the object he had in view. General Morgan, with the New Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia and a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops, occupied an entrenched camp on the opposite side of the river, protected by strong batteries on the bank, erected and superintended by commodore Patterson.

In *my* encampment everything was ready for action, when, early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on my right and left, to storm my entrenchments. I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation with which my whole line received their approach—*more* could not have been expected from veterans inured to war. For an hour the fire of the small arms was an incessant and severe as can be imagined. The artillery, too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution. Yet the columns of the enemy continued to advance with a firmness which reflects upon them the greatest credit. Twice the column which approached me on my left, was repulsed by the troops of General Carroll, those of General Coffee, and a division of the Kentucky militia, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. At length, however, cut to pieces, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. The loss which the enemy sustained on this occasion, cannot be estimated at less than 1500 in killed, wounded and prisoners. Upwards of three hundred have already been delivered over for burial; and my men are still engaged in picking them up within my lines and carrying them to the point where the enemy are to receive them. This is in addition to the dead and wounded whom the enemy have been enabled to carry from the field, during and since the action, and to those who have since died of the wounds they have received. We have taken about 500 prisoners, upwards of 300 of whom are wounded, and a great part of them mortally. My loss has not exceeded, and I believe has not amounted to ten killed and as many wounded.

The entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence which at this moment took place on the other side of the river. Simultaneously with his advance, upon my lines, he had thrown over in his boats a considerable force to the other side of the river. *These* having landed were hardy enough to advance against the works of General Morgan; and what is strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for with a confidence approaching to certainty, the Kentucky reinforcements, ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces; and thus yielding to the enemy that most fortunate position. The batteries which had rendered me, for many days, the most important service, though bravely defended, were of course now abandoned; not however, until the guns had been spiked.

This unfortunate route had totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which they might annoy us without

hazard, and by means of which they might have been enabled to defeat, in a great measure, the effects of our success on this side the river. It became therefore an object of the first consequence to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object, all the means in my power, which I could with safety use, were immediately put in preparation. Perhaps, however, it was somewhat owing to another cause that I succeeded beyond my expectations, In negociating the terms of a temporary suspension of hostilities to enable the enemy to bury their dead and provide for their wounded, I had required certain propositions to be acceded to as a basis; among which was this one—that although hostilities should cease on *this* side the river until 12 o'clock of this day, yet it was not to be understood that they should cease on the *other* side; but that no reinforcements should be sent across by *either* army until the expiration of that day. His excellency major-general Lambert begged time to consider of these propositions until 10 o'clock of today, and in the meantime recrossed his troops. I need not tell you with how much eagreness I immediately regained possession of the position he had thus hastily quitted.

The enemy having concentered his forces, may again attempt to drive me from my position by storm. Whenever he *does,* I have no doubt my men will act with their usual firmness, and sustain a character now become dear to them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant.

MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT TO JACKSON.

[BRITISH CAMP], January 9, 1815.

Sir, I return you a copy of your letter, to which I perfectly subscribe in all its particulars. I should have sent an earlier answer, but by some accident I overlooked reading it before I went out. Yours to the Admiral was forwarded early this morning. It occurs to me that the object of our correspondence may not be completed by 12 o'clock therefore I beg to suggest the hour of *two oclock* P. M. being substituted and will be obliged to you to communicate the same to the Officer who carries this, verbally or on a slip of Paper, that no time may be lost, if you approve.

I have the Honor to be

TO MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.

LINES BELOW ORLEANS, January 9, 1815.

Sir. I have received your dispatch of this morning. The hour of 2: P: M is acceded to, and a detail will be immediately made to take the killed of your army to the line pointed out

I have the honor to be Sir

TO MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT.

CAMP BELOW NEW ORLEANS, January 11, 1815.

Sir, A Correspondence having been carried on Between Commodore Patterson Commanding the American Naval Force on this Station, and

Sir Alexr. Cochrane Vice Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Naval Forces of his B Majesty on the American Station, relative to the Exchange of Prisoners it becomes necessary in order to give Effect to an Extension of that arrangement to the Land forces that my Correspondence on that Subject should be carried on with the Commander in Chief the Army of his B. M. Employed on this Expedition. As you have not in our Correspondence Designated yourself as Such Allow me Sir to ask whether I have now the honor of Addressing the Commander in Chief.

Major-General Lambert to Jackson.

January 11, 1815.

Sir, I have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this days date and to inform you that I am Commr. of the Forces acting on the left Bank of the Mississipi.

It is no doubt my duty not to allow any correspondence connected with this Force to go through any other hands but my own, especially when what may be required must have the Sanction of the Commr of the Forces of the U. States Army acting on the same territory.

Vice Admiral Sir A. Cochrane has told me that he had had a correspondence with Commodore Patterson, commg the Naval Force on this Station on the subject of the exchange of Prisoners, but I conceived that this originated from and had reference to those who were taken in the gun boats, I recollect his saying, that he considered the terms so explicit and fair that he had no difficulty in embracing them.

If, I am right, the basis was that there should be a mutual exchange, on each side, as far as equal numbers went, that the residue on either should be given up on Parole, not to serve untill regularly exchanged, and that the Wounded whose cases would not admit of removal, should remain untill sufficiently recovered. If, Sir, such are your sentiments on the subject, I shall be very happy to concur in them and as in our situation we find sufficient employment, if you will have the goodness to direct your Adj. General to make the correspondence relative to it pass through his office, it shall be met with equal attention from that of this Force.

I have the honor to be, sir

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

Below New Orleans, January 11, 1815.

In answer to my request to be furnished with a list of the prisoners taken from this army, I have just recd. a roster signd. by Mr. Duplissis containing [*blank*] names. It has filled me with astonishment, that, that roster contains the names of many persons, who cannot be considered as prisoners of War, while it omits many others who were realy taken in the attack of the 3d Ulto. In setling an exchange of prisoners, the above reasons, added to others, make it absolutely necessary that the correspondence should be carried on, and the arrangement effected, by the Com-

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 214.

manders in Chief of the two Armies; or by Officers specially authorised by them for this purpose.

I have the honor to Command the American forces in this quarter; and am willing at any proper moment, to adjust an exchange of Prisoners, with the Officer who commands in Chief the British land forces on this Station. If that Officer shall feel similarly inclined, he will be good enough to acquaint me with his disposition. The reasons will be perceived which make it necessary that in furnishing a list of prisoners to be used in adjusting an exchange, it should express their respective grades, to what corps they belonged, and in what action, or on what occasion they were taken.

HATCH DENT TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, January 11, 1815.

General, I am directed by the joint committee of the General Assembly of this State to send to your Excellency the annexed documents numbered 1, 2. 3 and. 4,[1] by which you will be informed of the steps taken by said committee since your Letter of the 6th Instant in order to procure the attendance and deposition of Colonel Alexander Declouet relative to the military measures executed on the 28th of December last against said General Assembly.

By document No. 4 which is a true translation and copy of a Letter of said Declouet to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 7th Instant, and referred to the aforesaid committee, your Excellency will see that unless you please to issue, or cause to issue the proper order to said Colonel Declouet it will be very difficult for the committee to procure his attendance before them, which attendance as your Excellency will readily discover from the contents of his Letter is absolutely necessary. I am in consequence directed by the Committee to request your Excellency to have the goodness to issue or cause to be issued the above mentioned order to the said Declouet to appear before the Committee on to-morrow at 5 o'Clock P. M.

I have the honour to be

MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT TO JACKSON.

NEAR NEW ORLEANS, January 12, 1815.

Sir, I have receivd your Letter of this Date and beg to inform you that the only American Prisoner[s] of War at present on Shore were named in the List transmitted to you on the 11th inst:

All others who have fallen into my hands since the Arrival of H: M: Forces before New Orleans have been sent down to the Shipping as soon

[1] Only one of these documents seems to be preserved and that, an order from H. Dent, chairman, to Col. Alexander Declouet, Jan. 7, 1815, in the following words:

"*Sir.* By virtue of the joint resolution of both Houses of the Legislature of the state of Louisiana passed on the 5th Instant a copy of which will be shewn to you, you are hereby summoned to be and appear before the committee appointed in consequence of said resolution, at the Government House on monday morning at nine o'Clock, then and there to answer such questions as may be put to you relative to the military measures taken and executed against said Legislature on the 28th of December last."

as captured and are so dispersed in diffent Vessels that considerable delay and difficulty will arise in procu[r]ing Nominal Lists of them. Vice Admiral Sir Alex: Cochrane has however undertaken to have the whole of the Prisoner[s] of War at the Shipping sent up either to be landed at Petit Coquille or at this place. This intermixture of Naval and Military Prisoner[s] having already taken place allow me to propose that you appoint a Person who shall receive all the Prisoner[s] of the U. States and give receipts with the *rank and names* of Persons so delivered *upon Honor.* And I will appoint a Person who shall furnish similar Lists and receipts *upon Honor* on delivery of H: Britanic Majestys Prisoner[s].

By the Enclosed Letter you will be furnished with the names of 52 American Prisoner[s] which I believ is within 15 or 20 of the whole taken on Shore and sent to the Ships. The Plantagenet on board which most of the Prisoner[s] are is at present is [*sic*] procu[r]ing Water at the mouth of the Mississippi but will return to our Anchorage in Two Days when they shall be instantly Landed. Major Smith Ass. Adj' General who has full powers to negotiate the Exchange will meet any Officer you may appoint to make a final Arrangement at 12 oclock tomorrow between the Advance Posts

I have the honor to be Sir

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, January 12, 1815.

Sir, Brigadier General McCausland with his Detachment from Chifunete,[1] has been ordered to the West Bank of the Mississippi, where from General Morgans Morning Report, it would seem they are much wanting. I am sorry also to observe by this report, (of which I learn a Duplicate has been sent you) the deficiency in Arms, arising in part, I suspect, from the shameful flight on the 8th Instant.[2] General Toledo my volunteer aid, has Just returned from the other side, and informs me that General morgan is busily engaged in mounting some heavy pieces of cannon, and which he adds is the more necessary to encounter a Battery which the *Enemy is raising nearly opposite.* I shall on this Evening, probably, but certainly on Tomorrow, cross the River myself, and will do all in my power to excite *in officers, and men,* a Rival ship in Exertion, Zeal and firmness. I regret exceedingly, that it is not in my power, to devote my attention exclusively to the opposite shore; But the long *session of the Legislature* now drawing to a close, renders for the moment my presence in the city, *occasionally,* indispensible. I am Sir

Very Respectfully

Major-General Lambert to Jackson.

[Near New Orleans], January 13, 1815.

Sir, I must admit the propriety of your observations, and I am sorry my incorrectness should occasion you additional trouble. The enclosed

[1] Tchifonte, on Lake Pontchartrain.
[2] See Jackson to Brigadier-General Morgan, Jan. 8, 1815, p. 135, n. 1, *ante.*

list is a copy of what I transmitted to you on the 11th inst. with the designation of those who were taken in arms; those crossed are Blacks and Fishermen, who, I suppose, were brought in under suspicious circumstances and who, of course, cannot be considered equivalent in an exchange. Immediately I am able to procure a similar return from those on board the Plantagenet, I will take care it is forwarded.

I have the Honor to be Sir

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

Below New Orleans, January 13, 1815.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the rect. of your letter of the 12th Instant; in which you inform me that the Only prisoners at present on shore are contained in the list transmitted to me on the 11th Inst.; and on Account of the delay incident to the Obtaining a more perfect list you propose the appointment of persons to receive and exchange the prisoners upon honor; It would give me Great pleasure to acceed to this proposal, if I thought it practicable.

But It appears that no Officer can with propriety receive a prisoner, as belonging to either Army, untill by means of a List such as described in my letter of yesterday; he be enabled to determine whether the prisoner offered for exchange was actually in service at the time of his Capture. These considerations are strengthened by an inspection of the list sent to me, on which a great proportion of names appear, of persons; not known to be in Service.

I am therefore Obliged Sir to Consider the delivery of a list containing not only the names of the persons, but of the Corps with the date and place of Capture as a Prerequisite to the exchange. Upon rect. of such list a complete return of the prisoners in my hands, will be furnished to you; and every other arangement made to carry the Exchange into effect.

I have the honor to be Sir with the greatest respect

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Camp 4 miles below Orleans, January 13, 1815.

Sir, At such a crisis I concieve it my duty to keep you constantly advised of my situation. On the 10th Inst. I forwarded you an account of the bold attempt made by the enemy on the morning of the 8th to take possession of my works by storm, and of the severe repulse which he met with. That report having been sent by the Mail which crosses the Lake[2] may possibly have miscarried; for which reason I think it the more necessary, breifly, to repeat the substance of it.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 217.

[1] War Dept. files; printed by Latour, app., pp. liv-lvi. A draft, with the erroneous date of Jan. 19, 1815, is in the Jackson MSS. It is to be regretted that the letter of Jan. 10 here mentioned has not been found. In the secretary's reply (Monroe to Jackson, Feb. 5, 1815) this letter is said to be dated Jan. 9. See p. 158, *post.*

[2] For the mail routes from Washington to New Orleans, see J. P. Bretz, "Early Land Communication with the Lower Mississippi Valley", in *Miss. Valley Hist. Review* for June, 1926, especially pp. 15-20.

Early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy, having been actively employed the two preceding days in making preparations for a storm, advanced in two strong columns on my Right and Left. They were received, however, with a firmness which, it seems, they little expected, and which defeated all their hopes. My men, undisturbed by their approach, which indeed they had long anxiously wished for, opened upon them a fire so deliberate and certain as rendered their scaling ladders and fascines, as well as their more direct implements of warfare, perfectly useless. For upwards of an hour it was continued with a briskness of which there have been but few instances, perhaps, in any country. In justice to the enemy it must be said they withstood it as long as could have been expected from the most determined bravery. At length however when all prospect of success became hopeless, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. Their loss was immense. I had at first computed it at 1500; but it is since ascertained to have been much greater. Upon information which is believed to be correct Col Haynes, the Inspector General, reports it to be in the total 2600. His report I enclose you.[3] My loss was inconsiderable; being only seven killed[4] and six wounded. Such a disproportion in loss, when we consider the number and the kind of troops engaged must, I know, excite astonishment, and may not, every where, be fully credited; Yet I am perfectly satisfied that the amount is not exagerated on the one part, nor underated on the other.[5]

The enemy having hastily quitted a post which they had gained possession of, on the other side of the river, and we having immediately returned to it, both armies at present, occupy their former positions. Whether, after the severe losses he has sustained, he is preparing to return to his shipping, or to make still mightier efforts to attain his first object, I do not pretend to determine: It becomes me to act as tho, the latter were his intention. One thing, however, seems certain, that if he still calculates on effecting what he has hitherto been unable to accomplish he must expect considerable reinforcements; as the force with which he landed must, undoubtedly, be diminished by at least 3000. Besides the loss which he sustained on the night of the 23d ulto., which is estimated at 400, he cannot have suffered less, between that period and the morning of the 8th Inst, than 300, having within that time, been repulsed in two general attempts to drive us from our position, and there having been continual cannonading and skirmishing, during the whole of it. Yet he is still able to shew a very formidable force. There is little doubt that the commanding general Sir Edwd. Pack-

[3] Col. A. P. Hayne, inspector-general, in a report of the same date, places the British casualties on the east bank at the following figures: killed 400, wounded 1400, prisoners 500. *Niles' Register*, VII. 374.

[4] [*Original note:*] "This was in the action on the line—afterwards skirmishing was kept up in which few more of our men was lost."

[5] Jan. 14, 1815, Jackson issued orders for complete returns of his casualties in all engagements around New Orleans. From the responses (Jackson MSS., Military Papers, V. 118) the following losses are noted: Dec. 23, 1814, killed 26, wounded 115, and missing 72; Dec. 28, killed 7, wounded 8, and missing none; Jan. 1, 1815, killed 11, wounded 23, and missing none; Jan. 8, killed 13, wounded 39, and missing 19. In these figures are included the returns for Morgan's troops on Jan. 8, which are, killed 1, wounded 4, and missing 15. Another report dealing with casualties is preserved (*ibid.*, f. 146); the figures in it are not quite like those just recited.

ingham [6] was killed in the action of the 8th; and that majors general Kean and Gibbs were badly wounded. Whenever a more leisure moment shall occur I will take the liberty to make out and forward you a more circumstantial account of the several actions, and particularly of that of the 8th, in doing which my cheif motive will be to render justice to those brave men I have the honor to command, and who have so remarkably distinguished themselves.

I have the honor to be

P. S. A correct list of my killed and wounded will be forwarded you by the adjt genl.

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

Below New Orleans, January 16 (?), 1815.

Sir, The list you did me the honor to enclose on the 13th furnished you by Admiral Cochran, of 63 Prisoners now on board the fleet appears (with some exception of mistake in rank) to be correct and to contain none but persons actually in Service at the time of their capture. Be pleased Sir, to furnish a similar list of those on shore with the designations mentioned in my former Communications. Having admitted the propriety of this request, I presume Sir that there will be no difficulty in fully complying with it as a preparatory Step to the Exchange.

I have the honor to enclose a list of prisoners now in my possession which I beleive is substancialy correct of them, so many will be exchanged according to the rates established for rank by the Cartel agreed, on the 14th day of May 1813, between the two Nations as are equal to the number of American prisoners of the Army and navy now in your power or that of Admiral Cochrane, leaving the balance in our hands for further Exchange. As soon as the list required shall be furnished, an Officer will be appointed on my part to meet one on yours to regulate the final Exchange.

Major-General Lambert to Jackson.

[Near New Orleans], January 16, 1815.

Sir, I have this moment received yours of this days date; with the letter, which I had the honor of writing to you, in which I recognised the propriety of your observations in the framing of a list of Prisoners, I transmitted a list of those on Shore designated in every particular, and signed by an Officer of your Army. If this Paper is lost another shall be sent but it is impossible to prepare one more conformable.

Allow me to observe that in the list of British Prisoners, which you have enclosed to me, one particular specified in yours of the 12th inst. to me on this subject, is omitted, "the Corps to which they respectively belong". The knowledge of which would have saved a good deal of trouble. However Sir, no difficulties shall arise on my part, if you, are disposed to consent to an exchange and as the best way of bringing the question to a conclusion, I will desire Major Smith, my Mil. Secretary, to

[6] Pakenham.

[1] Jackson MSS., Military Papers, V. 221. Seems to be the letter referred to in Lambert to Jackson, Jan. 16, 1815.

be at the Advanced Posts tomorrow at 12 o'clock when, if you think proper, to send any officer to meet him, a final arrangement may be made [1]

I remain Sir

To Governor Holmes.[1]

"Camp 4 miles below Orleans", January 18, 1815.

Sir, The repulse which the enemy met with on the 8th has, I believe, proved fatal to their hopes. Their loss on that day was prodigious, exceeding, according to their own accounts as well as to ours, 2600. Amongst their killed were Genl. Packingham, the commander in cheif, and Majr Genl Gibbs who died the day after the action. Major general Kean was wounded but still lives. Their army is at present conducted by Major general Lambert, who, if I mistake not, finds himself in a very great perplexity. To advance he cannot: to retreat is shameful. Reduced to this unhappy dilemma, I believe he is disposed to encounter disgrace rather than ruin, and will, as soon as his arrangements for this purpose are effected, return to his shipping. This, at any rate, is the design to which many symptoms seem to point. Probably, when it is attempted to be put in execution I shall accompany him a short distance.

If ever there was an occassion on which Providence interfered, immediately, in the affairs of men it seems to have been on this. What but such an interposition could have saved this Country? Let us mingle our joys and our thanksgivings together.

At a moment when my feelings are thus alive I should do violence to them if I did not hasten to offer you my thanks as well for the good disposition you have manifested, as for the important services you have rendered.

With the highest respect I have the honor to be, Sir, Yr very Obt Servt.

P. S. I must again entreat that when the vessel with the arms shall arrive at Natchez you will use your best means to have them hastened to

[1] Jan. 17, 1815, the following agreement was signed by Edward Livingston for the United States and Maj. H. G. Smith for Great Britain, and approved by Jackson:

"Provisional Articles agreed on between Major Smith authorised by Major Genl Lambert and Edward Livingston Aid de Camp to Major Genl Jackson authorised by him for that purpose subject to the ratification of the respective Commanders of the two armies Between the lines Jany 17, 1815.

"1. It being understood that Admiral Sr. Alexander Cochrane has sent or will immediately send the American prisoners as well of the Army as Navy now on board the british fleet to the mouth of the Rigolets It is agreed that a nominal and descriptive receipt shall be given for the same upon honor and that on the receipt of the said Prisoners a number of british prisoners equal in rank and number to those so sent to the Rigolets together with those confined in the british camp shall be sent to the mouth of the River and be received by ships appointed for that purpose by the Admiral.

"2. At the same time all the prisoners now in the british Camp shall be sent to the American Lines and receipted for as above not to serve until an equal number of English prisoners shall be delivered

"3. Officers of Equal Rank shall be exchanged for Equal Rank and wounded for wounded as far as circumstances will permit [*Signatures of Livingston and Smith.*]

"I approve and ratify the above arrangement.

"Andrew Jackson, Major Genl comdg."

[1] Facsimile in Mrs. Dunbar Rowland's *Andrew Jackson's Campaign against the British,* pp. 358, 359. Original in Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Draft in Jackson MSS.

this point with the utmost despatch—having the man who had been entrusted with the transportation of them arrested, and sent to me in confinement. A. J.

THE CHEVALIER DE TOUSARD TO JACKSON.

CONSULAT DE FRANCE À LA NOUVELLE ORLÉANS
le 18 Janvr. 1815.

Mon Général, J'ai l'honneur de mettre sous les yeux de votre Excellence la réclammation faite en ce Consulat par un français, qui s'est constamment abstenu de tout acte de Citoyen des Etats Unis et qui a constaté, par divers actes en chancellerie, son intention de demeurer français. Les instructions que j'ai de S. E. le Ministre plénipotentiaire aux Etats Unis, sont de réclammer le Droit des Nations en faveur de ceux qui sont dans cette position, et de les protéger contre la demande du service de la Milice qui leur serait faite.

Mr. Jean André William Pourcinne, agé de 23 ans, est celui pour lequel je réclamme, il a été forcé d'entrer dans la milice du Comté d'Acadie et de marcher avec le Bataillon de Hopkins dudit Comté, Compagnie de Pierre Lalanne, malgré ses protestations, appuyées du Certificat que je lui avais donné comme français, reconnu par moi comme tel. Il est en ce moment sur la rive droite du fleuve.

Mr. Pourcinne a déjà eu l'honneur de s'adresser à Votre Excellence à ce sujet et n'a pas obtenu de réponse. Veuillez Mon Général, donner vos ordres pour qu'il ait à quitter le dit Bataillon et à s'attacher a l'une des Compagnies chargées de la police et sureté de la Ville

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec respect, Mon Général,

THE CHEVALIER DE TOUSARD TO JACKSON.

FRENCH CONSULATE AT NEW ORLEANS,
January 18, 1815.

General, By a conduct comparable to that of the hero whom America reveres and laments, under whom I have served, and who honoured me with his friendship,[1] your Excellency secures to the State of Louisiana the Independance guarantied to it by the Constitution of the United States. It is at this moment, while all your time is employed in directing towards that end, the means, which the zeal and confidence of all, have committed to your hands, that my duty obliges me to call off your Excellency's attention from your noble occupations to listen to the recital of the insult offered to my public Character, by an individual of one of the Uniform Companies, which have so well supported the honour of the French name, in combatting under you. But, General, what I owe to my Government,

[1] Louis de Tousard, captain of artillery in the French army, was an aide to Lafayette, distinguished himself and lost an arm in the Rhode Island campaign of 1778, and was made a brevet lieutenant-colonel in the Continental army. From 1795 to 1800 he was major, from 1800 to 1802 lieutenant-colonel of artillery in the U. S. army. He was now French consul in New Orleans.

to the confidence of my Sovereign, to the dignity of the functions which the President of the United States has authorised me to exercise in the State of Louisiana, and, above all, the Sentiment which your Excellency, as a soldier will feel at the recital of the insult offered to a Veteran, who shed his blood to establish American Independance, have laid me under the necessity of applying to you, and give me assurance that you will excuse the interruption I am forced to occasion in your important occupations.

My letter to Mr Ste Gême, of which here annex a Copy, will inform your Excellency of the reiterated insult which has been offered to me by an individual of his Compy. I judged it proper, in deference for Mr. Ste Gême, to apply to him in the first instance. In his answer, a Copy of which I also annex, he informs me that his enquiries, have been ineffectual, and he even intimates a doubt whether the person in question be one of his company, and whether he may not possibly be some obscure miscreant, my personal enemy, or inimical to my political opinion, who put on some part of the Uniform of his Company, for the purpose of committing that outrage, with the sole intent of causing some misunderstanding.

Your Excellency has no doubt had occasion to observe that amongst the French combatting under your command, There are a great number not less brave, not less inspired with honor than the others, but strongly attached to the Government overturned by the revolution of the 3d and 6th April last, and who seem to have vowed an irreconciliable hatred to all such as have given their adhesion to the new Government, and to the restoration of the august house of Bourbon to the Throne of France; although the Government of the United States has acknowledged that of his Majesty Louis the Eighteenth, and has ordered its flag to be respected, Those frenchmen have daily insulted both the one and the other. I have been grievously insulted by them in public, insomuch that I was forced to cause the offender to be apprehended, against whom the Grand Jury for the District Court of the United States found a Presentment; to lay my complaints before the Governor of this State, and to make the affair known to his most Christian Majesty's Minister plenipotentiary to the United States.[2] My dwelling house has been attacked by another individual who is now under bail for his good behaviour. An attempt was made, and at last with success to carry off from my house the Arms of my Sovereign; which outrage gave occasion to Governor Claiborne's proclamation of the 2d November last, offering a reward of two hundred Dollars, for the discovery of the offender.

The last insult offered to my person and to the french Cockade, which I wear in compliance with my instructions, shews me what I have to apprehend from those same frenchmen, when returning victorious, and elate with your Excellency's success, to which they will have contributed, they will think they may without restraint, vent their animosity against the representative of a government which they detest.

You alone, General, by the prudence for which you are distinguished, by the Confidence, respect and attachment which all profess for you, and by the firmness with which it is known, that you cause your orders to

[2] Louis Serurier, who, though appointed by Napoleon (1811), served till Jan. 22, 1816.

be executed; You alone, I say, can remedy this state of things; bring back misled frenchmen to a sense of decorum and good order, and secure to the Consul of a King, to whose Dynasty the United States owe grateful acknowledgments, the respect and protection necessary for the exercise of his functions.

It is not so much to solicit the punishment of an offender, whose name is unknown to me, and whom it is almost impossible to discover, that I have the honour to apply to your Excellency, as to request you to adopt such measures as your prudence, and your Knowledge of Mankind may Suggest to you, in order to secure, in future, my person, the arms, and the Colours of my Sovereign from similar insults.

In concluding this letter, already too long, Permit me to transcribe here the answer of His Ey. the Minister plenipotentiary of H. M. C. My. to the letter by which I informed him of the insult that had been offered to me at the Coffee house.

"I desire you to inform Governor Claiborne that it was a subject of indignation to me, to learn the insult offered to his Majesty's Consul, within his Government; That I firmly rely on the exemplary punishment of the offender; that were he to go unpunished, I should be forced to consider the City of New orleans as incapable of receiving foreign Consuls, in as much as it could not secure to them the respect and protection necessary for the exercise of their functions; and that I do authorise you, on the slightest menace of a repetition of insult, without its being repressed by authority, to take leave of him, quit his residence and come to receive my orders. You will please Sir to inform me of the final result of this affair. I authorise you to realise this menace, in case matters come to such a pitch as to compromit your Safety and the exercise of your functions."

With great respect I have the honor to be

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

"Camp 4 miles below Orleans," January 19, 1815.

Sir: Last night, at 12 oclk, the enemy precipitately decamped, leaving behind him under medical attendance 80 of his wounded, including two officers—fourteen peices of his heavy artillery, and a considerable quantity of shot, having destroyed much of his powder. Such was the situation of the ground which he abandoned, and of that through which he retired, protected by canals, redoubts, entre[n]chments and swamps on his Right and the river on his Left; that I could not, without encountering a risque which my true policy did not seem to require or authorise, annoy him much on his retreat. We took only eight prisoners.

[1] Letter in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 227, and also a copy. Printed in Latour, pp. lvi-lviii, and (by oversight, no doubt) a second time on pp. lxvii-lxviii. These two printed versions differ slightly. The text here printed agrees with the second. The first has the following postscript:

"P. S. On the 18th our prisoners on shore were delivered to us, an exchange having been previously agreed to. Those who are on board the fleet will be delivered at Petit Coquille—after which I shall still have in my hands an excess of several hundred.

"20th—Mr. Shields, purser in the navy, has to-day taken fifty-four prisoners; among them are four officers. A. J."

Whether it is the purpose of the enemy to abandon the expedition altogether, or renew his efforts at some other point I shall not pretend to decide with positiveness. In my own mind, however, there is very little doubt but that his last exertions have been made in this quarter; at any rate, for the present season; and by the next, if he shall chuse to revisit us, I hope we shall be fully prepared for him. In this beleif I am strengthened, not only by the prodigious loss he sustained at the position he has just quitted, but by the failure of his fleet to pass Ft St Phillips. His loss, since the debarkation of his troops, as stated by all the last prisoners and deserters, and as confirmed by many additional circumstances exceeded, in the whole, four thousand, and was greater in the action of the 8th than, from the most correct data then in his power, was estimated by my Inspector General, whose report has been forwarded you. I am more and more satisfied in the belief that had the arms reached us which were destined for us, the whole Brittish army in this quarter, would before this time been captured or destroyed. We suceeded, however on that day in geting from the enemy, about a 1000 stand of various descriptions. Since that action I have allowed the enemy very little respite—my artillery from both sides of the river being constantly employed till the night and the *hour* of their retreat in annoying them. It was time to quit a position in which so little rest could be enjoyed!

I am advised by Maj Overton[2] who commands at Ft St Phillips, in a letter of the 18th, that the enemy having bombarded his Fort for 8 or 9 nine days from 13 inch mortars without producing any important effect, had on the morning of that day, retired. Giving the proper weight to all these considerations, I beleive you will not think me too sanguine in the beleif that Louisiana is now clear of its enemy. I hope I need not assure you, however, that wherever I command, such a belief shall not occassion any relaxation in the preparations for resistance. I am but too sensible that the moment when the enemy is opposing us is not the most proper for making those preparations.

To Brigadier-General James Winchester.

"Camp 4 miles below N Orleans"
January 19, 1815.

D'r Genl: From the affair of the 8th to 12 oclock P M on the 18th I kept up a harrassing fire on the enemy when he precipitately retreated to his flotilla leaving Eighty wounded including two officers, and fourteen peaces of heavy artillery, six Eighteen pounders on their carriages compleat. The enemy on the morning of the 18th retreated from before Fort St Phillips after bombarding it for nine days with no other effect than killing one man and wounding seven—throwing upwards of 1000 shells from a 13½ Inch mortar. Louisiana is now clear of an enemy, where he may attempt to strike, or whether he is able to strike at all is uncertain. The Prisoner[s] acknowledge a loss of upwards of 4000, the Flower of their army and all their valuable officers. Lt Genl Packingham, and Major Genl Gibbs are both dead. Major General Kean is badly wounded. Major

[2] Maj. W. H. Overton to Jackson, dated Fort St. Philip, Jan. 19, 1815.

Genl Lambart is said to have went crasy, and the British army now commanded by a Colo. Still we must be vigilent and on the alert—my whole effectives with arms on the 8th instant did not amount to 4000—three thousand on the left bank engaged my regular force 550—nearly two thirds of whom are not better than raw militia. But with this force with vigilence I have defeated this Boasted army of Lord Wellingtons—double my numbers at least. Should this crippled army attemp to vissit you on their Passage home you will give a good account of them. I think they are bound for Bermuda, there to await further orders—and as soon as there defeat reaches gent [1] we will have peace in my oppinion. respectfully yours in haste

To Abbé Guillaume Dubourg.[1]

[Below New Orleans,] January 19, 1815.

Revd. Sir, The signal interposition of heaven; in giving success to our arms against the Enemy, who: so lately landed on our Shores, an enemy as powerfull, as Inveterate in his hatred, While it must excite in every bosome attatched to the happy Goverment under which we live, emotions of the liveliest gratitude, requires at the same time some manifestation of those feelings

Permit me therefore to entreat that you will cause the service of public thanksgiving to be performed in the Cathedral in token at once of the great assistance we have recd. from the *ruler of all Events* and of our humble sense of it.

With the greatest respect I am Sir

Major-General John Lambert to Jackson.

January 20, 1815.

Sir, Mr. Celestin Chiapella the bearer of this, is a Person, whom, previous to the British Force making a movement on the night of the 10th

[1] Ghent.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book H, p. 228. A copy, with some variations in expression, in the handwriting of Major Reid, and also in the Jackson MSS., is perhaps a draft. The Abbé Dubourg was apostolic administrator of the diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas. Dec. 18, 1814, he issued a mandate to the clergy and laity of New Orleans to pray for the success of the American arms (*Niles' Register,* VII. 379). His reply to Jackson's suggestion of a day of thanksgiving was as follows:

"*General,* Your note of yesterday has just been delivered to me. The truly christian feelings which it expresses on the subject of the signal interposition of Heaven in favour of our sacred cause, whilst they reflect a new lustre on your memorable exploits, will no doubt be warmly responded to by your gallant Brethren in arms and by all the classes of our exulting citizens. But in none should they excite livelier emotions than in the Ministers of that Almighty Being, whose glory never can shine more conspicuous, than when He beholds victorious Heroes depositing at his feet their unfaded laurels, and returning to him all the merit of their most wonderful atchievements. Your desire of having a day of solemn thanksgivings appointed is eagerly seconded. I wish you had yourself named the day. Mr. Livingston proposed Sunday next; But besides that the shortness of the notice would hardly give time to make the necessary preparations, it is my opinion that the setting apart a particular day in the week for the purpose, might contribute to give a greater eclat to the solemnity. I will then, with due deference to yr. commands, propose *next Tuesday*; and on the first intimation of your wishes, I will make the dispositions for the ceremony, the brightest ornament of which, will certainly be *yourself,* General, surrounded by your brave army."

I had from some particular circumstances thought right to detain for a few days. I shall send him back tomorrow and I have requested him to deliver this, the object of which is too aquaint you that to my great surprise, I found on reaching my Head Quarters, that a considerable number of Slaves had assembled there under the idea of emba[r]king with the army. Ev[e]ry pains has been taken to persuade them to remain peaceably at home and Mr. Celestin has taken with him those that chose to return with him, and the remainder will be given to any proprietors that may claim them and sending a Person who may have influence with them as soon as possible will be the readiest mode and I will add evry facility to their being sent back.

I have the Honor to be Sir

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Head Quarters 7th Military Dist. January 20, 1815

Sir, The enemy have abandoned their enterprize against New Orleans and have embarked their forces after a compleat defeat and loss of at least one half the army they landed with; as is usual with them, they have proposed an exchange of prisoners on their departure, which I have agreed to so far as it respects those taken on this Coast. To enable me to comply with my engagement, I must request that you will upon the receipt of this procure the necessary transportation and send to me the seamen who are Prisoners in your Territory and mentioned in the enclosed Roster.

P. S. Be good enough to return the enclosed list with the prisoners.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

New Orleans, January 25, 1815.

Sir, I advised you on the 20th that the enemy had two nights before, decamped and returned to his flotilla. No circumstances have since transpired to make it certain whether he intends to abandon his original purpose altogether or to exert his efforts for its accomplishment at some other point. I am perswaded however that the discomfiture he has met with has left him without the means of prosecuting it for the present with any hopes of success; But having manifested, by bringing with him all the preparations for the immediate establishment of colonial government, not only the facility with which he calculated on attaining his object, but the high value which he set upon it, it is not improbable that though disappointed in his hopes of easy success he may not have finally relinquished his intention. The interval of his absence ought therefore to be industriously employed in providing the most effectual means against his possible return. My opinion is that for the effectual defence of this District, should the enemy meditate a renewal of his attempts, not less than 5000 regular troops are necessary; and for *permanent* defence, that is the only description of troops upon which reliance can be placed. It is true, the militia who were sent hither from the Country above, on the

[1] The original is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
[1] This letter is in the War Dept. files, and a draft of it is in the Jackson MSS.

late emergency have approved themselves worthy the high confidence we had in them, and shewn indeed, that for such a purpose they are inferior to no troops in the world; but it is only for purposes thus temporary that they can be considered as valuable. The short periods of their engagements, not more than their habits of life by which when they have made one excursion or fought one battle, they are so strongly recalled to their famil[i]es and home render them a very unequal match, in continued warfare, for men who following arms as a profession, are scarcely entitled to merit for perseverance.

The secrecy and expedition with which the enemy was enabled to approach us with so powerful a force, is also a proof that that by which his future designs must be resisted ought not to depend upon accident in its arrival or be subject to delay in its application. As composing a part of the force which may be necessary for the defence of this country I would beg leave to recommend 6 companies of Light Artillery, and 1000 riflemen as peculiarly suitable; and permit me also to remark that an able engineer is greatly wanted here, and cannot be sent too soon. Officers are greatly wanted to complete the 3d, 7th, and 44th Regts which are very deficient.

The innumerable bayous and outlets from the Lakes which had hitherto been so little known, or regarded, gave to the enemy on his late incursion facilities of which it will be my duty to deprive him hereafter; and when I shall have succeeded in that, the force which would otherwise be necessary for the defence of this country, will bear considerable diminution.

I will further take the liberty to suggest that the Block ship, now lying on lake Ponchartrain in an unfinished state ought immediately to be completed; why she has been thus left I am quite at a loss to conjecture; as she is peculiarly adapted to the defence of the lakes. What makes it the more remarkable is that the covering which has been provided for her has probably cost the government more than it would to have completed her. Col Haynes to whom this is entrusted will be enabled from the opportunities he has had, and his accuracy of observation to afford much useful information on the several points to which I have referred as well as on others relative to the situation and the proper defences of this Country.[2]

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

"Head Quarters 7. M. District" January 26, 1815.

All the militia now on duty will be retained in service until the expiration of their engagements, *or* until the movements of the enemy shall render it quite safe to discharge them.

[2] To Col. A. P. Hayne, Jackson gave written instructions in a letter of Jan. 25, and in them he embodied his recommendations for the reward by promotion of the officers who had distinguished themselves during the campaign. See Parton (II. 275), where the letter of instructions is given. In writing to Hayne, Jackson said that he did not make his suggestions to the Secretary of War himself because he was "prevented by motives of delicacy and other causes". But he might have saved himself trouble in this respect, for on March 27, 1815, he received from the War Department a request for his suggestions of promotions—to be forwarded by mail, if Jackson found himself unable to go to Washington in person.

[1] Copy.

That portion of them, therefore, to which you allude in your letter, must be furnished with supplies; and you will be right in signing returns for them.

I am very respectfully Yr Obt St

To Colonel Robert Hays.

New Orleans, January 26, 1815.

D'r Colo. I have this moment recd yours of the 17th am happy to find the ladies have started at last. I hope there will be no danger from a return of the enemy. you say you wish I would write often, were you to see the business with which I am surrounded you would I know readily excuse me. I rejoice to hear of the health of our friends there, and thank my god, we have all escaped here altho I do not enjoy good health at present. I thank you for your attention to my farm, and beg you to see it now and then Tell Knot to take of care of my stock, my colts and lambs particularly.

I enclose you a paper including my address and Genl order to the Troops since which, about Eighty Prisoners has been taken, who state that the Total Loss of the enemy amounts to six thousand five hundred, and Major Genl Kean has died of his wounds. It appears that the unerring hand of providence shielded my men from the showers of Balls, bombs and Rocketts, when every Ball and Bomb from our guns carried with them the mission of death. Tell your good lady and family god bless them, and give my respects to all friends. Adieu.

Silas Dinsmore to Jackson.[1]

Camp Pearl River near Ford's, January 27, 1815.

Sir, I wrote you in haste yesterday morning by General Winchester's express. Since which the sixtown Indians[2] have increased their numbers to seventy two, badly armed, there being only seven Rifles, and twenty three common trading guns, most of them in bad order. Apprehensive of a deficiency in arms, I applied to Genl Winchester when at Mobile for a supply. He declined furnishing, because he had no order to send arms out of the limits of his command; and because he believed the Indians would be ordered to Mobile.

Col Nixon has advised you by the present express, of the report of the Contractor's Agent declaring his inability to supply the militia and Indians, for more than a few days, with bread stuff and forage. This report, and the want of funds in the Q. M. department, to make purchases, are much to be lamented, as it has defeated all the arrangements of Col. Nixon,

[1] In view of Jackson's quarrel with Silas Dinsmore, in 1812, it is interesting to see by this letter that in the crises of 1814-1815 he came back to the Choctaw country and used his influence to keep the Choctaws loyal to the United States. This letter shows that he co-operated with Jackson and, taken in connection with Jackson's reply through his aide, Thomas L. Butler (Jan. 30), hardly warrants Parton's idea that Jackson's ill-feeling for Dinsmore was continuous. See Parton's *Jackson,* II. 576-581.

[2] See p. 73, n. 2, *ante.*

with whose zeal for the public interest, you are sufficiently acquainted, to duly appretiate. I am much indebted to the Col. for the means he has taken to keep the Indians embodied and subsisted (till we can receive your orders) by ordering one hundred and [*blank*] bushels of peas, with which I shall make them satisfied while they last. I shall keep the Indians, which may join me, amused at least, and by shewing scouts, of those who have arms, on the coast, may have a good effect, to check the marauding parties of the enemy who may attempt foraging. And I hold myself responsible to defeat every attempt made, or to be made, to seduce the Indians from their attachment to the United States, and will not suffer myself to doubt that you will afford the necessary means to enable them to render efficient service.

I have the honour to be very respectfully Sir,[3]

Brevet Major Thomas L. Butler to Silas Dinsmore.

Head Quarters, 7 Military District,
New Orleans, January 30, 1815.

Sir, The Majr Genl. commanding has recd your communication of the [*blank*] Inst. And takes a pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to you for the zeal and activity with which you have on this an many other occasions exerted yourself to collect and bring to the service of the US the Choctaws, He feels the utmost confidence that these exertions will be continued to repel the attempts which the enemy may make to sew disaffection amongst the Indians, and that they will feel a common interest with him in driving from our shores an enemy who would only use them so long as they might be serviceable, and ultimately abandon them to the mercy of the goverment which has had too much cause to punish with rigour the inocent savage who has been scholed to the murder of his friends and thus made the instrument of his own destruction, by false professions of friendship on the part of his and our common enemies. Provisions have been forwarded to chifuncte, subject to the order of colo Nixon, and the Genl. intends to have arms forwarded to you very soon.

I have the honour to be respectfully

To Brigadier-General James Winchester.[1]

New Orleans, January 30, 1815

. . . . I have lookout Boats in pursuit. Whether the enemy will attempt any thing farther, or sail direct to Bermuda is doubfull, he is too much shattered to attempt any thing serious. Nicholls and Woodbine may again vissit the appalachicola, and endeavour to stir up the Indians. Francis and Mcqueen being present and seeing their defeat—if they can get to land, will never unite themselves with the Britons, and I have no doubt but

[3] Dinsmore wrote other letters to Jackson, on Feb. 10 and 11, 1815. They are written in a spirit of cordiality. In that of the 10th he acknowledged the receipt of Jackson's letter of Feb. 3, no copy of which has been found.

[1] Draft.

they will prevent any Indian war. I have no idea that Enemy will attempt Fort Bowyer, or your quarter Still you cannot be too well prepared or too vigilant.—adml. Cochrane is sore, and Genl Lambart crasy, they may in this situation attempt some act of Madness—if their Panic does not prevent it.

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, January 31, 1815.

Sir, Applications being hourly addressed to me by the militia officers of the state, to learn the disposition to be made of the various Detachments, now at this place, and finding a wish very general on the part of the citizens to return to their respective Homes, I take the liberty to ask, whether in your Judgment the services of the whole or what part of the militia of this state now in the service of the united states can be dispensed with, and *at what period*? May I also ask whether since the date of your last letter upon the subject, you have heard any thing further, from the British commander respecting the negroe slaves? You will excuse my solicitude upon a subject so immediately interesting to many good citizens of the state, and in whose behalf, in my character as civil Governor I would wish to address a letter to the British commander, and to convey it by three distinguished citizens, if you should not already, have effected the restoration of their property[1] I am Sir

very Respectfully

TO GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE.

NEW ORLEANS, February 3, 1815.

at a time like the present, when the enemy again threaten an invasion of our Territory, it is with pain and regret, I learn the neglect and dereliction from duty by several of the Louisiana Regts. stationed at camp Villery for the protection of the Byou Beavenue,[1] untill the contemplated fortification can be compleated, you having assumed the command of the Louisiana Militia, through you Sir I expected to be informed of this dereliction of duty and desertion from their Posts, both of officers and men. When Inspected yesterday, the Regts of Dusongs and Cavalier there were from fifteen to Twenty Colo Dusong and one Lt. which were not peraded, altho notified by gene[r]al order. Subordination must exist in an army or it becomes worse than a mob—and it now appears, that coertion and punishment must be resorted to Enforce subbordination and prevent desertion, and neglect of duty. you will therefore forthwith cause every officer and soldier, to be reported, as deserters who were found absent at any time without proper authority from their Posts, and who were absent on the first and second of this instant from Camp Villery,

[1] The two subjects mentioned in this letter, the dismissal of the militia and the recovery of the slaves, became sore points between Jackson and the governor. The latter conceived his authority affected by Jackson's insistence that the question of getting the slaves was wholly a military matter, in which the civil authorities had no part.

[1] The Bayou Bienvenue ran southeastward from near New Orleans to Lake Borgne. Camp Villeré was a few miles above its mouth.

of Colo. Dusongs and Cavalliers Regts—that the Legal application may be applied to enforce obedience. When such a spirit of unanimity has been exhibited accompanied with such display of ardent Patriotism, I cannot permit the Laurels of Lousiana to be Tarnished by the Lurking Demon of discord, that attempts to insinuate itself into her ranks. a Just punishment awaits all who for a moment forget themselves, and permit the destructive operation of this hidra. To crush this monster in the Bud, you are charged with the prompt and immediate execution of this order, and the order of yesterday.

George M. Ogden to Jackson.

New Orleans, February 3, 1815.

Previous to my leaving the British Ship "Royal Oak" on board of which vessel I had been detained a Prisoner of War, Major General Keane requested of me as a particular fav[o]r that on my return to New Orleans, I would make every exertion to obtain for him the sword he had worn in the action of the 8th January, and which had been left on the field when he was wounded and borne off—he stated that its intrinsic value was not great, the mounting being plain, and gilt only, but that being a present from an esteemed friend he would redeem it at any price and requested me to purchase it for him if it was to be sold—he further added, that should I find it in the hands of any Officer who valued it as a trophy of War, he would send in the place of it the handsomest sword that could be made in England, and consider himself obliged by the exchange.

Understanding Sir, that the sword in question is under your control, I have made the above statement with the fullest confidence that it will give you pleasure to have an opportunity of confering a personal favor even on the General of your Enemy, and under the strongest conviction that our beloved Country is so well guarded, by the strong arms and undaunted hearts of her Citizens, that should it once more be drawn against us, (with the favor of heaven) we shall be enabled again to repel its force, and to parallize the arm that may wield it. With assurances of great respect etc [1]

I remain

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

New Orleans, February 3, 1815.

Sir, your letter of this day is recd. you can have a private audiance with me, on tomorrow at nine oclock a. m. I send on tomorrow a flag to the shipping with a letter to Genl Lambart. Mr E Livingston and Mr Shepherd barers and capt White accompanies them. I do hope that the Legisla-

[1] Jackson ordered the sword returned, and received from General Keane the following note, dated Feb. 8, 1814: "Major General Keane presents his best Respects to General Jackson and feels particularly thankful for the Kindness he has experienced from him through the medium of Colonel Livingstone. He is still farther oblijed for General Jackson's Kind Wishes for his Recovery."

[1] In Jackson's handwriting, probably a copy made by himself.

ture nor yourself, will not attempt any thing like negotiating or having any communication with the Enemy, that is a subject on which you nor the Legislature as such has any power over, and I hope the Legislature will not undertake to Legislate on a subject that even the congress of the u states without the intervention of the President has no power over or business with. The interests of the citizens has and will be duly attended to by me, and be assured if either the assembly or yourself attempt to interfere with subjects not belonging to you, it will be immediately arested. I am pledged for the protection of this District, having the responsibility I trust I know my duty and will perform it. I am respectfully yrs etc

To Colonel Robert Hays.

New Orleans, February 4, 1815.

D'r Colo: The mail is in, and not a line or even a news paper from Nashville, I am indebted to Colo Butler for the pleasing intelligence, recd from Mr Cantrell that Mrs Jackson and Mrs Butler sailed from Nashville on the 19th ult. may god preserve them from accident and their Escort. The enemy (what is left of them) the last account was safely moored at Ship Island 100 miles distant, in great distress for want of Provisions, without orders, Jealousy between the land and naval forces, and without a reenforcement, in there shattered condition, not able to attempt to invade us. I have regained all my brave Tennesseens who were made Prisoners on the 23rd of Decbr., and all Prisoners taken since the enemy arived on the coast, except 100 seaman Taken with the gun boats. These I expect in a few days. after the exchange is compleated, there will remain between three and four hundred Prisoners in my hands. Major Genl Kean has not died of his wounds as was reported, he is recovering, and has requested, that his sword Taken on the 8th ult. should be returned, as it is a favourite one presented by a friend. *I have sent it to him,* altho a trophie of war still a greater to be able to yield it to him! when a British Genl makes the request of an american genl, to restore his *sword won in battle,* prospects of peace is opening to our view, and British Pride much humbled.

I have sent up a Hoghshead of good sugar for my own use. Say to my good friend Mrs Hays your lady, that part is intended as a present for her, as soon as it reaches Nashville. I have to ask you to say to Mr Knot, to have my coalts, sheep and other stock well attended to. I hope to vissit you in the spring, when I shall expect to find all things well, with a large crop of cotton growing. I think my hands can tend forty acres, having no hindrence. I hope he has been able to clear some ground. give my love to all friends and say to Capt Donelson—his son is well, and Genl Coffee. adieu.

P S. I wish Truxton could be placed at a good stand. Do with him for the best. Capt Cook may take this on the same Terms he did last year.

To Governor Holmes.[1]

Head Quarters 7 My Dist New Orleans
February 4. 1815

Sir, I am instructed by Major General Jackson to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 24th Inst. To inform you that Major McHaffie and the Naval officers have arrived. And to request that your Excellency will be pleased to send Captain Kid of the Army with the Seamen (if they have not already been sent) to this place with the utmost expedition.

The Genl has determined to exchange Captain Kid in prefference to any other officer on account of his family who are on board of the Fleet.

The enemy is now at Ship and Cat Islands in great distress for provisions and water, and it is presumed he cannot renew his attempts upon this City until reinforced, of which we have no information. He has dispatched vessels to England and Bermuda for provisions and instructions.

No calculations seem to have been made in the instructions to his officers of the possibility of a failure of the enterprise. The Genl. directs me to request that your Excellency cause the most strict watch to be kept over Major Mitchell and to assure you of his personal esteem.

By command
I have the honour to be
respectfully yr. obedt servt

P. S. The Genl. wishes Lieuts Knight and Leavock of the prisoners to be sent with Captain Kid.

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

Department of War, February 5, 1815.

Sir, I have just had the honor to receive your letters of the 9th and 13th Ultimo communicating an account of the brilliant victory, obtained by the troops under your command near New Orleans, over the very superior force of the veteran troops of Great Britain which attacked you on the 8th. It is particularly gratifying to find, that in so signal a success, attended with the slaughter and captivity of so many of the invading foe, it has pleased Providence to extend a protecting arm over our fellow citizens. History records no example, of so glorious a victory, obtained, with so little bloodshed, on the part of the victorious.

I am instructed by the President to convey to you in strong terms, his approbation of your conduct, and of that of the troops acting under you who have rendered such important services to their country. Your arrangements for the defence of the City, in selecting and fortifying the proper points at which to oppose the enemy, and in the disposition of your force in action; afford proofs of a talent for command, which do you honor. By the example of your personal energy and distinguished gallantry, in the field, the more necessary and commendable with young troops, it is believed that the happiest effect was produced. By these

[1] The original, written and signed by T. L. Butler, aide, is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

important services you have merited in an eminent degree the approbation of the Government and the gratitude of your fellow citizens.

The President requests that you will express to the troops who have acted under you the very favourable sentiments which he entertains of their conduct. The alacrity with which they repaired to the standard of their country, exposed in many instances to distressing privations; the patience with which they have borne the fatigues of the campaign and their bravery in action, have been seen by him with great satisfaction. To our newly adopted fellow citizens of Louisiana, you will give assurance, of his great sensibility, to the decided and honourable proofs which they have given of their attachment and devotion to the union, and of their manly support of the rights of their country. Little did the enemy expect in their invasion of New Orleans to meet the forces of such distant states assembled in its defence, or such firm faithful and zealous cooperation on the part of our newly adopted brethren there.

Every effort which the Government could make to reinforce you by troops, and supply you with arms, and every munition of war has been made, and is still making. I send you a statement of these supplies, and of the times at which they were forwarded. You will investigate the conduct of those to whose charge they were committed, and if guilty of criminal neglect, inflict on them the punishment which their conduct merits and the laws will justify.

It will be gratifying to you to know that 5000 additional troops are ordered to your aid from Kentucky, and 2500 from Tennessee and that the most effectual measures have been taken for their transportation provision and accomodation. Orders have also been given for the supply of those troops with arms, and for a further supply to you of munitions of war.

Major General Gaines [1] was ordered some time since to repair to New Orleans, to take a command under you with an understanding that he should proceed slowly on account of the weakness of his health proceeding from his wounds which were still open. I hope however that he will soon be with you, if he has not yet arrived.

I have the honor to be

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, February 6, 1815.

Sir, Amidst that pressure of business which devolves on the Executive, *on this day,* which probably will bring the Session of the Legislature to its close, I seize *upon a moment,* to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th Instant.

The *unpleasant sensations* excited by the view you seem to have taken of the interest manifested by the executive and Legislature of this state, for the restoration of the slaves, who had escaped with the Enemy, *are greatly allayed* by your declaration, that *no bad motive is ascribed to us.*

[1] Gaines arrived in New Orleans Feb. 4, 1815. See his letter to Jackson of that date, Jackson MSS.

That *Being,* whom we all recognize as the Searcher and Judge of hearts, is indeed the Witness of the purity of our intentions. It is admitted, that it would be incompatible, with that dignified deportment, which it becomes the Representatives of the state to observe, and a degradation of that National Character of which we boast, to solicit and intreat the restoration of *stolen property* from an enemy who avows plunder and burning as legitimate modes of warfare; that as the Individual sufferers would disdain such humiliation, much stronger motives bind those, who represent the magesty of the state to abhor and avoid it; and I admire the conduct of the executive and Legislature of Virginia, who while their fellow Citizens were plundered of millions, scorned to debase the dignity of their stations by a *humiliating petition* to the plunderer, *for a restoration of the stolen property.* We hope and beleive that in a case *exactly parallel,* Louisiana would imitate the conduct of Virginia.

But whatever may have been the conduct of *Admiral Cockburn*[1] *and others, of the modern Vandals,* in Virginia, yet it has been understood that General Lambert in Louisiana, had so far disapproved *the System of rapine* of other British commanders, as not to have considered the carrying of slaves, as a legitimate mode of Warfare. with what sincerity time will shew; for myself Sir, I strongly suspect, he will in the end, be found equally disposed *with his fellow marauders,* to commit all kind of excesses. But it is so understood that the slaves of our fellow citizens, "who had flocked to the British Army", were only employed in the removal of the bag'age of the retreating Enemy and to your self, an assurance was given "that they would be delivered up *on application*". This application to be made by two or more respectable inhabitants, was in consequence contemplated, not in the form of an humble petition to *restore stolen property,* but a Request for the restoration of negroes to the service of their masters, whom the enemy does not chuse to retain.

You ask whether it be the province of the Governor and Legislature of any state in such a situation of affairs to send special commissioners or confidential deputations to the Enemy. The application to be made before the delivery of the slaves, is to proceed from their owners, *the State,* or the United States, *thro' their* Commanding General in the District. The first mode would certainly be irregular, but not so *the second,* provided it was done with the knowledge and consent of the officer commanding the forces of the United States in the State. The contemplated measure was communicated to you in my letter of the 31st ultimo, under a belief that your sanction would have freed it from all impropriety. If no previous inquary was made, whether the *deputation in question* would be permitted to pass your guards, it was, because no idea or wish was entertained, *that they should,* unless orders were issued from your head quarters for that purpose. My impression has been that it was *not unlawful* for the State Government to send one or more messengers to "*solicit*", *ask for* and *receive* all negroes whom the Enemy was willing to leave behind; Surely Sir, the general who directs the operations of the war in

[1] Rear-Adm. Sir George Cockburn, whose marauding operations in the Chesapeake had caused much resentment.

this District, has the power to prevent it; But I do not see any wrong on the part of the state authorities in contemplating or proposing the measure. I know not whether the above observations will induce you to view *our conduct* in a more favourable light; but it will however remain a matter of regret, that *it* has been viewed as an intentional encroachment on your rights.

I feel too sensibly the *responsibility* attached to my own situation, willingly to assume *that* which belongs to another, and among the Rules which I have laid down for my own Government, there is not one to which I more strictly adhere, than that "of foregoing the exercise of my own powers, when it may be done without a dereliction of duty, *rather than in the least design to interfere with those of others*".

I am Sir,

To Governor Claiborne.[1]

New Orleans, February 6, 1815.

Sir: The Legislature of your state being about to close their session, it is due to their character, as well as to those interests over which I am bound to watch, that I should be furnished, before they rise, with the evidence taken by the Committee appointed to enquire into the causes which, during the action of the 28th Decbr, gave rise to information, charging that body with treasonable designs

If a charge so injurious has been *falsely* made by any officer of my army, it is necessary that proper proceedings be immediately had against him; and the innocence of every member of that house, whom in the camp he has so vilely aspersed, be made apparent to the world. On the other hand, if the charge be *true* as regards *any* member or members of that assembly, it is equally necessary that proper proceedings be forthwith instituted against *him* or *them*; as well that the guilty may receive punishment, as the innocent escape suspicion. If I can be furnished with the proceedings of the House in relation to this matter it may save *me* the necessity of going into an investigation which I consider so important.

Very respectfully I have the honor to be yr. obt st

Major-General Lambert to Jackson.[1]

[Off Louisiana Coast], February 8, 1815.

Sir, I am just favored with your letter of the 4th. I can assure you that every American Prisoner that was present when I embarked on board the Tonnant, has been sent into the Rigollets, and Adm Sr. A Cochrane, has taken steps for the arrival of an equivalent number to the British Prisoners now with you. Under any circumstances, I positively promise that your liberallity shall not be, in any way but reciprocal on my part, and I will not lose sight for a moment, hastening, if it is possible, the arrival of American Prisoners, especially those who were taken on

[1] Copy. For Jackson's controversy with the legislature, consult Bassett's *Jackson*, I. 223.

[1] Printed in Latour, p. lxxxii.

the 14th of December last. I am obliged to you for the allowing of two British Officers to return on Parole, and what you intimate on the subject shall be attended to. What I said respecting the Slaves, regarded those, that I could not prevent coming to us, when I was on shore; I am not at the anchorage where Mr. Livingston and Mr. White, have been received, and indeed I have nothing [to] say to it; I did, all I could to persuade them to return at the time, but not one was willing, as will be testified by Mr. Celestin a proprietor, whom I had detained untill the British Forces had evacuated their last position, this gentleman saw the Slaves that were present, and did all he could to urge them to go back.

I remain Sir

To Governor Claiborne.

New Orleans, February 8, 1815.

Sir: . . . . The Legislature not having furnished me, yet, with the testimony taken by the Committee appointed to enquire into the causes which gave rise to communications charging them with treasonable designs, I must again direct your attention to that subject, and ask that you will use your efforts to have that testimony forwarded as soon as practicable. You will perceive that my motives for thus urging this subject are that I may enter upon the enquiry myself if the Legislature shall persist in witholdg the result of their own inquir[i]es.

I am very respectfully yr. obt st.

Governor Claiborne to Jackson.

New Orleans, February 8, 1815.

. . . . Your Letter of the 6th was, (as I informed you it would be) laid before the *Legislature, who* directed that the Report of the Committee, on the subject, to which you refer, should be prepared by the Secretary of the Senate, and forwarded to you. It is I learn (for I have not seen it) a lengthy Document; but as soon as the Secretary can take a *Copy*, it will I presume be transmitted to you.

I am Sir, Very respectfully

To Colonel Robert Hays.

New Orleans, February 9, 1815.

Colo. Hays will oblige his friend by presenting the Inclosed paper to Miss Narcissa Hays, and ask of her to accept the ballad that it contains. it is made to the tune, of yanky dudle,[1] which was beat along the whole line on the morning of the 8th of January, which will be ever recollected by the British nation, and always hailed by every true american. Say to her if Genl Overton should happen to be passing let him see it with best wishes adieu. I also inclose one to Miss Betsy Donelson, which I wish

[1] It has been erroneously said that "Yankee Doodle" was first used at New Orleans. It was probably an old English tune, to which words were written in the British colonies during the war of 1755.

Miss Narcissa to take a copy of and present it to her, it was composed by Mrs. Ellery of New orleans, and with some alterations presented to me as I marched to the church by Doctor Kerrs [2] daughter, about Eight years old, Selected by the ladies for that purpose. this latter would be sent but I am preserving it to present to Mrs. Jackson if we are ever blessed with a meeting, after which a copy will be sent to the Ladies.

with compliments to all adieu

Captain Dubuclet and other Officers to Jackson.

Brognier Quarter, February 11, 1815.

General, The Volunteers of the Company of Hussards of Tech, Attakapas, Dubuclet captain, by this Beg show you their own situation.

Most of them have a numerous family and very little fortune. The raising of Cotton is their only living and however they have once lost the last gathering, when called down for the defence of the Country, now they are yet near losing the next crop, for want of being at home, in time to sow. Should this be the case, their Wives and Children will be entirely deprived of their only means of subsistence.

Be pleased, General, to consider their situation and allow them to return to their fields, Where they do promise, they shall stand ready to come down at your first call. By so fatherly doing, you will increase if possible, their affection and gratitude.

Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Jackson.

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Tonnant, off Mobile Bay, February 12, 1815.

Sir: In consequence of the style which Captain Patterson thought proper to adopt in a Letter that he addressed to me on the 23rd January [1] (a copy of which I beg leave to enclose, with some remarks upon the margin) I find myself precluded from making him any reply thereto, or of holding with that Officer any further correspondence.

But to prevent our respective Prisoners suffering any unnecessary detention, I do myself the honor to communicate to you: that in order to fulfill the agreement for an Exchange of Prisoners entered into by Major Smith (aid de camp to Major General Lambert); upon the 27th Ultimo I sent His Majesty's Ship Nymphe to the Havanna to receive from His Majesty's Ship Ramillies the One hundred of the American Prisoners taken in the Gun Vessels, which she had carried to Sea.

These with five Seamen, who for the purpose of being examined in the Vice Admiralty Court respecting the capture of the Gun Vessels,

[2] Dr. David C. Kerr was hospital surgeon at New Orleans.

[1] Commodore Patterson's letter of Jan. 23, with Vice-Admiral Cochrane's comments, is in the Jackson MSS. The reader will probably conclude that the commodore was unduly sensitive. He charged the vice-admiral with "want of respect" to the American flag of truce sent forward to negotiate the exchange of prisoners and with discourtesy to the officers who carried it. At the same time, the American commander had not gone to such lengths as should cause his opponent to refuse to negotiate with him. The present letter was printed in Latour, app., p. lxxxiii.

I have been obliged to send to Bermuda, but who are to be returned the moment the legal forms have been complied with, will compleat the number of American Prisoners which have to be accounted for by the British Forces under the agreement of the 17th Ultimo; and they shall be forwarded to you without any delay, so soon as they arrive in the Squadron.

As it has been found very inconvenient, the sending of Vessels to the Rigolets (those last send not having yet returned, and are reported to be on shore) Colonel Livingston and myself have agreed that the Prisoners expected in the Nymphe shall proceed to the mouth of the Mississippi, and be delivered to the Officer commanding at Fort Plaquemine.

Having by this arrangement fulfilled the stipulations of our beforementioned treaty in which we agreed to the restoration of all the Prisoners that our Forces had made before we received from you any British Prisoners, it is but just that you should follow the same principle with respect to the Prisoners who have fallen into our hands by the surrender of Fort Bowyer;[2] all of whom Major General Lambert and myself are ready to exchange as they stand upon the Lists (copies of which are enclosed) for such British Prisoners as you may cause to be delivered at the mouth of the Mississippi, after the first account has been finally settled, and on my part I will engage to send to the same place an equivalent of American Prisoners the number and qualities of the British Prisoners received.

I have the honor to be Sir,

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

New Orleans, February 13, 1815.

Sir: The enemy having retired to Ship Island in so cripled a condition as to have little to apprehend from a renewal of his attempts, and being somewhat recovered from severe indisposition, occassioned by fatigue and exposure, I avail myself of this first moment of leisure and health to acquaint you with the situation of affairs in this quarter, before and since my arrival, and with the course of conduct I have deemed it expedient to pursue.

[2] Colonel Lawrence surrendered Fort Bowyer Feb. 11, 1815, with 366 prisoners. His report to Jackson of the occurrence, Feb. 12, 1815, is as follows:

"*Sir,* Imperious necessity has compelled me to enter into articles of Capitulation with Major Genl. John Lambert Comdg. his B M Forces in front of Fort Bowyer a copy of which I forward you for the purpose of effecting an immediate exchange of Prisoners Nothing but the want of Provision and finding myself completely surrounded by thousand Batteries erected on the Sand Mounds which completly commanded the Fort and the Enemy having advanced by regular approaches within thirty yards of the Ditch and the utter impossibility of getting any assistance or supplies could have induced me to adopt this measure feeling confident and it being the unanimous opinion of the officers that we could not retain the Post and that the lives of many valuable Officers and Soldiers would have been uselessly sacraficed I thought it most advisable to adopt this plan a full and correct statement will be furnished you as early as possible. Captain Chambelain who bears this to E Livingston Esqr. will relate to him many particulars, which will I hope be satisfactory."

[1] This letter is in Reid's handwriting and is so much amended in the writing that it seems to have been a draft. It is Jackson's general report on the New Orleans campaign.

On my arrival at Mobile I rece[i]ved various communications from N. Orleans informing me that the utmost disunion of sentiment prevailed among the inhabitants. A considerable portion of the population was believed to be disaffected to the government and eager for an opportunity to place themselves under another. Great fears were particularly entertained lest the free persons of colour should unite themselves to the enemy on his approach, and become the means of stirring up insurrection among the slaves. Whatever might be the foundation of their fears, it seemed very probable that we must either have this part of the population in our own ranks or find it in the ranks of the enemy; and my first efforts were therefore exerted to inspire them with attachment to our cause. For this purpose I prepared an address, adapted as I thought to their feelings and prejudices, had it forwarded to New Orleans, published, read and explained to them. It was soon found to have produced a good effect, and that much less was to be feared from the hostility of their designs than from the disaffection and treachery of the Spaniards. Various intercepted letters rendered it certain that from this source serious danger was justly to be apprehended. The Lakes were covered with Spanish colours employed by British agents to devour our country of provissions and furnish supplies to the enemy. To counteract so dangerous a policy I found it necessary to lay an embargo on all provission-vessels in our ports.

The prospect of affairs seeming to require the immediate presence of all the forces I had been authorised to call into the feild I invited that brave and meritorious officer, Genl. Coffee to join me, without delay with 2000 volunteer mounted gunmen. The patriotism of the Tennesseans and their attachment to this leader soon led 2000 volunteers to his standard, with whom he lost no time in marching to join me. Subsequent events have shewn the importance of his arrival. The slow movements of the E Tennessee militia as well as of the new recruits from Knoxville were fortunately atoned for, by the rapid marches of genl. Coffee.

Whilst I was waiting his arrival my attention was constantly directed to the means of defending New Orleans. With this veiw I had ordered Col McRhea to have all the forts, as soon as possible, in a proper condition for resisting the approaches of the enemy which I gave him to understand there was but too much reason to expect in a short time—directed the governor to have his quota of 1000 men in the feild and stationed at the most exposed points, and instructed him to hold the balance of the militia in a state of readiness for taking the feild on the shortest notice.

Another matter of the utmost consequence, at the same time claimed my attention. A spirit of hostility among a portion of the Creeks was continued to be kept alive by the excitements of the Brittish and the encouragement and succour they received from the Spaniards at Pensacola. Security to our frontiers was not to be expected so long as these causes continued to produce an influence; and it was necessary, therefore, to defeat their operation as soon as possible. This was only to be done by driving both the Brittish and Indians from Pensacola; a measure which I accordingly determined upon and effected. With the history of that expe-

dition you have been made acquainted; and you will pardon me for observing Sir that whatever our relations with Spain may be, or however desirous we may be to preserve them, it was expecting a little too much of good nature to suppose that when we were seeking to defend our country against invasion, we should sit quietly down, and see her give aid and comfort to our enemies without attempting to prevent it. Surely Spain, dare not utter complaints! and certainly, if she does, no American who connects a knowledge of her conduct with that of our situation, will have his heart much lacerated by them. If she harboured our enemies because they were superior to her in strength, and forced themselves upon [*sic*] it was a most happy deliverance which we afforded her; and we have a right, if she be sincere in her professions of freindship or hopes to impress us with that belief, to expect her thanks rather than her censure. No violation or outrage was committed upon Spanish property or Spanish rights, she was assured that none would be, our object was open, avowed—not misunderstood or transcended. But our enemies whom she supported while they were preparing the means to invade us were driven from among her, and made to understand that the place which had so long sheltered them would no more be considered or treated as a sanctuary. This may have been an act of rudeness towards our worthy freind and neighbour not warranted by the civilities which govern the intercourse between polished nations nor consonant to the modern American mode of carrying on war. I am but little versed in the ettiquette or punctillios of these matters; and I must take the liberty of adding, that whenever I shall be entrusted with the defence of an important section of my country I am quite sure it will not be sacraficed by too strict an attention to them.

Having effected the object for which I had carried the expedition to Pensacola, I immediately took up the line of march for N. Orleans which it was now my purpose to reach as soon as practicable by forced marches. On getting back to the Alabama I was greatly disappointed at finding that neither the East Tennessee militia nor the recruits of the 24th and 39th Regiments had yet arrived

It being of great importance, as I conceived, that a sudden and final blow should be made on that portion of the Creeks who continued to keep up hostilities I was compelled to detach, for this purpose one half of genl. Coffee's brigade; who were accordingly placed under the command of Majr. Blue, and ordered on an expedition against them.

Genl. Coffee, with the balance of his forces was ordered to Baton Rouge, there to hold himself in readiness to march on the shortest notice, to whatever point he might be directed. An express was sent to Majr. General Carrol urging him to hasten with the West Tennessee divission of militia to New Orleans; to which place, I and my staff, now proceeded by the way of Tchefuncta. On my arrival I was flattered by the greetings of all; and while I returned to all the salute of entire confidence, I must own that I manifested somewhat more than I felt. I lost no time in visiting the different posts and was disappointed and concerned to find them all in a very defenceless condition, except Fort St Phillips, and even to that I found it necessary to order two 32 pounders and a 13½ mortar to be

added, and to cause another battery to be established on the opposite bank of the river An additional battery was also ordered to be erected on the left bank of the Mississippi at the English Turn; and fearing that the gunboats might fall into the hands of the enemy and Petit Coquille be carryed I gave the earliest and most possitive directions to have all the canals and bayous communicating from the lakes obstructed, and ordered strong picquets to be posted on the most dangerous of them.

It was not long before I found that the enemy was on the coast, and that hordes of spies and British emisaries lurked in the city. The most energetic measures therefore became necessary. Martial law was declared, strong guards placed on every avenue of the city, no person permitted to leave it without authority in writing, and all who arrived, required to report themselves immediately. Every man capable of bearing arms being enrolled for duty, I omitted no proper means to secure the confidence of all; and had the happiness to beleive that I had succeeded not only with the white population, but in an equal degree with the men of colour. In the meantime expresses were dispatched to Generals Carrol and Coffee urging their speedy arrival.

The enemy having now entered lake Bourgne,[2] the gun boats soon fell; an event which, under every concealment, I imagined I could perceive gave to a certain description of inhabitants here, quite as much joy as greif. The utmost circumspection and the utmost energy became alike necessary. While I endeavoured to give new animation to patriotism by assurances of triumph, I held out to Treason the certainty of punishment. If at last, I succeeded in escaping the effects of the latter I am fearful it was not because it no where existed.

Genl. Coffee having, received my order, was barely enabled to reach me in time by forced marches of sixty miles a day. His partial force had become greatly reduced by the multiplied hardships and privations it had been compelled to undergo, since it left Mobile. Genl. Carrol, who descended the river, was enabled by equal exertion to reach me just at the moment when his presence had become so necessary. Unfortunately however he was but illy supplied with arms, having only 1600 stand, and those without cartouch boxes. These, thus destitute of their equipments, were immediately distributed among his divission and Genl. Coffee's Brigade.

Such was my situation when on the evening of the 23d December I received intelligence of the landing of a large force of the enemy on the left bank of the Mississippi about seven miles below the city. Perfectly convinced of the importance of impressing an invading enemy in the first moment of his approach, with an idea of spirited resistance, I lost no time in making preparations to attack him, that night. I was not ignorant of the inferiority of my force, nor of the hazard of night attacks with inexperienced troops; but the fears to be entertained from these sources were overbalanced by the greater evils to be apprehended from delay. It was easy to foresee that if the attack were postponed till the next day,

[2] Borgne.

the fate of N. Orleans must depend on the result of a general engagement in which the chances of success would be greatly against us—while by bringing it on at night, the enemy not being able to ascertain our numbers would of course magnify them, and be thrown into perplexity at any rate, if not into consternation. Neither did I consider the risk very great, as I should be able whenever occassion might render it proper, to withdraw my forces without the danger of being pursued.

Governed by these considerations, in conjunction with others, I brought on the engagement about 8 oclk at night by attacking the lines of the enemy on several points at the same time. The result equalled my expectations. From every point on which we assailed him, he was repulsed; and we should certainly have succeeded in capturing the whole of his advance, and in taking more prisoners than we had men in the action, had not a thick fog which now arose, encreased by a very heavy smoke, rendered it unsafe to prosecute our good fortune any farther. Owing [to] this cause, I drew off my forces, just at the time, as it since appears, when the enemy was about to lay down his arms. The main object, however, had been effected. The enemy taken at surprise, and thrown into confusion, was unable to penetrate our designs and feared to prosecute his own. Beleiving that he should certainly be attacked again the next morning, he fell back, before day to a different peice of ground and waited my approach; thereby giving me time to seize and strengthen a more defensible position. When he discovered his mistake it was too late to rectify it. My own men, beleiving that the cautious policy which I now observed, proceeded not from any fear of the enemy, but from a determination to leave him no chances of success, continued while acting on the defensive to be governed by the spirit of assailants. To keep up this spirit, as well as to distress the enemy, skirmishing parties were constantly employed in harrassing his out posts and in attacking all his assailable points.

Having found, after repeated experiments that it was impossible, by means of his artillery and rockets, to frighten or drive us from our position he, at length, had recourse to the desperate expedient of a storm. This was an attempt which our men had long waited with great anxiety to see him make; and therefore met it in the proper spirit. The result you have been made acquainted with. Completely routed and cut to peices, the enemy, from that moment abandoned all hopes of succeeding in his darling project, and directed his whole attention now to the means of effecting his escape with the least loss. Fortunately for him, the situation of the ground, afforded him many advantages for this purpose. Protected on the one side by the river, and on the other by impassable swamps, and intersected in the intervening space by innumerable ditches it was impossible either to cut off his retreat by geting in his rear, or to pursue and fight him on the plain without yeilding to him every advantage of situation. Let it be recollected also, that the arms having not yet arrived, I should have been compelled, notwithstanding his great losses, to fight him with an inferior force.

In the action of the 8th Jan., the whole number of my armed men on the left bank of the Mississippi did not exceed 3200,[3] of whom not more than 600 were Regulars—while the force of the enemy which they had to oppose, was nearly three times as great. If his force, after that action was diminished by 3000, as I am perswaded it was, still that which remained, was too great to authorise me, with the means I possessed, to tamper much with it. I was not willing to expose the interests I defended to any risk; yet I must own that it has pained me that a single man of that army escaped. It was so practicable, if any thing like an adequate provission had been made beforehand to have captured the whole of them. Had such a vessel as that which from some strange policy, had been left unfinished on the Chefuncta been completed and on the lake, or had the arms destined for

[3] In the Jackson MSS. (Military Papers, V.) are several morning returns of the troops at New Orleans. They are probably only approximately correct, but taking them for what they are worth they indicate that the following forces were in New Orleans on the dates specified;

1814, Dec. 14: artillery 109; 7th infantry 528; 44th infantry 395; Louisiana volunteers 32; volunteer hussars of Teche 41—total 1105. N. B. Nothing here appears in regard to the New Orleans organizations, and blank spaces appear opposite the names "Light Dragoons" and "Mounted Rangers" (f. 66). *Dec. 18:* artillery 109; 7th infantry 636; 44th infantry 399; light dragoons 45; mounted rangers 72; Louisiana volunteers 32; volunteer hussars 41; total 1334 (f. 73). For *Dec. 19* the returns were the same; and for *Dec. 20* they were the same, with the addition of 164 marines—a total of 1496 (ff. 75, 78). *Dec. 23:* artillery 111; marines 165; 7th infantry 635; 44th infantry 400; light dragoons 45; Louisiana volunteers 30; mounted rangers 72; Captain Spriggs's Co. 110—total 1568 (f. 85). *Dec. 28:* artillery 170; Colonel Ross's command 1470; General Carroll's division 2521; General Coffee's brigade 750; mounted dragoons 351—total 5262. On the morning of the 23d Coffee and Carroll were in camp four miles north of New Orleans, and that is the reason their commands do not appear in the morning report for that day. In the afternoon and night they were ordered to the scene of fighting below the city.

1815, Jan. 1: artillery and marines 170; Colonel Ross's command 1643; General Carroll's division 2521; General Coffee's brigade 1008; Hind's dragoons (Mississippi) 351; Colonel Young's command ———; total (with one blank space) 5693; total for duty 5289 (f. 115). *Jan. 8:* artillery and marines 170; Colonel Ross's command 1654; General Carroll's division 2521; General Coffee's brigade 1036; Hind's dragoons 357; Colonel Young's command 380—total 6118; total for duty 5679 (f. 115a).

A note says: "No report from the Kentucky troops. Supposed to be 550 men for duty with arms and on the line." Colonel Young's regiment of Louisiana militia, now reported for the first time, was at Madame Parnasse's canal. Colonel Ross's command was made up of certain small organizations, some from the city of New Orleans and some of them small regular army units. On Jan. 6 its returns were as follows: staff 8; marines 85; 7th infantry 422; 44th infantry 289; Major Plauché's brigade of volunteers 369; Major La Coste's battalion (colored) 226; Major Daquin's battalion of Santo Domingo volunteers 171—total 1570, of whom 1497 were present for duty (f. 110, and vol. VI., ff. 49, 93).

Details of Louisiana militia were also called to the vicinity of New Orleans, where they encamped on the west bank of the river under Brig.-Gen. David B. Morgan. Jan. 17 he reported a total of 1633, of whom 170 had no arms (vol. VI., f. 6). Besides the assembled militia, the Louisianians were called out en masse to defend their country, and stationed at important points on various water courses. Jan. 18 the report of the Kentucky troops made a total of 2258, of whom 1706 were fit for duty (vol. VI., f. 12). In view of the controversy over the number of Kentucky troops engaged, it is interesting to cite the returns on Jan. 9 of the six companies of the 15th regiment of Kentucky militia under Lieutenant-Colonel Sloughter, the other four companies being "across the river". Present for duty were 431, sick 36, detached 9, absent with leave 2, and deserted 2—total 480 (vol. V., f. 119). Jan. 6, 1815, Major Hinds reported his mounted command (from Mississippi) at 351, with 66 sick, and 282 on daily duty. The body consisted of seven companies, under Captains Kemp, Doherty, Richardson, Gerald, Smith, Dearmond, and Adams.

this army arrived in time; in either event, loth as I am to make assurances, beforehand, I would have been willing to undertake for it.

I am sensible, however that we have a thousand times more causes to rejoice than to repine. Heaven, to be sure, has interposed most wonderfully on our behalf, and I am filled with gratitude when I look back to what we have escaped; but I greive the more that we did not, with more wisdom and more industry use the means with which she had blessed us. Again and again I must repeat, we have been always too backward with our preparations. When the enemy comes, we begin to think of driving him away; and scarcely before.

Now that I am upon this subject, permit me to suggest to you the immense value of this section of our country to the union and the great difficulty there will be found in regaining it, if it should once fall into the hands of a powerful enemy. Regular forces on the land, floating batteries on the river, and ships of a proper construction on the Lakes, are, in my opinion, necessary for its defence. So strongly am I impressed with this beleif that I have taken the liberty to order the fire vessel at Chefuncta to be completed; and I do hope Government will sanction the measure and enable me to carry it into execution by ordering on 16 long 32 pounders and 16 long 24 pounders, with copper to sheeth her

I beleive a considerable Regular force necessary here, not less to resist foreign invasion than to keep all things quiet and in a proper condition at home. Notwithstanding the great unanimity which appears, very generally to have prevailed among the inhabitants since my arrival, I am fearful that if reverses had overtaken us, or if disaffection could have hoped for favour I should have been compelled to witness a very different scene. I am fearful I should have witnessed it, where it ought least to have been looked for.

I have the happiness to inform you that genl. Gaines has arrived; but I am sorry to add, he is not in very good health.

I have the honor to be very respectfully yr mst obt st

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

Department of War, February 14, 1815.

Sir. It is with great satisfaction I inform you that a Treaty of peace was concluded between the United States and Great Britain at Ghent on the 24th day of December last. A copy of this Treaty was received to day by Mr. Carroll; has been examined by the President, and will I have no doubt be ratified. I give you this information that hostilities may immediately cease between our troops and those of Great Britain.[1]

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect

[1] Feb. 16, 1815, Secretary Monroe wrote that the President and the Senate had ratified the treaty, and directed the discharge of the militia. The letter of the 14th was given to a special messenger, to be carried to New Orleans. He set out at once with a sealed package, and a note of instructions to postal agents saying, "Mr. Charles Bell, the bearer hereof, is charged with dispatches relative to the state of peace which has taken place between the United States and Great Britain", and signed by the postmaster-general. Bell arrived at New Orleans Mar. 6. Jackson eagerly broke the seal of the package delivered him, to find that by mistake Monroe's letter of Feb. 14 was not

MAJOR LOUIS DAQUIN TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL ROBERT MCCAUSLAND.[1]

CAMP CHEF MENTEUR, le 15 Fevrier, 1815.

Mon Generalle. D'apres vos ordres j'ai fait commandé le detachement pour aller travailler dans le poste de la passe du Chef Menteur, auqu'un volontaire n'ont vouluts y aller, j'ai demandé pourquois ils ne voullaient pas oubéir, ils m'ont reponduts qu'ils me pryaient de faire savoir au Generalle qu'ils etaient toujours prette a sacrifier leur vies en combattant pour defendre le payÿ, qu'ils en avaient donné les preuves dans cette Campagne; Mais qu'ils prefereraient Mourir plutot que de travailler aux travaux que l'ont voulaient les faire faire, je suis bien peiné Mon Generalle de ne pouvoir dans cette occasion faire remplir les vues du Gouvernement.

J'ai L'honneur D'etre avec consideration Mon Generalle,

I Certify the above to be a true copy of the reply made by Major Daquin to an order of Brigadier Genl. McCausland, of same date, commanding a part of his men to proceed to the Pass of Chef Menteur on fatigue,

SHEPHERD BROWN, Aid de C

JESSE WHARTON TO JACKSON.[1]

WASHINGTON, February 16, 1815.

Dear Sir. I have the pleasure to inform you, that after great delay, the Creek treaty was this day ratified in the Senate by an unamous vote. Since the news of the unparralled victory obtained by you, and your brave band, over the enemy reached this place all opposition to that treaty has subsided. Mr. Anderson and myself availed ourselves of this favorable change, and accordingly pressed the subject on the consideration of the Senate. Before the receipt of that news, it appeared to us, dangerous to submit that treaty for ratification, great opposition seemed to exist against the treaty. We considered it all important not to urge a decision on the treaty, until it was certain it would carry. The western people were too much interested in that treaty, to hazard any thing in relation to it.

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enclosed, but an old order relative to the calling out of militia. Despite the accompanying instructions, Jackson decided that he could not risk a relaxation of vigilance. To one of the local editors he sent, Mar. 7, 1815, the postmaster-general's instructions, with the following note, for publication:

"From the enclosed, which the commanding general believes to be genuine, the very pleasing intelligence of peace is placed almost beyond a doubt. You will please, however, in giving it publicity, to state the despatches referred to have not, from some extraordinary occurrence, reached the commanding general, and consequently leaves us in doubt whether the state of peace relates to the treaty as negotiated at Ghent, or to the ratification by the President of the United States. With due consideration, etc" (*Niles' Register*, VIII. 122). Monroe's letter of Feb. 16 reached Jackson Mar. 13.

[1] Major Daquin, of the 2d Regiment of Louisiana militia, commanded during the defense of New Orleans the battalion of free men of color. McCausland was general of militia.

[1] Wharton was U. S. senator from Tennessee 1814-1815. The treaty of Fort Jackson was a severe blow to the Creeks, and many people in the states east of the Alleghanies hesitated before accepting it.

A treaty of amity and peace between this country and England is now under our consideration. This treaty was signed at Ghent on the 24th of Decr., and on the 30th of the same month ratified by the Prince Regent. It is beleived this treaty will not be dishonorable to America. The Contest in which we have been engaged, will convince the world that we are not unworthy of the high priviledges we enjoy, and that we can, and will support them at any and all hazards. In great haste yr. friend

To Colonel Robert Hays.

New Orleans, February 17, 1815. "9 oclock P. M."

The mail has arived and brought me yours of the 6th instant, and a Letter from Colo. Anderson of the 14th Natchez, advising that he and the ladies had Just reached that place, the citizens had laid an embargo on the ladies for the night, to pertake of a party, and they would set out at revelee on the morning of the 15th all in good health, I hope I shall see them tomorrow. I have had a serious attack of disentry that reduced me verry much, brought on by cold and fatigue. in short I have not been clear of it for four months except ten days after my first arival at this place, until five days ago, when Doctor Kerr Hospital surgeon suceeded in stopping it—in all this situation I have not indulged one day from my duty. I have this moment recd. a letter from Mr. Shields Purser of the navy from Bay of St Louis advising, that the British vessels of war were off Mobile Point and their Transports 45 in number between Horn Island and the main land near Pasgagola—three of there vessels east of cat Island. a few days will develope there views and intentions. Coffee, Hutchings, Capt Donelson and all relations here well. Colo. Smith has been sick but on the recovery, with my best wishes for your and your families happiness adieu

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

New Orleans, February 17, 1815.

. . . . The Flag-vessel which I sent to the enemy's fleet, a fortnight ago, for the purpose of ascertaining the causes that had prevented the delivery of a hundred of our men (taken on board the gun-boats), in violation of the Articles entered into for the exchange of prisoners has not yet returned; and I am apprehensive, is detained by the enemy to prevent the discovery of some designs he may still hope to execute.

Whatever their views may be, I am perswaded they will be disappointed in them. A copy of the Articles agreed upon for the exchange, I herewith send you; and I beg leave to accompany it with the assurance of my determination to restore no more of the British prisoners, until those articles are fully complied with, by the British Commanders.

Major General Keane, having lost his sword in the action of the 8th January, and having expressed a great desire to regain it, valuing it as

[1] War Dept. files; also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 4. Printed in Latour, app., p. xci.

the present of an esteemed friend, I thought proper to have it restored to him; thinking it more honorable to the American character to return it, after the expression of those wishes, than to retain it as a trophy of victory. I believe, however, it is a singular instance of a British General soliciting the restoration of his sword, fairly lost in battle.

Some entire Congreve Rockets have been found, and a Rest from which they are fired, which it is my intention to forward to the seat of government whenever a proper opportunity shall offer; as also the instruments of the Scottish band of music, and their Quarter Flag. General Keane's Trumpet, as well as that which was used on the Right column of the Enemy, were taken in the attack of the 8th January. Those instruments are in the possession of Genl. Coffee's Brigade, where, I hope, they will be permitted to remain. . . .

To Brigadier-General Stephen A. Hopkins.[1]

New Orleans, February 18, 1815.

Genl Hopkins will please to report to the undersigned the number of Troops at the advanced Post on the Lafourch, the number of Troops of his Brigade in the field and at what other Points stationed, whether if Permitted to return to their homes, on a case of emergency occurring how long it would require to collect the whole force of the Brigade to meet an invading enemy at the advance post. These enquiries are made on the solicitation of the Brigadge to return to their homes—with a view to the prudence and safety of granting the application, whilst the enemy remain on our coast[2]

respectfully yr mo. ob. serv.

To Secretary Monroe.

New Orleans, February 18, 1815. "6 oclock P M"

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your duplicate of the 10th of Dec[e]mber last (marked by express) this moment to hand,

[1] Of the Louisiana militia.

[2] Replying, Feb. 22, 1815, General Hopkins said:

"The troops detached, and under my immediate command from the 8th Regiment, would have to perform a march of one hundred and twenty miles, (the most of them); these from the 6th, eighty miles, (from the extreme of the Regiment) and those from the 7th sixty miles, (also from the extreme part of the Regiment); from the 9th Regiment consisting of only about three hundred effective men, I have never ordered to march out of their Parish, with the exception of a small company of cavalry. I have now a picket at Bayou Bouef consisting of fifteen men; one of Twenty, fifty miles down the Fourche, and a company of mounted men, consisting of one hundred effective men, stationed, (untill a few days past) at the several passes where I thought it *possible the enemy*, in case of an attack in this quarter might attempt a landing. On Bayou Manchac I have constantly had a picket, from ten, to twenty five men, as also another on Bayou Plaquemine and a company commanded by Captain Le Bougins has been charged with the care of the Bayou Arcadian. At this place I have four hundred men; the number I had, having considerably diminished from sickness, as also from desertion, the latter however I am daily bringing in. Should the troops be permitted to return home, I should not be able to rally and march to the extreme advance post on Lafourche, six hundred Men, in less than five days."

and which is said to have been intrusted to the care of Doctor couzins, but without the enclosure therein alluded to, Major Fannin I have not heard of, He is *like the supply of arms,* will arive when the danger is past. I have been much surprised, in not having heard of the recpt of my various communications made to your department, whilst at mobile, and since my arival. I regret this the more, as I find you have not been advised of the precautionary measures I had adopted for the defence of this District. I was apprised as I advised you from Mobile at an early day of the contemplated invasion of this country by the united forces of Britain and Spain, and if the latter power, has not furnished her quota of Troops, it is not for the want of her good wishes, as you will discover from the letter forwarded by this days mail.

I trust Sir you will see that I have made the most *vigorous* defence that was Possible with my feeble means, and the arms in my possession. It is a fact, that when the enemy landed I had not a flint, except what I procured from the Baratarians, and it is to be hoped, as this section of the union is viewed by the Goverment of great importance, the means for its defence will be ample. I made a requisition in last Sept. for 20 ps. of ordinance to 32 and to 24, to reinstate those I borrowed from the navy, and strange to tell, they have not arived, it is true, the agent at Pitsburgh acknowledges the recpt of the requisition, and that he is directed to forward them. Still they have not arived, the multiplied Batteries on the differrent B[a]yous require a great many peaces, and more than our arsenals can furnish.

It is true Mobile in Point of weal[t]h is a trifling object with the British compared with this city, but in Point of harrassing us and stirring up the Indians to hostility against us it is all important, and if once Possessed by them and seconded by Spain It will cost much blood and treasure to regain it—regained tho it must, or the enemy menace this country constantly, and in fact a real military man, with a full knowledge of the geography of that and this country, would first possess himself of that point, draw to his standard the Indians, advance by the way of Fort St Stephens, and march direct to the walnut Hills—and by a strong establishment there, and being able to forrage on the country, he could support himself, cut off all supplies from above and make this country an easy conquest.

I trust Sir that the erangements I have made will save not only this but Mobile also. I trust Sir it will be ultimately discovered, that I have taken the best view of this country Possible and have made the best erangements for the Defence of the District, that the means in my hands would admit—and altho the ships of war are now before mobile Point and her transports, between horn Island and Pasgagola—if the East Tennessee troops and Georgians are up, Mobile is safe—if the force that defends it is well directed, of which I have no doubt. I have heretofore brought to your view that the time of service of General Coffees Brigade expires 27 and 28 of next month, the first requisition from Tennessee 2500—now at mobile also 27 and 28th next month Genl Carrols Division and the Kentuckey troops the 10th of May. The enemy is on our coast and

it is necessary if I am expected to *overwhelm* the enemy I should have an overwhelming force to do it with, not on paper but in reallity. These Troops must be discharged at the expiration of their time and I must ask where is the Troops to relieve them and to overwhelm the enemy. resptfl

Major-General John Lambert to Jackson.

Head Quarters British Army, February 19, 1815.

Sir. I am just informed by Rr. Adml. Malcolm [1] that the American Prisoners made on the 14th of December are arrived in the Fleet and that they will sail immediately for the Mississipi as it was settled with Col. Livingston A. D. C.[2] I confidently trust there will be now no impediment to an equal number of British Prisoners, being immediately returned to us. I beg leave to congratulate you on the Prospect of Peace and hope I shall soon have to communicate to you the notice of the Ratification being exchanged.

I have the Honor to be

To Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane.[1]

New Orleans, February 20, 1815.

Sir: I am honored by your letter of the 12th Instant by the return of my flag inclosing a copy of Commodore Pattersons to you with some marginal, strictures on its contents; the naval and military Departments in our service being totally independent of each other; I am not permitted to Defend, still less to censure the conduct or correspondence of the officer, at the head of the former, his Distinguished merit and general correctness of conduct, make it presumable that he will be able to justify his proceedings to the Goverment to whom alone he is accountable.

On the subject of the Exchange your assurance that the one hundred men sent off on the Ramillies as well as the five Detained for the condemnation of the Gun boats will be delivered on their return is satisfactory to myself and to Commodore Patterson and I now Dispatch all the prisoners in a situation to be removed as by the Enclosed list; the residue to the amount of [*blank*] now at Natchez were sent for and will be forwarded to the Balize as soon as they shall arrive

[1] Sir Pulteney Malcolm, next in command to Cochrane.

[2] The prisoners taken on the U. S. gunboats Dec. 14 had been sent to Havana, and a British ship, the *Nymphe*, was sent, on Jan. 27, to bring them back for exchange. The capture of Fort Bowyer, Feb. 11, 1815, gave the British an additional number of prisoners to be exchanged for troops taken by Jackson at New Orleans. See Vice-Admiral Cochrane to Jackson, Feb. 12, 1815. The following petition to Jackson, of captured British officers held in New Orleans Feb. 15, 1815, shows with how much strictness Jackson held his prisoners:

"*Sir:* The undersigned officers request General Jackson will have the goodness to grant them permission to walk about the Town or any part of it he may think proper to point out. They regret to understand that the usual Parole given to officers in their situation cannot under the existing circumstances be allowed to them. They have the honor to be, Sir, Your very obediant servants, Robt. Garrison, capt. 43rd Infy.; Lieut Dorsay, 21st R. T Fuzs.; Peter Quin, Lieut. 25 Fuzs.; John Macdonald, Lieut. 93rd Regt.; J. W. E. Brydges, Lieut. 14th Lt. Drag.; Robt. Hamond comd. 14 L. D."

[1] Draft in Edward Livingston's handwriting. Printed in Latour, app., p. lxxxv.

You will perceive by this Sir that I perfectly acquiesce in the propriety of your remark that justice requires me to follow the example of confidence given, by yourself and Genl. Lambert in the Delivery of the prisoners belonging to my army previous to the receipt of those taken from you; a confidence always mutually due from Enemies who respect Each other and particularly proper between those who in the probable course of Events may soon cease to be such.

There is another subject on which a passage in Genl. Lamberts last letter renders it necessary for me to address you. I mean that of the negro slaves belonging to several inhabitants on the Mississippi now in your fleet. I had written to Genl. Lambert on this head two several [?] letters in consequence of his informing me that these persons would be Delivered to their masters on their application; to the first I received no answer to the last I am informed that he Genl Lambert "*has nothing to do* with it". Mr. White to whom an order was given to receive such as were willing to Return to their masters having reported to me that he found several who were ready to accompany him but that he was not permitted to take them I am now Obliged Sir explicitly to ask whether the property thus taken is intended to be restored, and if it be that a time and place may be appointed for its Delivery

the Prisoners from Natchez will arrive in less than ten Days they will immediately sail for the Balize and it is hoped that the Prisoners taken at Ft. Bowyer may meet them there to be conveyed both in the same vessels.

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

New Orleans, February 20, 1815.

Sir: . . . . Some of my officers under a mistaken idea that Deserters were confined with the prisoners, have as I have understood made improper applications to some of the latter, to quit your service; it is possible they may have in some instances succeeded in procuring either a feigned or a real consent to this Effect. The whole of the transaction however met my marked reprehension, and all the prisoners are now restored to you. But as improper allurements may have been held out to these men it will be highly gratifying to my feelings to learn that no investigation will be made or punishment inflicted in consequence of the conduct of those who may under such circumstances have swerved from their Duty. As the transaction might not have been otherwise Disclosed to you the notion I now take of it shows the confidence I feel that you will not make use of any implied presumption to be Drawn from it against the supposed Delinquents. . . . .

Maunsel White[1] to Jackson.

New Orleans, February 20, 1815.

Sir, since my return several of the Gentlemen interested in the slaves now on board the British Fleet in Moibille Bay, have called to see me on

[1] Draft, in Edward Livingston's handwriting. Printed in Latour, app., p. cxxiv.

[1] Afterward a close friend of Jackson, and agent in New Orleans for the disposal of Jackson's cotton.

the subject. I have stated to them the disappointments which I met with, owing to contrary Winds, the, Opperations against Moibille point, and more particularly not being able to fall in with the Agent for Transports, to whom was directed the order I recd. from the Admiral, to take all slaves who were Willing to return and finally my Interview with the slaves on board Transport ship no. 543 and the Letter I wrote to the Admiral in consequence, thereof, which went to state these negroes were forced away and that part of them were willing to return, but that not being able to join, the Agent, I was obliged to relinquish for the present, but that, the other Owners. would repair immediately on my return, to the Bay, to reclaim them. and that I hoped every chance would be given them to regain their property, as it appeared evident that he did not want them. From which statement of Facts, These Gentlemen are of Oppinion, that they will get, if not all a great many of their, slaves, and have requested me to pray you to grant them permission to go, at their own expence and Risk to reclaim them on the grounds before mentioned. and as, a Days delay may be attended with the most serious Consequences they hope, you will have the goodness, to give them as soon as possible the necessary passports. Mr. Lavergne, aid to Majr. General Villère, has been requested to wait on you, to make the necessary arrangements. and will communicate to you the further wishes of these Gentlemen.

I have the Honor. to be

To Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane.[1]

New Orleans, February 21, 1815.

Sir. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th Inst:[2] it came to hand only this day by the way of the Balize, tho purporting to have been sent by my Aid-de Camp Mr. Levingston who arrived two days since from your fleet, and who from a conversation he had with you, was disappointed in not finding it enclosed in the dispatch he brought.

I sincerely reciprocate your congratulations on the important event you announced to me, that a treaty of peace has been signed between our two countries. This communication, connected with an expression in the Bulletin you enclose, that "Capt Sterling of his Majesty's ship, Brazen was charged with dispatches, announcing the *termination of hostilities* between Great Britain, and America", naturally leads to an enquiry, how far you consider this event as authorising or requiring a cessation of hostilities between the military and naval forces of Great Britain and those of the U. States' in this District

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 9. Printed in Latour, app., p. lxxxvi.

[2] Vice-Admiral Cochrane's letter to Jackson of Feb. 13, is as follows:

"*Sir,* I have exceeding satisfaction in sending to you a copy of a Bulletin that I have this moment received from Jamaica proclaiming that a Treaty of Peace was signed between our respective Plenipotentiaries at Ghent on the 24th December, upon which I beg leave to offer you my sincere congratulations. I have the honor to be," etc. See p. 170, n. 1, *ante*.

The prisoners in my possession at this place will sail for the Balize at 8 OClk on the morning of tomorrow. Those at Natchez, upwards of a hundred in number, will be forwarded to the same place as soon as they arrive here. They have been ordered down, and are expected shortly.

To Governor Holmes.[1]

New Orleans, February 21, 1815. "11 oclock A. M."

D'r Sir: you will please on the recpt of this to forward to this place in the shortest Possible time the British Prisoners now at or near Natchez or Washington.

I have this moment recd. a letter from admiral cochran inclosing me a Bulletine (as he calls it from london) and congratulating me on peace being about to be established between our two Goverments. The following is the Bulletine.[2]

"Foreign office Decbr. 26th 1814

"My lord I have the honor to acquaint your Lordship that Mr. A. S. Baker has arived at this office this morning from Ghent, with the intelligence that a treaty of peace was signed between his majesty and the u states of america by the respective plenipotentiaries at that place on the 24th instant

"It is at the same time my duty to acquaint your lordship, that it is understood by the treaty that hostilities will cease as soon as it shall have been ratified by the President of the united states as well as by the Prince regent in the name and on behalf of his majesty I have the honor to be my Lord, your Lordships most obedient humble Bathurst"

"To the right honorble the Lord Mayor"

such is the prospects of peace he congratulates me on. I have Just wrote him making the enquiry how far we are to view hostilities to exist under present circumstances. I am prepared for any thing war or peace. If an honourable peace I hail it with heartfelt satisfaction, if dishonourable it will meet my hearty imprecations. But the Lords will be done. The fall of Fort Bowyer is truly grating to my feelings. If Lawrence had made such a defence as he made before what Laurels he would have added to his Brow but I am fearfull his military fame is forever Blasted. The commanders of the British forces on this station has made an offer of exchange and furnished me with the roster of the Prisoners taken at Fort Bowyer agregate 366. I wish to forward the prisoners, to regain these men, in case the[y] again attempt to invade us, that I may make those men regain what reputation they have lost in the fall of the Fort. Let Major Mitchel be well watched, and have but little conversation with the citizens, altho I wish him treated as a prisoner ought to be that is with humanity altho much of his conduct as represented to me have

[1] As here reproduced we have the draft of this letter in Jackson's handwriting. It is from the Jackson MSS. The letter sent, a copy signed by Jackson, is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

[2] See p. 170, *ante*.

been inconsistant with that of an officer or gentleman. The Prisoners will have to be well guarded, or they will desert. They hate the idea of returning or being exchanged.

with my best wishes I am respectfully yr mo obdt. serv.

To Godwin B. Cotten.[1]

New Orleans, February 21, 1815.

Sir, The Commanding general having seen a publication which issued from your Press today, stating that a "Flag had just arrived from Admiral Cockrane to Genl. Jackson officially announcing the *Conclusion* of peace between the United States and Great Britain, and *virtually requesting a suspension of arms"* requires that you will hasten to remove any improper impression which so *unauthorised and incorrect* a statement may have made.

No request, either direct or *virtual* has been made to him by the Commander of either of the Land or naval forces of G Britain for a suspension of arms.

The Letter of Bathurst to the Lord Mayor, which furnishes the only official information that has been communicated will not allow the supposition that a suspension of hostilities is meant, or expected, until the treaty signed by the respective commissioners shall have received the ratification of the Prince Regent and of the President of the United States A copy of that letter had been some days before brought by Mr. Levingston from the English Fleet, and published in this city.

The Commanding General again Calls upon his fellow Citizens and Soldiers to recollect that it is yet uncertain whether the Articles which have been signed at Ghent for the reestablishment of peace will be approved by those whose approbation is necessary to give efficacy to them. Until that approbation is given and properly announced he would be wanting to the important interests which have been confided to his protection if he permitted any relaxation in the army under his command How disgraceful as well as disastrous would it be, if by surrendering ourselves credulously and weakly to newspaper publications, often proceeding from ignorance but more frequently from dishonest design—we permitted an enemy whom we have so lately and so gloriously beaten to regain the advantages he has lost, and triumph over us in turn!!

The general order issued on the 19th Inst expresses the feelings, the veiws and the hopes which the commanding general still entertains

Henceforward it is expected that no publication of the nature of that herein alluded to and censured will appear in any paper of this City unless the editor shall have previously ascertained its correctness, and gained permission for its insertion from the proper source. . . . .

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 13. Cotten was editor of the *Louisiana Gazette.* This open letter was sent with a note, by Major Reid, saying that it was expected that the editor would give it equal publicity with the announcement which the letter was to contradict.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ROBERT MCCAUSLAND TO JACKSON.

PASS OF CHEF MENTEUR, February 24, 1815.

Sir, Enclosed you have Major Daquins report of desertions last night, from his Batallion, stationed at Camp Chef Menteur; he states to me that unless some rigid steps are taken with those, he expects from the apparent disposition, in a few days to be left without a private to command. Notwithstanding my orders were given, (a few days after I took command of this Post) to the Commanding Officer at the Fortification LaBertonere, to secure and send back to me every person attempting to pass from this Post towards the City, without my written permission, yet the Deserters from this place succeed in getting to Town; Since the arrival of the Guns for the Battery I have generally remained at the pass myself. Lieut Bosque having on the 20th represented to me the lack of Materials for the Battery, which could only be procured in Orleans, was permitted to proceed there to detain them, since which I have heard nothing of him. Nothing observable, from the look out, on either of the Lakes.

I have the Honor to be

GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, February 24, 1815.

The undersigned, the Governor of the State of Louisiana, presents his respects to major General Jackson Commanding the 7th military District, and informs him, how desirable it is, that such of the militia of this State, whose services can safely be dispensed with, be early discharged. Independent of the Convenience of such discharge to Fathers of families (for the call of the militia en masse has brought many into the field) on whose personal Labour the present year, will depend the Cultivation of their little Farms, the undersigned brings to the view of the Major General the neglected Condition of the Levees on the Mississippi, and which if not soon attended to, there will, on the rise of the River, be no security against the Inundation of the lower part of the State. The undersigned hopes that the ratification by the President and Senate of the United States, of the Treaty of Peace said to have been concluded at Ghent, (and of which Ratification we may expect advices in a few days) will do away the necessity of detaining in service any portion of the Militia of Louisiana; But in the mean time, he persuades himself, that the several Detachments, *of the militia en masse*, now stationed in the several *Interior Parishes of the State*, may immediately be dispensed with without endangering the public security. The undersigned expresses on this occasion, the wishes of his fellow Citizens, and he knows how much their interest, will be promoted, by the adoption of the measure, which he suggests.

The undersigned tenders to Major General Jackson, the assurances of his high Consideration.

To Brigadier-General Stephen A. Hopkins.[1]

New Orleans, February 25, 1815.

Genl Hopkins, your letter of [*blank*] is to hand. You will have the advance post on the La fourch strengthened, so as to secure and defend it, against any sudden attack of the enemy all other exposed Points in your district defended by a sufficient force, the ballance of the militia, dismissed to their homes, to be ready at a minutes warning. you being charged and held responsible for the safety and defence of that section of the district, I have left the necessary force for its defence to your own Judgt, expecting it to be used with sound discretion. There are prospects of peace. this ought to make us more vigilent, to prevent a disgraced and exasperated enemy from obtaining any advantage over us untill peace is officially announced, and particularly if the present prospects eventuate in peace our days of watchfullness will be but few.

Major-General Lambert to Jackson.[1]

Head Quarters Isle Dauphine, February 27, 1815.

Sir. I have this moment received your letter dated the 20th, and I have taken evry step to bring the exchange to a speedy conclusion.

On the subject of the concluding Paragraph, I have on[l]y to remark that honorable and feeling conduct which has characterised evry transaction in which I have had the Honor to be concerned in with you. You may rely upon it, I shall take no retrospective view of the conduct of any of the men returned and shall find reasons for discountenancing an enquiry, should it be brought before me or come to my knowledge thro' any other channel.

With regard to the Negroes that have left their masters and are with this force any proprietor or Person deputed, that chooses to present himself to me will be received and evry facility afforded him to communicate with these People and I shall be *ve[r]y happy* if they can be persuaded all to return, but to compel them is what I cannot do. . . . .

Extract from a General Order.

Adjutant Generals office New orleans, February 28, 1815

The French subjects having the certificate of the french Consul countersigned by the commanding General will repair to the Interior not short of Baton Rouge until the enemy shall have left our waters, or the restoration of peace. This measure has become indispensable from the numerous application of this kind, and will be carried into immediate effect. Notice will be taken of all such persons that may remain after the 3d of next month and all officers are ordered to give information of every person remaining after that period that may come within their knowledge [1]

By Command
signed Robt. Butler adjt Genl

[1] Copy. In Jackson's handwriting.
[1] Printed in Latour, app., p. xciii.
[1] This order was suspended on Mar. 7, except as it applied to Tousard, who was required to obtain a special permit before returning to New Orleans. See memorandum, March, 1815, in Jackson MSS.

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

New Orleans, March 4, 1815.

Sir: I am gratified to find by the letter with which you have honored me that my confidence in your humanity and Delicacy of conduct with respect to the prisoners was not misplaced. My request was merely dictated by the plainest principles of justice—it is your ready frank and obliging compliance that merits the flattering epithet you have been pleased to bestow on my conduct.

I am extremely sorry that the very high winds which have prevailed ever since I sent for the british prisoners to Natchez have prevented their arrival, at this place, vessels are ready to receive and convey them to the Balize the instant they shall arrive. having been just informed that Mr. Shields who commanded a launch on lake Borgne has been made prisoner, I hope he may be sent in on parole for Exchange. the Prisoners taken from your advanced post at Mobile point are Directed to be sent Down to fort Bowyer to be delivered to you included in the general Exchange.

I am sorry that I can not advise you Sir of the ratification of the treaty signed at Ghent at the Date of my last advices it had not arrived at the Seat of Government

I have the honor to be etc etc etc

To the Chevalier de Tousard.

New Orleans, March 4, 1815.

The commanding general has deliberated with great attention, on the application of Col Tousard, requesting that the French subjects may be permitted to remain in the City of New Orleans on giving security for their good conduct.

Did he believe that the safety of the City and of his Camp would allow the indulgence which has been asked, it would be highly gratifying to his feelings to grant it; but the conduct and dispositions recently displayed by many of those claiming to be French subjects, and which are hourly becoming more pointed and more dangerous put it out of his power, consistently with his sense of the important duties which have been committed to him, to relax from his general order. *It must be enforced.*

If this measure shall be found to work a hardship upon some whose conduct has merited none, it will be ascribed to the imperious circumstances which have made a resort to it necessary, and the impossibility of giving to it any but a general operation.

The moment the necessity shall cease to exist which has compelled the undersigned so reluctantly to adopt this measure, he will hasten with the greatest satisfaction to remove it. Until then, he must adhere to the performance of his duty however painful.

I have the honor to be very respectfully Sir yr mst obt st

[1] Draft. Livingston's handwriting. Printed in Latour, app., p. xciv.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Mathew Arbuckle.[1]

New Orleans, March 5, 1815.

Sir, Your note of to day has been this moment received.

Any indulgence as to Quarters which the delicate health of the prisoner may require will be granted him. It must be clearly ascertained whether Mr. Louallier is the author of the siditious publication in the Louissiana Courrier of the 3d Instant signed "A citizen of Louissiana of French Origin." [2] If the prisoner should be willing to make a voluntary acknowledgement of the fact, let it be in writing. Otherwise it will be necessary that he should be sent to head Quarters and confronted with the printer of the Courier.

The prisoner will be furnished with a copy of the charges against him, and a court martial ordered for his trial as soon as practicable, of which he will be duly advised.

You will permit him to write to his friends upon his submitting his letters to you for inspection, and suffer a few of them to visit him, or any legal characters he may wish to employ as counsel.

I have the honour to be respectfully

To Lieutenant-Colonel Arbuckle.[1]

New Orleans, March 5, 1815.

Sir, The arrest and trial of Mr Louallier, will open to view the extent to which his publication and other plans have been carried to excite mutiny and disaffection in my army and camp. The Enemy is still near us, and no doubt remains upon my mind that his emmissaries have for some weeks been busily engaged amongst us. The mutiny and desertion from Chef Menteur, and the refusal of captn Lavarys corps to march out of the city agreeably to my orders, all combine to convince me of the necessity of apply[ing] a speedy corrective. You will therefore should any person attempt by serving a writ of Habeas corpus to arrest the prisoner Louallier from confinement immediately confine the person making such attempt. I am etc

To Lieutenant-Colonel Arbuckle.[1]

New Orleans, March 5, 1815.

Sir, Having recd information that Domanic A Hall [2] has been engaged in a[i]ding abetting and exciting mutiny within my camp, You will forthwith order from your Regt a detachment to arrest and [confine] him, and make report of the same to head Quarters. You will [be] vigilent. The agents of the enemy amongst us are more numerous than was first expected. Particular orders to your guards must be given to prevent escapes.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 24. The letter was written by T. L. Butler, aide. Colonel Arbuckle commanded the 3d Regt. of Infantry.

[2] It may be read in Gayarré, *History of Louisiana,* IV. 587. Louaillier was a naturalized Frenchman, a prominent member of the legislature.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 25.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] U. S. district judge. See Gayarré, IV. 590-594, 608-610, 616-625.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

New Orleans, March 6, 1815.

Sir, Capt Shaw this day arrived here with your letter of the 13th Ulto covering several copies of an act of congress authorising the president of the United States to accept the services of state troops and Volunteers, and requesting me to endeavour to raise two Regiments of Volunteers under the provission of that act.

He also bore an open letter form the Post master genl. directed to Post masters, Contractors and others on the route to N. Orleans stating that Mr. Charles Bell the bearer of it, was charged with dispatches relative to the state of peace which had recently taken place between the United States and Great Britain, and requesting every facility to be afforded him on the route to this place.

This letter was of date the 14th Ult; and you may imagine my surprise after seeing it, to find in the Pacquet nothing but the letters and enclosures above mentioned. I still remain in uncertainty whether the exchange of the ratification has taken place, and am therefore greatly at a loss how to dispose of the militia now under my command. It is my intention however to discharge immediately those who have been called out en masse and to retain the Volunteers and drafted militia until the expiration of their term of service, which is near at hand,[2] or until I receive certain information that the Treaty has been ratifyed. I lament if this event has taken place, that the intelligence of it has not been officially communicated to me, as well on account of the inconvenience and hardship to the soldiery who must be longer detained, as of the expenses to the government.

Since the enemy left this quarter it has been impossible to keep down entirely a spirit of disquietude and even of mutiny excited, as I am satisfied it has been by persons of no inconsiderable standing. I trust however that the measures I have pursued and shall continue to pursue for its suppression will prevent it from proceeding to any dangerous extent

I have the honor etc

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

New Orleans, March 6, 1815.

Sir: I have just received intelligence from Washington which leaves little Doubt in my mind that the treaty signed at Ghent between the U S. and G B has been ratified by the President and Senate of the U S. but by some unaccountable accident a Dispatch on another subject has been substituted for the one intended to give me official notice of this Event. The one I have recd. however is accompanied by an order from the Post Master Genl. directing his Deputies to forward the Express carrying intelligence of the recent peace. of this order I enclose a Copy, and from

[1] War Dept. files; also a draft in Jackson MSS. See p. 170, n. 1, *ante.*

[2] Mar. 8 the Louisiana militia, levied en masse, were dismissed by a general order signed by the adjutant-general. *Niles' Register,* VIII. 123.

[1] Draft, in Livingston's handwriting. Printed in Latour, app., p. xciv.

other scources to which I give credit I learn that the same Express brought official notice of the treaty to the Govr. of Tennessee.

I have Deemed it a Duty without loss of time to Communicate the exact state of these circumstances that you might Determine whether they would not justify you in agreeing by a cessation of all hostilities to anticipate the happy return of Peace between our two nations which the first Direct intelligence must bring to us in an official form.

The prisoners from Natchez after having been long Detained by adverse winds are now within a short Distance of the city and will Cirtainly proceed tomorrow morning to the Balize to be Delivered to your officer according to my promise

I pray you with the assurance of my high respect to receive that of the satisfaction I feel in reflecting that our Correspondence begun as Commanders of hostile armies should terminate as officers of nations in amity

I have the honor

BRIGADIER-GENERAL EDMUND P. GAINES TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, March 6, 1815.

General, I had the honor to receive your note of this date, and in compliance with your request, submit to you the result of my reflections upon the subject of your note.

1st. Any citizen of the united states may be tried by a court martial for the offences designated in the 56 and 57th article of the rules and articles of war, and the latter is probably applicable to the case now pending, inasmuch as the accused may be charged with "giving information directly or indirectly to the enemy." It is as follows:

> "*Whosoever* shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a Court Martial."

2nd. The law limits the powers of courts martial in cases of mutiny, sedition etc. exclusively to persons "belonging to or serving with the army;" and contains no provision whatever authorising them to try citizens, not followers of the army. (see 7th and 8th section of the rules and articles of war).

That the Commanding Officer has a right to chalk out the proper limits of his camp, in time of war; to enforce obedience within those limits; and to confine any and every disorderly person found therein, there can be no doubt. He is held responsible for the defence of the place, and the good order and discipline of the forces under his command. Hence the right to enforce obedience, and to confine disorderly persons not of the army a right, if not expressly given by the national legislature, is so strongly implied, as to leave no ground to doubt of its existence. It has been established by universal custom, and may be considered as one of the clearest rules of the *common law of the army.* It is matter of regret that the power to *try* and *punish* such persons, under present circumstances, does not also exist. But the tribunal constituted by law to

try and *punish*, are precluded from the authority of this *common* law—they are sworn to "try and determine the matter between the united states and the accused according to the provisions of "an act establishing rules and articles for the government of the armies of the united states" etc. The national legislature always regardful of the civil rights of citizens and habitually opposed to the growth of military power; have restricted the jurisdiction of courts martial, as regards our own citizens, to persons belonging to or serving with the army, excepting only the offences embraced in the 56th and 57th articles, as above mentioned. The offences here designated are such as demand the most prompt and exemplary punishment. The offence of mutiny or sedition is likewise of a very high grade, and in many cases calls for capital punishment: but the seditious citizen is supposed to be within our camp, where he can be confined, or from whence he may be sent to the civil authority, in the interior of the state, where he may be tried and punished. It will but seldom happen that the mutiny or sedition of a citizen, not in service, or having little opportunity of mixing with the troops, can amount to an offence so enormous, as that of "relieving the enemy" or corresponding with him.

The court, or a majority of the court may, however, think differently with me upon this case; nor indeed am I so much wedded to my own opinions as not to lay them aside whenever I find others better supported by reason. I hold myself ready therefore, to attend the court.

I have the honor to be

THE CHEVALIER DE TOUSARD TO JACKSON.

NOVELLE ORLEANS le 6 mars 1815.

Consulat de France
à la Nouvelle Orleans

Monsieur, Dans les Ordres Généraux en date d'hier, qui ont été affichés à la Bourse j'ai le paragraphe suivant:

"Cependant, il en est plusieurs (et il est à craindre que ce nombre n'augmente encore) qui sous prétexte d'être sujet du monarque Français, Allié de la Grande Bretagne, se laissent séduire et sortent de la Ligne de leur devoir, réalisant, ainsi les esperances et secondant les projets de l'ennemi" et plus bas: Ces Mèmes sujets; sous la dénomination de Personnes Non Citoyens des Etats Unis et ne leur devant pas allegeance, Contre lesquels l'ordre Général est rendu, Sont Accusés de projets dangereux etc. etc.".

Cent trente sept Certificats, dont vingt à des hommes de Couleur, ont été délivrés dans ce Consulat; C'est Conformément aux instructions de son Excellence le Ministre plénipotentiaire de france et à l'approbation qu'elles ont recue de vous, Monsieur, qu'ils ont été délivrés et Contresignés par l'adjudant Général, Aujourd'hui on fait à ces mêmes sujets français un Crime de s'être fait reconnaitre Comme tels; et c'est en Consequence de l'exemption quils ont obtenue, qu'ils sont bannis du Lieu de leur Séjour, qu'on les enlève à leurs familles, à leurs occupations, A tous leurs moyens de subsistance et que sans ressources ils sont obliges de s'éloigner a plus de cent vingt milles.

Independamment de la rigueur de cet ordre et pour priver ceux sur lesquels il Pèse, de l'interêt que leur Situation pourrait inspirer, on les voue à l'exécration publique, en les decusant de secunder les projets des anglais!—Une accusation aussi monstrueux—Contre des Français! (dont le monarque est en Paix avec la Grande Bretagne, comme avec les Etats Unis, mais allié de l'un ni de l'autre,) d'après ce que l'histoire à Consignée du Caractere des deux Nations, depuis plusieurs siecles, est aussi depourvue de vraisemblance que contraire à la loyauté Française.

L'accusation n'en pèse pas moins sur tous les sujets français, et votre ordre général publié dans tous les Etats du Nord, avec les Commentaires dont on a accompagné ceux qui ont été affichés à la Bourse, fera passer, sans distinction, tous les sujets français pour des traitres au pays qui leur à génereusement accordé l'hospitalité.

Dans cette circonstance, mon devoir comme francais, et Comme consul du Roi, m'ordonne impérieusement de protéger les personnes et l'honneur des sujets de Sa Majesté. En Conséquence je désirrerais, Monsieur, que vous voulussiez bien me nommer leurs accusateurs; pour pouvoir les poursuivre devant les tribuneaux compétans; pour les forcer à fournir les preuves d'une accusation aussi peu vraisemblable que perfide; ou dans le Cas Contraire, denoncer à l'infamie, ceux que les ont calomnies auprès de votre Excellence.

J'ai l'honneur d'Etre avec respect,

To the Chevalier de Tousard.[1]

New Orleans, March 6, 1815.

Sir: Your letter of this morning has just been handed to me and has confirmed in the propriety, indeed necessity, of the enclosed orders. After having admitted in my presence that you had really [?] granted certificates to several persons who had voluntarily enrolled themselves in the service of the U. S. and to others who made their elections in favor of American citizenship, I am only at loss to determine whether the notion of wickedness or insolence most predominated in dictating your official letter. I will however condescend to give you the author imperiously called for in the close of your communication. Le Chevalier de Tousard is the real author of all the disaffection which has appeared among the French troops under the command of yours with candour.

To the Chevalier de Tousard.[1]

New Orleans, March 6, 1815.

Sir, Imperious circumstances with which you are already acquainted, and which it would be unpleasant for me to recapitulate, require that I should Order your complyance with my General Order of the 28th Ultimo, by removeing up the country beyond the limits of my encampment which extends beyond the lines of Majr. Genl. Carroll four miles above the city.

[1] Copy, in Livingston's hand, signed by Jackson.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 28. See p. 186.

A complyance with this order is expected by 4 Oclock this evening. So soon as the enemy shall leave our coast, or news of the ratification of the Treaty said to have been concluded between Great Britain and the United States shall reach me, it will afford me pleasure to permit your return to the city.

I have the honor to be respectfully

General Orders, dismissing the Louisiana Militia.[1]

New Orleans, March 7, 1815.

General Orders, In consequence of the impressions made by recent advices from the Seat of Goverment, the Commanding General feels at liberty to discharge from actual service such of the Louissiana Militia as were levied in mass.

No Conclusive information of Peace has yet arrived. Official dispatches destined for this place have by some extraordinary Occurrence not yet reached it and there exists a pos[s]ibility [of] their containing no more than has been already lear[n]t from another Source. Yet unwilling to tax the patriotism of the Inhabitants, where any plausible pretext offers for releiving them, And as these militia reside on the scene of action and have exhibited such alacrity in ob[e]ying the first call to the field The Commanding General will restore them to their families and their homes.

The Militia thus releived will however be prepared should another call be made for their Services, again to defend their Country, and again to prove themselves worthey the blessings of a free Goverment; And in returning to the pursuits of private life they will guard against the devices and intrigues of the turbulent, malicious, envious and disappointed, who are ever ready to reap the harvest of their Country's ruin, who would sever the affections of the Soldiers from their officers, Substitute irresolution, and timidity for energy, and Order; make Subordination irksome, And disipline hateful. Without Confidence in the Commander all military operations are unhinged. What then must be the thought of those men, who, in the moment of danger, hesitating and doubtfull, will yet, when their fond wishes lull them into security, irritate, harrass, and weary, those whose sole aim has been the defence of their Country, who first compell the exercise of harsh measures, and then make them a pretext for undermining the authority from which they eminate.

The Commanding General in parting with the Militia, is enabled in all the Simplicity of truth, to say, by these men the invincibles of Wellington were failed, the conquerors of Europe Conquered. Let them then preserve with solicitude the Character they have won, and may that tranquility they so manfully contributed to attain prove to them a blessing and endear those privileges for which they have fought.[2]

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 29. The order of the adjutant-general, Col. Robert Butler, discharging the militia is in *Niles' Register,* VIII. 122.

[2] In a memorandum preserved, in Reid's handwriting, it is said that this order did not discharge the volunteer battalions of Majors Lacoste, Plauché, and Daquin nor Captain Beal's rifle company. On Mar. 8 the order of Feb. 28, removing French subjects from the city, was suspended on request by officers serving under Majors

To Captain Francis Newman.[1]

New Orleans, March 9, 1815.

Sir . . . . The General has not been advised of the existance of a peace as you have been informed Officially. He recd. by an express sent from the City of Washington on the 14th Ultimo a letter from the Post Master General stating that the bearer was charged with dispatches relative to a peace. Yet these dispatches did not arrive, but on the contrary a letter from the Secretary of war dated 13th Ulto. ordering him to raise two regimen[ts] for the defence of the 7th M. D. agreeably to an act of Congress inclosed; It is probable that this letter may have been forwarded instead of the One intended, but the General directs that you continue to exercise the utmost Vigilence to prevent the passage of any Vessell by your fort without his permission, and to guard against a Surprise. So soon as the General is officially advised of the existance of a peace you will be permitted, to visit the city. You will make out and forward to head Quarters a return for the number of Tents necessary to Cover your men.

I am respectfully By Command

Thos L. Butler aid-De-Camp.

To Captain Peter Ogden.[1]

New Orleans, March 11, 1815.

Sir, You will detail from your troop a discreet non commissioned Officer and four men, And direct them to Call on the Officer commanding 3d United States Infantry for Dominic A. Hall who is confined in the Guard House for exciting mutiny and desertion within the encampment of the City. Upon the rect. of the prisoner, the non Commissioned Officer will conduct him up the coast beyond the lines of Genl. Carrolls encampment, deliver him the enclosed Orders, and set him at liberty.

By Command

Jackson's Order to D. A. Hall.

New Orleans, March 11, 1815.

Sir, I have thought proper to send you beyond the limits of my encampment, to prevent you from a repetition of the improper conduct for which you have been Arrested and Confined; And to order that you remain beyond my chain of centinels, untill it is announced by proper authority that the ratification of the treaty between Great Britain and the U. States, has been made, or the enemy shall have left the Southern coast. The

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Plauché, Lacoste, and Daquin, but with the provision that it did not apply to Tousard until he obtained special permission to live in the city. Mar. 14 the militia from Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi were discharged. Mar. 18 the western section of the 7th military district, including Louisiana and western Mississippi, was placed under the immediate command of Brig.-Gen. E. P. Gaines. The memorandum in question has no date, but seems to have been prepared in March, 1815.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 31. Captain Newman, of the artillery, commanded at Petite Coquille.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 33. By Major Thomas L. Butler.

limits of my encampment are discribed by the lines of Genl. Carroll; four miles above the city, the Lakes in the rear, of the City, And the lines of the 7th Infantry four miles below the Same.

To Major-General Lambert.[1]

New Orleans, March 13, 1815.

Sir: It is with great satisfaction that I inform you of my having received this day official advices of the ratification and interchange of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Brittain. A copy of the treaty and of the ratification will be presented to you by major woodruff of the 3d Infty, who will express to you more fully than I can in the compass of a letter those sentiments which the new state of things between the two nations inspires.

I have by special directions of the Secretary at war ordered an immediate cessation of hostilities and by the like order make this communication to you. Mr. Livingston is empowered to make such arrangements for the restorations required by the 1st article of the treaty [2] and to receive all places now in your possession, as well as the slaves mentioned in your former letters and all public property, conformably to the provisions of the said treaty.

Any facility or accomodations that may be required for your supplies or the comforts of your sick or wounded in my power will be given with the greatest pleasure.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir

Your most obdt Servt.

The Secretary of War (Alexander J. Dallas)[1] to Jackson.

Department of War, March 14, 1815.

Sir: By the act of Congress fixing the military peace establishment of the United States, only two Major Generals can be retained in the service; the President, fully impressed with your merit, has decided to continue you as one of those Major Generals, should it comport with your own views; of this he requests to be advised as soon as you shall have decided on the subject. From motives of delicacy towards others, I wish you to consider this communication as strictly confidential.

I have the honor to be sir

[1] Copy. Printed in Latour, app., p. c.

[2] The first article of the treaty referred to the restoration of "all territory, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other, during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of the treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned". Neither side was to carry away artillery or other public property found in the forts, "or any slaves or other private property". The execution of this clause hung fire with respect to the slaves who fled to the British ships. The officers in command refused persistently to force them to return to their masters, as this correspondence shows. The result was a series of American claims against the British government. In the convention of 1818 (Art. 5) they were referred for arbitration, and eventually under this procedure Great Britain paid more than a million dollars in satisfaction of the claims.

[1] Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury, was Secretary of War *ad interim* from Mar. 14 to Aug. 8, 1815.

Major-General Lambert to Jackson.[1]

Head Quarters, Isle Dauphine, March 18, 1815.

Sir, I received with great pleasure by the hands of Major Woodruff on the evening of the 16th about 9 Oclock yours of the 13th Inst. I communicated the contents immediately to Rear Admiral Malcolm and orders were issued for the cessation of hostilities, and to all detached Posts and Ships to be withdrawn in our Respective Commands. I daily expect an Official Communication (similar to what you have received) from Mr Baker,[2] in the meantime every preparation is making for the embarkation of this Force, and Ships are now sent away when we are able to put sufficient Provisions on board to take them to Bermuda, Victuallers from Jamaica must be here in a very few days when everything will be put on Board as quickly as possible and should I, by that time not have received any intelligence the Admiral and myself will have no hesitation of putting to Sea directly. I have requested Major Woodruff who went up to Mobile yesterday to acquaint the Commanding Officer that I would let him know the moment we were prepared to give up the Fort, which would be when the Transports could get out of the Bay, the Fort would be restored in every respect as when it fell into our possession with the exception only of a Brass Mortar cast in George the 2nd reign which had been sent away the day after.

In the fulfilling the 1st Article of the Treaty I cannot consider the Meaning of " not causing any destruction or carrying away any Artillery, or other Public Property, *originally* captured in the said Forts or Places, and *which* shall remain *therein* upon the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, or any Slaves or other Property " having reference to any antecedent Period to the 18th Febry. the day of the exchange of Ratifications, because it is only from that time that the Article could be fulfilled in a long War. If those Negroes (the matter now in Question) belonged to the *territory* or *City* we were *actually* in *occupation* of, I should conceive we had no right to take them away; but by their coming away, they are virtually the same as Deserters or property taken away at any time of the War. I am obliged to say so much in justification of the right, but I have from the first, done all I could to prevent, and subsequently together with Admiral Malcolm have given every facility, and used every persuasion, that they should Return to their Masters, and many have done so; but I could not reconcile it to myself to abandon any, who from false reasoning perhaps, joined us during the Period of Hostilities, and have thus acted in violation of the laws of their Country and besides become obnoxious to their masters. Had it been an object to take the Negroes away they could have been embarked in the first Instance, but they have been permitted to remain in the hopes, that they might Return. . . . .

[1] Printed in Latour, app., pages cxx-cxxii.
[2] See p. 126, n. 2, *ante.*

MAJOR-GENERAL LAMBERT TO JACKSON.[1]

ILE DAUPHINE, March 19, 1815.

Sir, Since I had the Pleasure of writing to you yesterday I am informed, that evry thing will be embarked (weather permitting) by the 25th. I have in consequence written to M. Genl. Mc'Intosh [2] to inform him that the Commandant of Fort Boyer has orders to deliver it up agreable to the 1st Article of the Treaty of Peace on that day. The time of year and preparation for a long voyage may detain the troops here a few days longer but no exertion will be wanting to embark the whole as soon as possible.

As I may not have another opportunity of addressing you permit me to avail myself of the present, to wish you Health and happiness and to express my regret that circumstances will not allow me to assure you personally of the same

I have the Honor to remain

CHARLES K. BLANCHARD TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, March 20, 1815.

Sir. I have the honor agreeably to your request, to state to your Excellency in writing the substance of a conversation that occured between Quarter Master Peddie of the British Army and myself on the 11th Inst on board his Britanic Majesty's Ship Herald. Quarter Master Peddie observed that the Comdg Officers of the British forces were daily in the receipt of every information from the City of New Orleans which they might require in aid of their operations for the completion of the objects of the expedition. That they were perfectly acquainted with the situation of every part of our forces the manner in which the same was situated, the number of our fortifications, their strength positions etc. As regards the Battery erecting on the left Bank of the Mississippi, he described its situation, its distance from the Main Post, and promptly offered me a plan of the works. He furthermore stated that the above information was received from seven or eight persons in the city of New Orleans from whom he could at any hour, procure any information necessary to the promotion of his Majesty's interest.

I am very respectfully

[Sworn to and accepted as true by the said Blanchard, March 29, 1815.]

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN ADAIR [1] TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, March 20, 1815.

Major Genl. Jackson, A sense of duty to my Country and to the Corps, with which I immediately served during the late perilous campaign under your command; has induced me to lay before you the following statement of facts which cannot be controverted. Late on the evening of the 7th of

[1] Printed in Latour, app., p. xcvi.
[2] John McIntosh, commander of the Georgia troops.
[1] Commander of the Kentucky militia during the New Orleans campaign.

Jany. I received an order from the Adjt Genls Office to send 400 Men from Majr Genl Thomas's Division: under a proper Officer, who was directed to march them up the river to the Citty, where he would receive arms for the men; cross the river, and place himself under the command of Genl. Morgan. This Order was given to Coll Davis at 7 Oclock, who immediately marchd the number of men, ordered to the Citty, where about 200 of them were furnished with indifferent arms, the remainder, who could not be armed in any way returned to their Camp.

Coll Davis crossed the river in the Night and reached Genl. Morgans Camp at 4 oclock on the morning of the 8th. He was immediately ordered to march down the river untill he met the Enemy; Attack him and if compelled by numbers to retreat, he was to dispute every inch of ground back to the Genls breast work. This order was executed by Coll Davis in its fullest extent. He met the Enemy at the distance of half or three quarters of a mile from the breast work, and altho deserted by Majr. Arno's command (with whom he was to act) he formed his men in the open field; attacked the Enemy; and fired from 3 to 5 rounds, and retreated under a heavy fire, after receiving an order from the Genls aid to do so his men still returning the fire of the Enemy, who pressed him untill he passed the breast works. The above statement is fully proven by the testimony of Majr. Brown, Aid to Genl Morgan; by Majr Tessa of the Louisiana Militia, by Majr Johnston and Doctr Hambleton. No blame, no censure could possibly be attached to the Kentuckians in this affair.

Coll Davis on passing to the rear of the breast work; was again ordered by Genl. Morgan, to form his Corps (now 170 strong) on the right of the Louisiana Militia; who 500 strong and supported by the Artillery, were posted behind a breast work, finished and extending 200 yards out at right angles from the river. Coll Davis's command of 170 men were agreeable to the Genls. order formed or rather stretched along a Ditch from the right of the breast work; occupying a space of 300 yards. In this weak defenceless situation they received the Attack of the Enemy in front, the Kentuckians here again fired from 3 to 7 rounds; (all those whose guns could fire) nor did they retreat untill a part of the Enemys force had turned or passed their right, and were firing on their rear longer resistance must have subjected them to inevitable capture or destruction—for the truth of the facts here stated I refer you to the testimony of Capt. Holt, Capt. Ford and Adjt. Stevens, taken before the Court of enquiry; as likewise Coll Caldwell of the Louisiana Militia, who had the ground measured.

On the right of the Kentuckey line, thus scattered along a Ditch, there was still a space of open ground, several hundred yards, undefended by any; where the Enemy might and did pass to their rear. No attempt was made no order given to support the Kentuckians by a detachment from the breast work (where they might have been well spared) for it is in proof that the Enemys line approaching the breast work on the levy were repulsed by our artillery, and fell back nor did the[y] advance again untill the right of our line was turned and the breast work abandoned—

thus we find 500 men of the Louisiana Militia, compleatly defended by a breast work in front and supported by several pieces of Artilery defended on the right by the Kentuckey detachment, who altho few in number and badly armed; were left to beat the whole force of the Enemy, or retreat from inevitable distruction. To the retreat of this small Corps has been attributed the disgrace of that day—more sir, it has been represented by letters from this place; published in Tennesee and throughout the Unuion; as the shameful, cowardly flight of a strong detachment of Kentuckians without firing A Gun. This Calumny, false and unfounded as it is, has gained credit abroad from your Excellencys Official communication of the 9th Jany. to the secretary at war. In that you designate the Kentucky troops, with Genl Morgan as a strong detachment, and again say they ingloriously fled, drawing after them the rest of the Troops.

You will not for a moment believe that I can mean any, the slightest reflection on your conduct by thus bringing into view your Official letter. I well know *that* communication, as well, as every other from you was predicated on the reports made from different parts of the Army, under your command; but you will agree with me that those reports were not always well founded and that from Various causes, it was often difficult for you to obtain any report during the day, of the transactions that took place on the night previous. In your letter of the 9th Jany., you say, you received but little aditional strength, from the Arival of the Kentuckians but few of that Detachment being armed, and again in speaking of the morning of the 8th you say the Enemy was repulsed by the troops under Genls. Carrol and Coffy, *and a division of the Kentucky militia.* This taken with other parts of that communication, in which the Kentucky troops are mentioned, has given rise to an oppinion in many parts of the Unuion, that but few of the Kentucky men fought on the lines on the morning of the 8th. Your report, strictly true so far as relates to the arrival of the Kentucky troops, and to their situation on your lines on the 5th and 6th of Jany. not more than 550 of them being armed untill the evening of the 7th yet has a tendency to mislead as to their numbers on the 8th.

On the 7th I received from a corps of exemps in the Citty, between 4 and 500 musketts and Bayonetts, on a loan for three days. With this timely supply we were enabled to bring on the lines on the morning of the 8th fully 1000 men, This Corps, was stationed agreeable to your order some distance in the rear of the breast work; with the sole view that they might be led, to the defence of any part of the works, where their services might be most useful and necessary—to this wise order and arangement was it owing, that 1000 men in adition to the usual defence on the lines, was brought to meet the Enemys strong collusion and to oppose with ranks of from 6 to 8 deep his most daring and desperate attack—to this disposition of the Troops we may in a good degree attribute the unparrelelled destruction that took place in the Collumn of the Enemy on that day.

I thus bring to your recollection facts and circumstances, which altho they took place under your own orders, may, in the hurry and confusion

of the moment, have escaped your notice, and the more so as no report was called for on the 8th from the officers commanding seperate Corps. The Court of Enquiry ordered to investigate the affair on the west side of the river, have by their report acquitted Coll Davis of all blame or censure, and have said the retreat of they [the] Kentuckians may be excuseable from their position, want of arms. etc. The language Sir in which this oppinion is couched, to which I refer you, is not such as can satisfy the pride of a Soldior, who having done his duty faithfully, has been slandered by those who have been more to blame than himself. At the request of my fellow soldiors from Kentucky, who have had the honor of serving, and we trust of having done their duty, under your command in this last, but most glorious Campaign of the war, I have been induced to make this appeal to your Justice, for a more explicit approval of their conduct, and if the[y] are entitled to it, for such a one as will enable them to meet their fellow soldiors in Kentucky without a blush. Finding after the retreat of the Enemy, that you had much still to occupy and perplex you, I purposely delayed this application untill you might have leisure to attend to it. I am Sir

with the highest sentiments of respect and esteem

Jackson's Address to the Troops.[1]

March 21, 1815.

On so interesting an occassion the commanding General can neither suppress his feelings, nor give utterance to them as he ought.

In parting with those brave men whose destinies have been so long united with his own and in whose labours and glories it is his happiness and his boast to have participated, his bosom is penetrated with sentiments of the liveliest sensibility. But what suitable tribute can he render to their extraordinary merit—What adequate praise can he bestow on exertions that are without a parralele? Let him in one burst of joy, gratitude, and exultation exclaim "these are the saviours of their country—the patriot soldiers who triumphed over the Invincibles of Wellington and conquered the conquerors of Europe"! With what patience did you submit to privations, with what fortitude did you endure fatigue and toil—what valour did you display in the feild of battle!! Possessing those dispositions which equally adorn the citizen and the soldier, the expectations of your country will be met, in peace, as her hopes have been gratified in war. Go then to your homes, to those tender connexions and those blissful secenes which render life so dear—go, full of honor and wreathed with Laurels whose leaves shall never wither. With what happiness will you not, when participating in the bosom of your families the enjoyment of peaceful life look back to the fatigues and

[1] The copy in the Jackson MSS. is in Reid's handwriting. The address was evidently intended as a general farewell to the soldiers. To several parts of the army he issued parting General Orders of a similar nature—to the militia of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Louisiana on Mar. 14 (*Niles' Register*, VIII. 124), and to the New Orleans battalion of uniformed companies on Mar. 16 (*ibid.*, VIII. 142). A somewhat different version is in Latour, app., pp. ciii-cv, under date of Mar. 14.

toils which you have so honourably borne? How will all your past sufferings be converted into sources of inexpressible delight. Who that never experienced your troubles will be able to appreciate your joys! The man who slumbered ingloriously at home during your painful marches, your nights of watchfulness and your days of toil, will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford—still more will he envy you, the gratitude of that country which you have saved!

Continue, my worthy companions, to preserve on your passage to your homes, that patience, that subordination, that dignified and manly deportment which has so enobled your characters.

But while the Commanding General is thus giving indulgence to his feelings to those brave companions who accompanied him through difficulties and danger, he cannot permit the names of Blount and Shelby and Holmes to pass unnoticed. With what a generous ardour of patriotism have these distinguished Governors, contributed all their exertions to provide the means of victory! The memory of those exertions and of the success with which they were attended, will be to them a reward more grateful than any which the pomp of tittles or the splendor wealth can bestow.

What a happiness it is to the commanding genl in this moment of seperation, to be able to recall no instance while danger was before us, in which he was compelled to use towards his companions in arms either severity or rebuke. If after the Enemy had retired designing passions began to resume their empire and to extend their influence over the innocent the commanding general is at no loss to seperate the guilty from the innocent. Towards you fellow soldiers none but the most cheering and tender recollections exist, blended alas! with the keenest regret that disease and war should have ravished from us so many noble souls. But the cause they died in and the virtues which animated them while living must occupy that place where sorrow would claim to dwell.

Again the commandg General, before pronouncing a painful farewell must present his acknowledgements and thanks to both officers and soldiers, for the Zealous aid and concert of the former and for the faithful services of the latter. Though the expression of these thanks be feeble they have the assurance that the gratitude of a nation of Freemen is theirs—the approbation of an admiring world.

Joseph Delaplaine to Jackson.[1]

Philadelphia, March 25, 1815.

Dear Sir, Being in the habit of publishing extensively, my friends and many citizens of this City, have called upon me to cause a painting of the Battle of New-Orleans, to be engraved in the best manner. I have agreed to publish a print of the subject, and have announced, this day, in the Gazettes, my having applied to our distinguished young countryman now in London, Mr. C. R. Leslie, to paint it, to be engraved by Mr.

[1] This letter is interesting through revealing the method by which a print-maker of the day could make a picture of a popular contemporary event.

Alexander Lawson of Philadelphia. Size of the print 27 Inches long and 19 wide.

I beg you Sir, to have the goodness to furnish me with a ground plan of the fortifications, a sketch of the appearance of the country taken from within our lines looking down the road towards the British as they were advancing, a description of the times of the Battle that will be the most favourable and interesting to make the picture from, and situations you were in at those times—what officers stood near you, their names, Rank etc—what was the general uniform of the Tennessee and Kentucky troops, Uniform of the New Orleans Volunteers—whether you and your officers near you wore round or cocked hats, and generally, any facts and circumstances that your politeness will furnish in aiding my object. I shall then forward them immediately on their receipt to London, and from there Mr. Leslie will furnish the picture. When the picture arrives here, the engraver commences *his* work and when he comes to your portrait in the picture and also those of your officers who were near you in battle, he will want likenesses, or portraits of each.

Be pleased sir to inform me whether there is a portrait of yourself, *by whom painted*, and whether I can be permitted at the time it will be wanted, to have it here for the use of the engraver. Have the goodness sir, also to inform me whether it is your intention of visiting our City, and if so, as what probable time. I have engaged our first rate portrait painter, to paint your portrait for me on your arrival, by your permission. Have the goodness also to inform me whether it is the intention of those officers who were near you in battle to visit this, as I wish to have their portraits also in order to make the picture more complete. Their names if you please, that I may enquire for them.

My worthy friend General Harrison will have the goodness to forward this letter in one of his which will make my character known to you. I take the liberty of mentioning Sir, that I am anxious to receive the account of the Battle as stated in the preceding page, as soon as possible to enable the painter in London to commence the picture. The portraits are subjects which may be attended to hereafter and at your leisure if you should visit us.

I am with the greatest respect

Opinion of Edward Livingston on Martial Law.

New Orleans, March 27, 1815.

On the Nature and Effect of the proclamation of Martial Law by Major Genl Jackson. my Opinion is that, such proclamation is unknown either to Constitution or Laws of the U. S.

1st That it is to be justified only by the necissity of the Case and that therefore the General proclaims it at his risque and under his responsibility. both to the government and to inviduals. Where the necessety is apparent he will meet reward instead of punishment from, his Government. and individual clames for Damages must be appreciated by the same rule under the Discretion of a jury. Should they in the opinion of the Government Decide falsely agt. their Officer they have a right which

they have frequently exercised of indemnifying him for the Disinterested responsibility he has incurred.

2d That the Effect of a proclamation of martial Law *De facto* is to bring all persons who may happen to be within the District Comprised in the proclamation; under the provision of such law. and therefore all persons capable of Defending the Country within the District are subject to such law by Virtue of the proclamation and may be tried During its continuance by Virtue thereof

Opinion of Abner L. Duncan on Martial Law.

March 27, 1815.

My opinion agrees with that of Mr. Reid as far as it extends to give authority to Courts Martial; On this subject the following principles may be assumed

1st That when a country is invaded by an Enemy, it is the duty of every Inhabitant indiscriminately to contribute to its defence, that this duty is more positive and more urgent than those resulting from the common and usual transactions of private or even public life since the occasion that calls it forth, involves at once the very existance of the Government together with the liberty, property and lives of the citizens.

2d That the urgency of the occasion must secure means to compel the exercize of the duty referred to, and those means must be vested in the person to whom the safety and defence of the country is entrusted, his authority therefore must extend over all, since every member of the community forms a part of his disposeable force.

3d The operations of the civil authority must necessarily cease, since the very many citizens to whom its functions are confided have, on the occasion referr'd to, other paramount duties to perform—can it be intended, that when the country is invaded by the Enemy, when the United exertions of all are required to render a force competent to resist him, that so great a number of men as are usually employed in the Executive Legislative and Judicial departments, should be exempted? If not exempted, they must become soldiers and as such cannot at the same time exercize their civil functions

4th All jurisdiction therefore under circumstances of so cogent a nature must necessarily devolve from the civil to the Military Tribunal which latter may seek such opportunities for holding sessions as circumstances will allow, and may terminate them as speedily as the pressure demands. They may take cognizance of such cases as cannot, without manifest detriment to the Public, or injustice to individuals, be postponed.

In discharging these duties a Military Tribunal is governed by the Laws of the Land and except as to the mode of Trial affords the same security for fair and impartial investigation as the ordinary courts of Justice. For most of the opinions here expressed, the authority of Vattel in his Treatise on the Laws of Nations affords a sanction and as a necessary deduction from the sentiments of that enlightened author aided by sound reason it is thought the whole will prove correct.

The constitution of the United States secures to the citizen the more valuable priviledges, yet the same constitution contemplates the necessity of suspending the operation of some in order to secure the continuance of all. The 1st article §9. in its 2d provision authorizes the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and impliedly, the operation of Martial Law, when, in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it. It therefore belongs to the guardian of the Public safety, to him who is to conduct the operations against the Enemy, whose vigilance is to descry danger and whose arms are to repel it, to judge of those cases provided for by the Constitution. With the suspension of this writ all the ordinary proceedings under the Civil Law are also suspended, for this writ is the sentinel destined to guard the portals of civil justice, and ensure to individuals the protection of the Judiciary whenever it may be required.

Certificate of General David B. Morgan and Affidavit.

March 28, 1815.

I certify, that on or about the third of Decr. 1814, which was Two or three days after the arrival of Major genl. Andrew Jackson in this City, the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, of which I was a member of the Senate, passed unanimously a vote of Thanks to Major genl. Jackson, that a Joint committee was appointed from both Houses to wait on the general and deliver the Resolution, of which committee I was one. We, according to our instructions, waited on the general, delivered our message, and welcomed him to the City. A few days afterwards we learned that the Enemy's fleets were on our coast, near Ship and Cat Island, which excited much alarm amongst the Citizens and the Legislature also. The Legislature were advised by the Executive of the State, as well as the Citizens in general, if possible, to adopt some efficient measures in order to aid the commanding officers of the land and Naval forces on this Station, to bring all forces of the country into action. Committees were appointed to report ways and means. There appeared some difference of opinion as to the best mode, but all agreed that it was nessary to act energetically. Many were in favour of a Suspension of the *"writ of Habeas Corpus"*; others for laying an *"Embargo"* in order to procure sailors. On the first of these measures the Senate, I believe, had a majority; but in the House of Representatives, there was a majority opposed to the suspension of the *"writ of Habeas Corpus"*; altho, a very Respectable number of the members of both House were much in favour of martial Law, believing it absolutely necessary to the savation of the State. That, the inhabitants were composed of so many different nations and diffent political opinions, the ordinary course of the laws would be too tardy and unsafe. This opinion I found prevailed very generally among the Most Respectable Citizens of this place, whom I heard converse on the subject. A few days after news arrived that the enemy had attacked our gun vessels and had taken them all. The enemy now having nothing in their way, it was expected they would make a landing immediately. The Citizen's alarms increas'd, the Legisla-

ture were rather tardy. and the great Hope was now in the Steady and firm course which was hoped the commanding general would pursue, and in whom the Country had implicit confidence. On the fifteenth of December, the commanding general Issued an order declareing Martial Law, which was very generally, (as far as I could learn) approved by the Citizens, and believ'd it the only course for our security. I heard it frequently approved, by officers of the civil authority, and of the governor of the State, and have never heard otherwise untill very lately. Such was my opinion, and I believe the opinion of the Citizens, and Civil officers of the State unversally; peticularly of those who felt an interest for the welfare of the State.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of March 1815
JOSHUA LEWIS Judge of the first District

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR MANLEY POWERS TO JACKSON.

DAUPHIN ISLAND, March 30, 1815.

Sir, In the absence of Major Genl. Lambert, who has sailed for England, and being left in the command of the British Troops, remaining in this Island, I have the honor to acknowledge the Receipt of your letter, of 24th Inst. I am perfectly ignorant, as to the nature of the correspondence, which may have passed between you, and the Major General, respecting the Negroes, but I beg leave to acquaint you, that before he went away, he determined that all those, who peremptorily refused to return to their former Masters, should be embarked for the Island of Bermuda, at the same time, I can assure you, that he did every thing in his power, to induce the whole of them to return, and gave every facility for that purpose, to the presons who were sent here, to reclaim them, but he did not feel himself authorized, to resort to compulsion, to obtain that end, as they had served with the British Army voluntarily, and threw themselves upon his protection. A Ship will be sent by Admiral Malcolm, as early as possible, to the Mouth of the Mississippi, to receive the whole of the British Prisoners, now at New Orleans, and who can be removed with safety. . . . .

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL ADAIR.[1]

NEW ORLEANS, April 2, 1815.

Sir, I have received your letter of the 20th Inst, but a multiplicity of engagements have prevented me from answering it earlier. As nothing would give me more pain than the belief that I had done injustice to any portion of the troops under my command, so nothing, in such an event, would afford me greater satisfaction than to make reparation.

It is true, that in writing to the secretary of War the day after the action of the 8th Jany. giving him an account of that affair, and of the arrangements I had made for it, I did state, that I had ordered a strong detachment of the Kentucky militia to the left bank of the river, and

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 42.

that they ingloriously fled before the Enemy. This detachment, by my order, was to consist of 400; and if any causes intervened to occasion a diminution of it, you cannot but be sensible that I was not made acquainted with that fact untill after the letter you allude to had been forwarded.

As to my statement respecting the conduct of these troops, it was founded upon that made to me by Com. Patterson, and Genl. Morgan, who were present and commanding. Their statement I not only did *beleive*, but was *bound* to beleive; but if any confermation had been wanted, *you cannot have forgotten by how many persons that was offered.* I hope my General address to the army has shewn the impartiality of my mind to every Corps and description of troops composing my Command.

The number of Kentucky troops who fought on the line, on the left bank of the river, have been stated at 550.

Your report of the 12th after all the arms that had been taken from the Enemy on the 8th and after all those transfered, by my order, from Genl. Carroll's command, made them amount to, only, 959 privates. I am pursuaded the day of the 8th brought an increase, of at least one hundred pr cent, to the arms of the Kentuckians; and those who were *unarmed*, certainly were not placed immediately on the line of battle on the 8th. Thus Sir, altho' the Kentucky force in the action of that day has been stated at 550, I am induced to think, from the best means I have had of judging, that it was even less. My General order required that daily reports should be furnished; and this was strictly complied with untill the 8th when the early attack of the Enemy, and the consequent derangement, prevented it: To this cause, and to the constant augmentation of your command, I ascribe the circumstance of your ha[v]ing made no report untill the 12th. The whole force employed on the line on the morning of the 8th excluded a detachment placed on Madame Piernof's [2] Canal, but including artillerists and marines, amounted to only 3690; as composing a part of which the Kentucky troops have been stated at 550.

The Court of Enquiry greatly to my satisfaction have acquitted Colo. Davis of any conduct deserving censure on the right bank of the river: On the left, it gives me great happiness to state that the Kentuckians who acted immediately under your command, sustained the honor of their state and of our common Country.

I have the honor to be with great respect sir,

Commodore Daniel T. Patterson to Jackson.

New Orleans, April 3, 1815.

Sir, In answer to your note of yesterday, I have the honor to state; that the appearance, of the Enemy's force on this coast, and their capture of our Gun Boats; the weak state of this city, and its environs; and the situation of the country generally, was such, as in my opinion, made

[2] Piernas. A mile behind Jackson's lines.

the declaration of Martial Law indispensible. I know that the same opinion was held by the Executive of this State; and that the State Legislature thought so likewise; was fully proved, by the acts passed by them, previous to the proclamation of Martial Law, authorizing the impressment of seamen, and laying an Embargo, measures, wholly growing out of the necessity of the case and exigencies of the times.

I had, at the time little opportunity of knowing the opinion of the Judiciary; my personal duties occupied me wholly; but the discharge of these very duties, made me know that Mr. Lewis, one of the State Judges served in the Ranks of a volunteer company of Militia, as a private soldier, and being afterwards chosen and appointed a Lieutenant, he served in the same company until the peace. I do beleive that the proclamation, and enforcement of Martial Law was necessary, for the defence of the Country and preservation of the City; and that by those measures, it could alone be saved; and at the time such was the universal sentiment of all good citizens. Under the Law of the State I did press into the naval service of the United States, a number of seamen and held them in service, until the peace took place; my empressments were made in open day in the most frequented parts of the City and were of course matter of notriety.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Major Auguste Davezac to Jackson.[1]

New Orleans, April 6, 1815.

General, I hasten to comply with the request you have just made, that I should state where I met Governor Claiborne, on the morning of the 8th of January 1815. I had the Honour to be near Your person on that day. The firing began to decrease, and the English who had entered the right Bastion were either killed or taken, the prisoners captured then were mostly wounded. you ordered me to escort them to the Hospital, and you directed that they should be searched, with a view of discovering if possible their plan of attack, and thus be enabled to guard against any ulterior movements on the part of the enemy. I obeyed your command. The prisoners were delivered to Dr. Kerr and they were directed to be searched, it was at that moment, when the action was almost at an end, that I saw Governor Claiborne, he was in the interior of the Hospital, where the wounded were deposited. I spoke to him, informed him of the glorious result of the day and as I was hastening to resume my post near you, I asked, in a pointed manner and looking at him, if any one was going to the lines. I received no answer and returned alone. by the time, I reached the place, where you stood near the powder magazine, on the right of the line; the fire of the musketry had entirely ceased, our Can-

[1] Major Auguste Davezac de Castera was a creole from Santo Domingo and served Jackson as an aide and judge-advocate. He remained a loyal friend of Jackson's after the war. He was the brother of Mrs. Edward Livingston.

non alone kept firing and now and then the enemy returned a few shots or Congreves.

I have the Honour to be, sir, with respect

I saw Governor Claieborne during the Battle of 8th of Jany and I think very near its close sitting upon his horse behind the hospital, where he was entirely shelter'd from the balls of the enemy.

DAVID C KER
Hosp: Surgeon

SECRETARY DALLAS TO JACKSON.[1]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, April 12, 1815.

I assure you, sir, that it is a very painful task to disturb, for a moment, the enjoyment of the honorable gratification which you must derive, as well from the consciousness of the great services that you have rendered to your country, as from the expressions of approbation and applause, which the nation has bestowed upon those services. But representations have been recently made to the President, respecting certain acts of military opposition to the civil magistrate, that require immediate attention, not only in vindication of the just authority of the laws, but to rescue your own conduct from all unmerited reproach.

There have been transmitted to the President copies of the letter of Mr. Reed, your Aid-de-Camp to the Editor of the Louisianna Courrier, dated 21st of February; of your general orders, dated the 28 of February, commanding certain French subjects to retire from New Orleans; of a publication in the Louisianna Courrier of the 3d of March under the signature of "a citizen of Louisianna of French Origin", animadverting upon the General Order;[2] of a second General Order of the 5th of march, inforcing the Order of the 28th of February; of your letter of the 6th of February, announcing the unofficial intelligence of the peace; and of a third General Order of the 8th of march, suspending the execution of the order of the 28th of February, except as far as it relates to the Chevalier de Tousard.

These documents have been accompanied with a statement, that on the 5th of March, the writer of the publication of the 3d of March, Mr. Louallier, a member of the Legislature of the state of Louisianna, was arrested by your order, on account of the publication, and lodged in the barracks; that on the same day Mr. Hall, the Judge of the District, issued a writ of Habeas Corpus in the case of Mr. Louallier; but before the writ was served, the Judge himself was arrested, by your order, for issuing it, and conducted under a strong guard to the barracks; that on the 8th of March Mr. Dick, the Attorney of the United States, having obtained from Mr. Lewis, a state Judge, a writ of Habeas Corpus in the case of Judge Hall, which was served upon you, he was arrested by your order, and lodged in the barracks; that Judge Hall was released on the 12th of March, but escorted to a place out of the City of New Orleans, with Orders not to return, until information of peace was officially received and officially announced; and that Mr. Dick was released on the

[1] This letter was published in the *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 6, 1828.
[2] Printed in Parton, II. 309-311.

same day, and permitted to remain in Town, but with orders to report himself, from day to day, until discharged.

From these representations it would appear that the Judicial power of the united states has been resisted, the liberty of the press has been suspended, and the Consul and subjects of a friendly Government have been exposed to great inconvenience, by an exercise of Military force and command. The President views the subject, in its present aspect, with surprize and solicitude; but in the absence of all information from yourself, relative to your conduct and the motives for your conduct, he abstains from any decision, or even the expression of an Opinion, upon the case, in hopes that such explanations may be afforded, as will reconcile his sense of public duty with a continuance of the confidence, which he reposes in your Judgment, discretion, and patriotism. He instructs me, therefor, to request, that you will, with all possible dispatch, transmit to this Department a full report of the transactions, which have been stated. And, in the meantime, it is presumed, that every extraordinary exertion of military authority has ceased, in consequence of the cessation of all danger, open or covert, upon the restoration of peace.

The President instructs me to take this oppertunity of requesting, that a conciliatory deportment may be observed towards the state authorities, and the citizens of New Orleans. He is persuaded, that Louisianna justly Estimates the value of the talents and valour, which have been displayed for her defence and safety; and that there will be no disposition in any part of the nation, to review, with severity, the efforts of a commander, acting in a crises of unparalleled difficulty, upon the impulse of the purest patriotism

I have the honor to be,

To Secretary Dallas.[1]

Nashville, May 16, 1815.

Sir, I reached this place last evening where I had the honour to receive your several letters of the 13, 14 and 27 of March, and 22d [2d?] of Apl. . . . .

I feel highly gratified at the approbation which the President has been pleased to express of my conduct, and have determined to accept of the proffer contained in yours of the 14 of March.[2]

Finding from the time your communication requesting my attendance at the city,[3] reached me, that I could not reach there in time to be of any service in the organization of the army, The impared state of my health, has determined me to remain at this place for the present, and to send you such information as I possess of the merits of the officers within my Dist. which you will find inclosed. So soon as the accounts for expendi-

[1] War Dept. files. Also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 47.

[2] An offer of one of the two positions as major-general in the United States army.

[3] Letter of Mar. 27, signed by Graham, stating a desire for Jackson's attendance, but leaving it optional with him. Dallas wrote to six generals—Brown, Jackson, Scott, Gaines, Macomb, and Ripley, requesting their attendance at Washington, to report a plan for the new army. On their report, the country was divided into two military districts, north and south. Brown was ordered to command the Northern District, Jackson the Southern, with Scott and Gaines as brigadiers.

tures of public monies, within my Dist. are closed it will afford me pleasure to visit the, city

I am respectfully etc.

To Edward Livingston.

Nashville, May 17, 1815.

D'r Sir: I reached this place on the evening of the 15th instant neither Mrs. Jackson or myself in good health and had the pleasure of receving your verry friendly letter of the 20th ult., for which receive my thanks. I am happy to hear that tranquility and harmony prevades your city, and the wicked labours of the little malicious *knot,* has not disturbed the social harmony of the great body of your citizens. Such attempts as has been made by these traitors to the best interest of their country will always bring upon their authors general contempt. The feeble attempt to prop his Excellency by his body guard has shewn how few are his suporters, and I am happy to find that the good sense of your citizens will not permit them to live in popular favour by faction.

major Reid is not with me at present, I this day write him to meet me here next monday, when every thing that can be procured, to afford you information on every point wished for shall be obtained and forwarded.[1]

The *wonderfull revolution* in France [2] fills every body and *nation* with astonishment, and the tricoloured cockade being found in the Bottom of each soldiers Napsack tells to all urope that Napoleon reigns in the affection of the soldiers, that were to oppose him and their dislike to the Burbons. This has put an end to the deliberations at Vienna, as I do not believe the[y] will follow the example of your late assembly, and continue their deliberations under the thunder of his cannon. What will be the effects this sudden revolution will have on the relations with america? will it not give us an advantageous comercial treaty with Gr. Britain?

what time can you go on to the city of washington. I was invited by the President to the city to aid in the organization of the army, but it being left opti[o]nal with me to go on or to send on my report, for the present I preferred the latter course—in which report you may assure your friend Major Perre he was not neglected. I shall go on in the course of the summer, and will be happy in your company, and will accomodate my setting out to your convenience.

Mrs. Jackson begs me through you to reciprocate the good wishes of your amiable lady, and say to her that it would aford her much happiness to have the pleasure of again meeting with her.[3] she retains with lively sensibility the pleasing recollection of the hospitality and friendship of her female friends in New orleans.

with a tender of my best wishes to your lady and family in which I include Major Davazac and your son believe me to be with great respect

Yr mo. ob. serv.

[1] This paragraph seems to mean that at this time Livingston contemplated writing a history of Jackson's campaign.

[2] Napoleon, returning from Elba, landed at Cannes Mar. 1, 1815.

[3] Mrs. Jackson had visited New Orleans in March.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO JACKSON.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, May 22, 1815.

. . . . You observe, sir, that you are appointed to the command of the Division of the South,[1] under the new organization of the Army. It was proper, in the first instance, to apportion and distribute the troops at military stations, in order to facilitate the formation of the corps and regiments; but you will consider the present apportionment and distribution in your division, as subject to any alterations that your observation and judgment may suggest, for the benefit of the service.

The defence and security of New Orleans and Mobile are objects of primary interest and importance. The recent events in Europe, and the conflicting claims of the United States and Spain, to a part of the territory of West Florida, recommend every precaution, that can be taken to protect our own rights, without infringing the rights of others; and I will thank you to favor the Department with an early statement of your views on that subject, extending your care to the protection of Charleston, Savannah, and other exposed situations of the Southern coast.

The preservation of peace with the Indians, and, indeed, with our neighbours in Canada, whether acting as a company of merchants, or as a government, will essentially depend upon the positions, which are now to be occupied in the Indian country. The object contemplated, in that respect, is to establish posts along the course of the British traders, from Michilimackinac, by Green Bay, the Fox River, and the Ouisconsin river, to Prairie du Chein, and thence up the Mississippi to St. Anthony's Falls. Commissioners have been appointed to hold a treaty with the Indians at St. Louis; and Col. Miller with a detachment of men, attending the commissioners, will take position at Prairie du Chein, whence he will be eventually ordered into the Division of the North, to which his regiment is assigned. Major general Brown will be requested to correspond with you on the measures taken for the establishment of the posts falling within his division, and to avail himself of your information and experience.

The object of preserving peace may be united with the policy of improving the country, and civilizing the Indians, by the establishment of competent posts on a lower route, from Chicago along the Illinois river, to St. Louis. This object is committed to your special care, as falling within the duties of your command; but besides communicating your views upon it to this Department, you will be pleased to make it the subject of a correspondence with Major general Brown, so that the measures taken in each division may be known in both, and be the result of a beneficial concert and cooperation. . . . .

TO SECRETARY DALLAS.[1]

NASHVILLE, May 23, 1815.

Sir, I hasten to reply to your letter of the 12th ultimo which I have this moment received.

[1] The Division of the South included the Southern states, and most of the Northwest.

[1] War Dept. files. Also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 45. It was published in the *National Intelligencer,* Nov. 2, 1828.

The express sent from the War department on the 14th of Frebuary last bore an open letter from the Post master general of that date, stating that he was charged with dispatches relative to the peace; but when the Pacquet was opened it was found to contain nothing but a letter from the sec of war dated the 13th directing me to raise 2 Regiments for the defence of the 7th District, and a few copies of the Act of Congress authorising it. The letter from the Sec of the 16th Feb; communicating the ratification of the Treaty did not arrive till a considerable time afterwards—so soon as it *did* arrive, its instructions relative to the disposition of the troops under my command were strictly attended to.

As explanatory of my conduct and of the motives which influenced it during the late invasion of Louisiana, I enclose you, for the inspection of the President, the answer which I had prepared on a rule to shew cause etc issued by the District Court of which Mr. Hall is Judge.[2] It will be found, I beleive, to refer to most of the matters of which the president has received *secret* intelligence. I shall feel a satisfaction in going into a more particular explanation and defence of my several acts when my accusers can be known and it shall be thought necessary.

I perswade myself the President will have no objection to furnish me with the names of those persons who transmitted to him those communications and complaints to which you allude. I have but little doubt they will be found to belong to those who would have betrayed their Country, or who skulked from its defence. If the peculiar circumstances under which I was compelled to act do not justify the measures which I pursued, I neither deserve confidence nor am ambitious to retain it.

The consciousness of the manner in which my exertions have been directed to the performance of my duty, as well as the expressions of approbation which the result of those endeavours has drawn forth from my countrymen in general and from those in particular among whom I immediately acted have indeed afforded me great gratification—such as I cannot be deprived of, nor easily disturbed in.

I have the honor to be Sir

To Secretary Dallas.[1]

Nashville, May 25, 1815.

Sir, I enclose you copies of two letters just received from Mr. Saul, Cashier of the Orleans Bank of date 12th Inst. The representations they

[2] This answer is printed in Eaton's *Life of Jackson,* pp. 408-425.

[1] War Dept. files. Also in Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 62. With the letter are two from Joseph Saul, cashier, to Jackson, both dated May 12, 1815. The first is a formal note such as could be sent to the government: the second is a personal one written to win Jackson's sympathy for the Bank of Orleans. They are as follows:

"*Dear Sir* By the last Mail I received your D'ft drawn on the Sec'y of war in my favour for $25,000—under protest for non payment. The reasons assigned that there was no appropr[i]ation out of which said Bills could be paid. The other Bill received from you will I presume share the same fate—you must recollect that the different advances made to you by this Institution was done at considerable inconvenience and without the least profit, but solely with a view to serve the Government by enabling the paymaster to make advances to the Western Troops,

contain are correct; and I am exceedingly anxious that an Institution which has shewn so good a disposition, and afforded to the public service such great facilities should receive, as soon as possible, the reimbursement to which it is entitled.

It has given me pain and mortification that it should have been found necessary to protest Bills which I had been authorised to draw and which were so necessary to the welfare of the service in which I was engaged.

I have the Honor etc.

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins to Jackson.

Creek Agency, May 26, 1815

The foregoing[1] is the last communication from Lt. Colo. Nicolls to me. He is explicit as to the disposition of the negros of the Creeks and

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$30,000 of which was advanced to you on Tr'ay [treasury] Bills at par when said Bills were selling at 10 pCt discount from These considerations the Directors trust and hope that such representation will be made by you to the Govrmt. as will induce them to pay our several demands with as little delay as possible I am Very respectfully"

"Enclosed is a letter from me as Cashier of the Bank of Orleans by which you will preceiv[e] that the Bill drawn by you in my favour for $25,000, is returned under protest—it is certainly a hard case on our Institution it having enjoyed so little from the deposits of the Government or any of its Officers except the Marshall, and that we have been deprived of by an order from your worthy friend Hall—so are matters managed in new Orleans. Our Directors principally are not only devoted to the Government but to the present administration and yet we bear all the brunt of the Public business against us, whilst such men as Harique [?] etc who are the Directors of the other Banks are reaping the benefits of the Public deposits. Claibourn sees this and frequently speaks of it to me and yet has not independance to correct it altho it has existed for upwards of three years."

George Graham, acting Secretary of War, replying to this letter, June 12, 1815, said that Jackson's drafts were not paid because Congress had not voted the money. He added that the government, when he wrote, had money in hand and if Saul would renew his drafts they would be paid, that is, two drafts for $25,000 each.

[1] The letter from the British officer, Lieut.-Col. Edward Nicholls, dated at "the British Fort on the Appalachacola, April 2, 1815", is as follows:

"*Sir* Being absent from this Post when your letter of the 19 ult arrived I take this opportunity to answer it. On the subject of the Negros lately owned by the citizens of the United states or Indians in hostility to the B. Forces, I have to acquaint you that according to orders I have sent them to the British Colonies where they are received as free settlers and land given to them. The News paper you were so oblidging as to send me is I rather think incorrect but at all events, an American News paper cannot be authority for a British officer. I herewith enclose you a copy of part of the 9th article of the treaty of peace relative to the Indians in alliance with us they have signed and accepted it as an independant People solemny Promising to suspend all hostilities against the inhabitants of the United States, Within these few days I have had a complaint from the Simenoli Chief Bowlegs he states that a party of American horse have made an incursion into his Towns killed one man wounded another and stole some of his cattle, also that they have Plundered some of his people on their peaceable way from St. augustine, May I request of you to inquire into this affair and cause justice to be done to the murderer and have the cattle restored. I strictly promise you that any mischief done the Creeks under me I shall do all in my power to punish the delinquent and have the property restored.

"The Chiefs have requested me farther to declare to you (that in order to prevent any disagreeable circumstances from happening in future) they have come to a determination not to permit the least intercourse between their people and those of the United States. they have in consequence ordered them to ceace all communication directly or indirectly with the territory or citizens of the United States, and they do

citizens taken by him from this Country. He and his three Chiefs attempt to usurp the Government of the Creeks as well as the rights of our fellow citizens within their own territory, my answer dos not admit him or his Chiefs to have any authority in the premises; One of his chiefs does not, nor never did have among the Upper or Lower Creeks he is the Chief of Miccosookee and he or either of the other two never attended our public Councils. A scarcity of paper limits this communication of

Dear General
your obt serv

To Edward Livingston.

Nashville, June 12, 1815.

D'r Sir: I am anxiously awaiting a line from you advising when you will be on your way to the city, in my last I stated, I would make my visit convenient to you,—? will you pass by land or water.

I am sorry to be troublesome, but I have to request that you will get your son to measure the line of defence below Neworleans exactly—stating the distance from the river to Capt Humphries Battery—and from his to the next on his left, and so on to the swamp—designating, the Precise spot occupied by each corps, the 32 lb. Batery was the left of the 44th and the right of Genl. Carrols Brigade, and the 9½ Inch howit[zer] was placed to defend the mergin of the swamp. I wish this done exactly, and the distance from the river to the half moon in the breastworks which was covered by the left of Genl carrols division stated precisely, and have it forwarded to me as early as possible. be pleased to ask Major Davasac whether the miniature was got and handed commodore Patterson—whether he has recd my letter with the money inclosed for this purpose. I am verry anxious that you should be on with me at the city.

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take this public mode of warning the citizens of the United States from entering their territory or communicating directly or indirectly with the Creek people, they also request that you will understand their territory to be as they stood in the year 1811, in my absence. I have directed First Lieutenant William Hambly the Head interpreter to communicate with you on any point relative to the Creeks, and I have given him my most positive orders, that he shall at all times do his best to keep peace and good neighborhood between the Creeks and your citizens."

"Part of the 9th Article of the treaty of peace between His Britannic majesty and the United States relative to the Indians who have been in alliance with Great Britain, and in hostility with the united states:

"The United States of America engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or Nations of Indians with whom they may be at War at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively all the possessions, rights and priviledges which they may have enjoyed, or been entitled to in 1811 previouly to such hostilities provided always that such tribes or Nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

"We the Undersigned Chiefs of the Muscogee Nation declared by his Britannic Majesty to be a free and independent people, do in the name of the said Nation agree to the annexed 9 art, of the treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, and we do further declare that we have given most strict and positive orders to all our people that they desist from hostilities of every kind, against the Citizens or subjects of the United States"

From Mr Duncans last letter, I did calculate that the report of the trial on the attachment would have been out before this, I would be glad to carry it on with me to the city.[1]

with my best wishes for the health and happiness of you and your family believe me to be verry respectfully,

yr mo. ob. serv.

To Secretary Dallas.[1]

Nashville, June 20, 1815.

Sir, Information having reached me, that rumors was circulated, through the Creek nation that there would be opposition to the running of the lines stipulated by the late treaty—I ordered as I advised you in my last the company of Rangers to proceed without delay to Fort Strother and report to the commissioners[2] as there guard, untill they could be relieved by regular troops. I enclosed to the commissioners at the same

[1] The reference is to Abner L. Duncan, one of Jackson's volunteer aides in New Orleans and a lawyer of great repute. June 23, 1815, Duncan wrote to Jackson as follows: "My last letter, which could not have reached you before the 12th inst. will explain to you and I hope satisfactorily why my answer to the report has been defered. By next mail I hope to be able to furnish such evidence as will place the disgrace of our holy Legislature beyond all doubt. I will address to Nashville and the seat of Govt. I hope our friend Reid may be able to accompany you to Washington and continue one of your suite until you again visit a city that can never forget your service."

The following affidavit by Captain Thomas L. Butler, made in Nashville, May 23, 1815, was evidently taken with the same general purpose:

"Personally appeared before the undersigned a Justice of the peace in and for the Town of Nashville of Thomas L. Butler who deposeth and saith that some time about the first of January last past, whilst he (the deponent) was acting as Aid de Camp to Majr Genl. Jackson and quarted in the city of New Orleans, Mr. Skipwith the Speaker of the Senate of the State of Louissiana came to the Quarters of the deponent, and after entering into conversation with him, enquired whether he (the deponent) had heard Genl. Jackson say, as whether he (the deponent) believed in case he the genl. were compelled to abandon his lines of defence below the City of New Orleans that he (the genl) would rather than yeild the city to the enemy, lay it waste. The deponent replied that he had never conversed with the Genl. on the subject, That he did not know his opinion on the same, nor if he did, would he conceive himself at liberty to divulge it. Mr. Skipwith replied that he had heard such report, but did not himself accredit it. Yet if it were possible that such were the entention of the Genl, he Mr. Skipwith would conceive the State authorities (or Representatives of the poeple) entirely Justifiable in making the best terms they could for the security of the city. This conversation did not at the time make upon the deponent any particular impression. But he has since thought that Mr. Skipwith intended to convey the idea that the Legislature of the state (then in Session) would be Justifiable in making terms with the enemy. Certifed by me Jno Goodrich J Peace"

[1] Copy.

[2] The commissioners first appointed were Gov. John Sevier, of Tennessee, Capt. William Barnet, stationed at Fort Stoddert, and Colonel Kershaw of South Carolina. They had a meeting on the Georgia frontier in June, 1815, at which Governor Sevier was not present. They decided to postpone actual surveying for the time and Colonel Kershaw retired to his plantation in South Carolina, and soon resigned from the commission. His place was taken by Col. Benjamin Hawkins. On September 24 Governor Sevier died near Fort Decatur and Gen. E. P. Gaines was appointed in his place. On September 24 Colonel Hawkins was taken very ill and had to quit the line, and Gen. John Coffee took his place. Barnet and Gaines met the Indians at the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers with a strong body of regular soldiers and were allowed to proceed with the southern part of the line. Coffee did not join them. His work was on the northern boundary of the ceded region.

time an order to the Commanding officer at Fort Hawkins to furnish them with a guard, to protect them whilst running the line from the falls of the cosee Eastwar[d]ly to the Georgia line. last evening I recd. a letter from Major Strother survayor to the commissioners advising me that Colo. Kershaw one of the commissioners had returned home, and that Genl Sevier had not reached Fort Strother, and sugesting apprehensions of opposition. finding by a late order that the 24th and 39 u states Infantry was transferred from the D. of the north to that of the south, and is to form part of the 8th infantry, I immediately ordered that part of those regiments at Mobile to occupy Fort Jackson, and the recruits of the 39th near Knoxville to Fort Deposit. Should opposition shew itself it must be instantly put down, and by concentrating these regts a sudden blow can be struck against any party that may shew a disposition to hostility.

I have urged in my answer to Major Strother the necessity under existing circumstances of progressing with the line the least delay may engender opposition, and conferm a belief that the land is to be restored to the creeks by stipulations in the treaty with great Britain. This is the idea attempted to be impressed upon the minds of the creeks by Major Nicholl,[3] and can only be counteracted by prompt measures on our part and an extention of the boundery line of the treaty. I am fearfull the two remaining commissioners will be tardy in there movements, I have no hesitation in beleiving that it is all important to the tranquility of the south that the line should be run without delay.

Secretary Dallas to Jackson.[1]

Department of War, July 1, 1815.

Sir, Your Letter of the 23d of May, and the printed paper enclosed in it, were submitted to the consideration of the President of the United States, at the time they were received; and you would have been much sooner answered, in conformity to his instructions, if the intention which you announced of visitting Washington, had not induced me to hope for the opportunity of giving, as well as of obtaining, all the necessary ex-

[3] Col. Edward Nicholls wrote from Amelia Island, June 12, 1815, to Col. Benjamin Hawkins as follows: "*Sir:* Having received information that certain American Commissioners are ordered to proceed to the Creek Nation to run the line mentioned in the Capitulation between General Jackson and the few Chiefs that could be collected for that occasion I do in the most solemn manner protest against such line being run as it will be a complete breach of the 9th Article of the treaty of Ostend already sent by me to you. I also beg to remind you of the warning given by the Indian Chiefs through me to your Citizens that they would not suffer an Indian to set foot in the States or an American into their Nation. Consequently if your Citizens break through the laws of a free and independent Nation guaranteed as such by my Sovreign it must be at their peril. I am Sir

"P S. Since writing the letter on the other side it has been told me that a notion Prevails not only among the Americans but the Spanish Citizens; that the Indians are supported by the British government in encourageing the desertion or Stealing or harbouring negroes I can assure you that I have given most positive orders to the contrary and this Day I have again written to Mr. Hamly to explain to the Chiefs the above. I trust Governor Early will put a stop to those robbers who call themselves Patriots for they will be the cause of much mischief if they are not suppressed."

[1] Published in the *National Intelligencer,* Nov. 3, 1828.

planations in a personal interview. Convinced, indeed, of the patriotic motives which actuated your conduct at New-Orleans, the President would willingly abstain from any further remarks upon the subject, were he not apprehensive, that the principle of your example, and the reason of his silence, might be hereafter misunderstood, or misrepresented.

It must be admitted, that the occurrences, stated to you in my letter of the 12th of April, were of a nature to merit the attention of Government, and even to involve the President of the United States (who is bound to take care that the Laws be faithfully executed) in a high constitutional responsibility. It was essential, therefore, that those occurrences should be made known to him: And although it would have been more satisfactory, on every account, if the communication had proceeded directly from yourself, the President can see no cause to censure those public Officers, who, without departing from a just respect for your character and services, have regarded it as a duty, to transmit to him an uncontroverted statement of facts. No secret intelligence has been conveyed, nor has any man appeared as your accuser; and, whatever may be the sources of information, you will not, I am confident, deem it personally offensive, or injurious, that an enquiry should be made into circumstances, which have led to an extraordinary exercise of military authority.

The President has seen with satisfaction, Sir, that your justification of the measures, particularly contemplated, rests exclusively upon the ground of "a necessity, not doubtful, but apparent from the circumstances of the case"; and that when you call them "measures of necessity", you mean measures, "without which the country must have been conquered, and the Constitution lost." The position thus taken is candid and explicit: just, as it respects your own responsibility; and safe, as it respects the liberties of the nation. The military power is clearly defined, and carefully limitted, by the Constitution and laws of the United States; but the experience of the best regulated Governments teaches us, that exigencies may sometimes arise, when (as you have emphatically observed) "constitutional forms must be suspended, for the permanent preservation of constitutional rights." If, therefore, a crisis of that nature existed at New-Orleans, the President could feel no disposition to condemn the measures, that were adopted as indispensable, to rescue the Country, from impending danger; nor does he even deem it material, at this time, to enter into a critical examination of the evidence, which is adduced to prove the existence of the crisis. Some difference of opinion will naturally occur, on such occasions, as to the extent, or the duration, of the alledged necessity; but where no difference of opinion can occur, as to the purity, or the sincerity, of the motive to action; where the exigency was great, and where the triumph has been compleat; the judgment of a responsible and distinguished officer, merits implicit confidence.

But the case of necessity which creates it's own Law, must not be confounded with the ordinary case of military service, prescribed and governed by the established law of the land. In the United States there exists no authority to declare and impose Martial law, beyond the positive sanction of the Acts of Congress. To enforce the discipline and to ensure the

safety, of his garrison, or his camp, an American Commander possesses indeed, high and necessary powers; but all his powers are compatible with the rights of the citizens, and the independence of the judicial authority. If, therefore, he undertake to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus, to restrain the liberty of the Press, to inflict military punishments, upon citizens who are not military men, and generally to supercede the functions of the civil Magistrate, he may be justified by the law of necessity, while he has the merit of saving his country, but he cannot resort to the established law of the land, for the means of vindication.

Having thus briefly stated the President's general view of this interesting subject, I renew with pleasure the assurances of his confidence and esteem. Indeed, you have found in his late Acts, relative to the military peace establishment, the best proofs of respect for your character, and of his recognition of your services.

I am, very respectfully Sir,

To Secretary Dallas.[1]

Nashville, July 11, 1815.

Sir, Agreeably to your request, made sometime since, I herewith send you, by Mr. Wood my miniature likeness taken by Mr. West; which tho not very correct in the *painting,* may be sufficiently so in the *outlines,* to answer the purpose for which it is wanted. Mr. West's bill is enclosed [2]

I have the honor etc

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins to Jackson.

Creek Agency, July 17, 1815.

. . . . Capn. Barnett instead of applying to the Chiefs through their agent addressed from F. Stoddert a letter direct to the Big Warrior, inviting his attendance. He answered, he knew him not, and would not go one step. The Chiefs addressed me thro Mr. Limbaugh "to know why we had changed our mode of transacting business with them? It had been customary among them when their treaties were ratified by the white people to notify them of it, to furnish them a copy, which they examined and ratified at Cowetaw or Tookaubatche [1] the only place where their national affairs were transacted and where they took such order as their frontier duty required. This treaty called Jacksons which took almost the whole of the lands of the hostiles, and a very large part of

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 90.

[2] William Edward West, of Philadelphia (?). The miniature was desired by the secretary for a medal which Congress had ordered. During the first months after the victory at New Orleans Jackson received many similar testimonials of public esteem. State legislatures passed resolutions and sometimes voted more solid gifts. When he travelled he was received with dinners and addresses in the towns along the way. He suddenly became the most popular man in the country. The miniature to which this letter refers was sent to Joseph Hopkinson, president of the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts, in order to have the medal made. See Geo. Graham, chief clerk of the War Department, to Joseph Hopkinson, Aug. 22, 1815; Graham to Jackson, Nov. 25, 1816; Graham to Hopkinson, Nov. 25, 1816; and Hopkinson to Graham, Dec. 9, 1816.

[1] Coweta, or Kawita, was the town in which the Lower Creeks transacted national business, Tukabatchee that in which the Upper Creek's met for the same purpose.

that belonging to the Indians who had always been friendly to the United States was made different from all other treaties; It had but one side to it, The side belonging to the friendly Indians was loped off; and the whole to be concluded without their participation in it."

I am very respectfully

Did you receive my letter of the 27 feby from the confluence of Flint and Chattohoche?

To Colonel Benjamin Hawkins.[1]

Nashville, August 14, 1815.

Sir, Your letter of the 17th ult with its enclosures reached me last evening.

Nothing ever surpassed or equaled the bare-faced effrontery of Col. Nichol. If he returns, as he has promised, he must be apprehended, and treated by the Indians as they treated Bowles[2] whom he resembles in his vices without seeming to possess any of his heroeism. By the time the gentleman returns I trust Genl. Gaines will be in a condition to pay him that attention which h[i]s rank and pretensions will merit.

The Creek line *must* be run, and with as little delay as possible. A few of the Cheifs, would, I should suppose be sufficient to accompany the Commissioners and point out to them the boundaries which seperate them from their neighbours. Should the line, as designated by them, be found to interfere with the claims of other Tribes, evidence on the subject may be received and decided on by the commissioners.

There appears to be a great misunderstanding between the Cherokees and Creeks in respect to their boundary on the West side Of the Coosa. This I was apprised of before the Treaty, and for that reason invited down Col Meigs and the Cherokee Cheifs while that measure was in agitation in order if possible that a perfect understanding on the subject might be established between them. This, you will recollect, could not then be effected; and after some hot blood between Col Brown and Maj McIntosh an agreement of some sort was entered into, in writing, by some of the Cherokee and Creek Cheifs which we were Called upon to witness. A Copy of that agreement you probably have in your possession, or if you have not will be able to procure, if it shall be thought of any consequence.

From the talk delivered by the Creek Cheifs to the Commissioners at Ft Strother it seems they maintain with great earnestness that they *loaned* the Cherokees the land to which they now lay claim bounded by a line runing from the mouth of Highwassee river over to the Coosa, down that river to the mouth of Hullucka Creek (now Will's Creek) and thence up Hullucka and across to the mouth of Poughchijah Creek of Tennessee river, (near which Ft Deposit is situated) at a time when, as they

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 109.

[2] William Augustus Bowles, Loyalist adventurer, acquired much influence among the Creeks and Cherokees, was captured by the Spaniards in 1792, attempted to build up a quasi-independent state among the Indians toward the end of that century, but in 1804 was betrayed by the Indians to the Spaniards, and died in captivity the next year. As to Nicholls's position, see his letter of Apr. 2, quoted on p. 208, n. 1, *ante*.

say the cherokees had become crazy and lost a great part of theirs, by going to War with the Whites. Whether their statement be correct may be ascertained by the recollection of some of the old cheifs and of the Boot who is said to have acted as Interpreter when the loan was made; and if, on the proper examination their representation shall be found true the commissioners will have no hesitation in runing the line, in conformity thereto, to the Tennessee, down that river to the Chickesaw line, with *that* to the Tombigby, and down the Tombigby (being the boundary with the choctaws) to the line of the Territory. . . . .[3]

To Samuel Smith.[1]

[Nashville, August, 1815]

Sir. I take the liberty to enclose you Proposals by Majr John Reid of the U. States' army for publishing by subscription a "history of the late campaign in the South", and to ask your patronage to this work. The opportunities he has enjoyed, give him decided advantages for such an undertaking over any other person who may be expected to engage in it. The satisfaction you will feel in being useful to merit, will, I doubt not, sufficiently repay you for presenting the proposals to the public, and contributing any facilities in your power to the subscription.

I have etc etc

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Carlisle, Pa., September 20, 1815.

My Dear General, I have already forwarded subscription papers for our friends work, from this point, to the South as far as *Savannah*, and to the North, as far as *New-York, both places included.* I am now endeavouring to find out some correspondents in the Northern and Eastern States. At all events I must send a set of proposals, to one of the chief Cities in the States of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont. You are the favorite General in the *New-England* States, and you are certainly looked upon as the saviour of the Southern Country. . . . .[1]

[3] For a fuller statement of this point see *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs,* II. 104.

[1] Apparently addressed to Samuel Harrison Smith, editor of the *National Intelligencer.* This letter, without date, was probably written about the time Reid was distributing his proposals, that is, in August, 1815, as appears by Col. A. P. Hayne to Jackson, Sept. 16, 1815. This and several other letters show how much interest Jackson took in Reid's book. To Colonel Hayne, who went North just after the battle of New Orleans, was entrusted the task of finding a publisher and, Sept. 16, 1815, he wrote as follows from Carlisle: "I assure you I will leave nothing undone to Aid our friend Major Reid. I shall circulate the subscription papers as far North as I am able. Indeed I feel as strong an interest in this Work, as if I was the Author myself. Philadelphia would be the spot for its publication. The first impression, is defined by the Booksellers to be 750 Copies and 250 Copies out of every 750, would pay for the expenses of this work; (and *not* the amount of 250 Copies in *money,* which at $4 pr. volume would be $1000, *but* simply 250 Copies *of the Work.*) *or* $1. pr. volume, in boards, as *far* as 750, and as you increase the number of Copies, the prices would of course become less. This is the rate for an octavo volume of 400 pages."

[1] Colonel Hayne's brother, Robert Y. Hayne, wrote Major Reid from Charleston, Oct. 15, 1815, that he had appointed an agent in that city and said that one hundred subscribers had been obtained already and five hundred might be put down as the number to be expected from the state.

Jackson's Talk to the Creeks.[1]

Nashville, September 4, 1815.

Friends and Brothers. You know me to be your friend, you remember when your nation listened to the advice of bad men, and became crasy by the prophcies of your, wicked prophets raised by the machinations of Great Britain and spain, By the order of your father the President of the united states I marched an army into your nation to protect those who remembered his talk, and held him fast by the hand in friendship.

Friends and Brothers. You remember I destroyed your enemies, put those wicked prophets to death and to flight, and by the Capitulation and Treaty at Fort Jackson gave peace to your nation.

Friends and Brothers listen, a few wicked and bad men who saved them selves by flight flew to Pensacola trusting to the Govenors promised protection and boasted strength and Joined his standard and that of the British. Listen, I told them and told you that the army of Spain and Britain could not protect those fugitives from the arm of our Vengence

Brothers Listen, I told you I would follow those bad men into the Town of Pensacola, and destroy them, and their allies the British, and all those that attempted to protect them.

Brothers Listen did I not tell you the truth, did I not enter Pensacola, and at my approach did not Colo Nicholls and Capt Woodbine like cowards fly to their shippings and leave the Indians to perish or save them selves by flight. *Listen,* many of them did perish and were led away Captives in view of the British fleet from the Town of Penesacola, and who was afraid, to put foot on land to save the Indians from destruction, knowing they, them selves would be destroyed.

Brothers Listen, did I not send my men and warriours through all their Country Took and destroyed upwards of two hundred of the Hostile Indians and did the British dare to land any men to protect them. Listen, did not the British after exciting them to war, after promising them protection flee like cowards and leave the Indians to perish, and is there any of your nation after all this so crasy as to Listen to their wicked talks again.

Friends and Brothers I hear with sorrow that some of your people has been listening to the wicked Talks of Colo Nicholls again, and that he has directed you to oppose the running of the line agreeable to the Treaty of Fort Jackson.

Brothers Listen, did I not feed you by the orders of your father the President of the U. States and save you and your nation from starving, have I not by the orders of your father the President sent goods into the nation, to cloath you and your naked woman and children.

Brothers Listen did I ever tell you a lie. Listen I now tell you that line must and will be run, and the least opposition brings down instant destruction on the heads of the opposers. Brothers Listen, My men are

[1] Copy. This "Talk" was sent to the Creeks. The copy is in the handwriting of Capt. J. M. Glassell, Jackson's secretary at the time.

ready to crush all the enemies of the U. States—there four listen not to the lying Talks of Colo Nicholls he has once led part of your nation to destruction—he has promised them protection, and when ever they are attacked, he will again fly and save himself, and leave them to be destroyed. Brothers Listen If you attend to the lying talk of Colo Nicholls you will bring down upon you innevitable ruin. Brothers Listen hold your father the Presidents talk fast, he is your friend, he never tells you lies, he can and will protect you.

Friends and Brothers I send you a true Talk you know I have never deceived or told you lies, and I now tell you if [you] listen to bad Talks of wicked men such as Nicholls you will bring immediate destruction on your selves—the line will be run I have ordered my men to be ready, all opposition to runing the line will be put down.

Friends and Brothers. Justice will be done by the President of the, U, States to all his red children, he will protect his friends and punish his enemies. Listen, the eyes and ears of your father the President is always open to your Just complaints—he will hear and redress them. But the moment you listen to wicked men, lay aside his talk, become the enemy of the U. States my warriours will be in the midst of you to protect our friends and destroy our enemies.

Friends and Brothers, I have heard your talks through your friend Capt Hutchings who is also my friend, and answer that the Prisoners will be restored that is in the hands of the Chocktaws and Cherokees and Chickesaws, as soon as your nation is able to feede them and a written request is forwarded by the Chiefs of your nation in council for them. I am your friend and Brother.

Major-General William Carroll to Jackson.

Nashville, October 4, 1815.

During my late absence I had the pleasure of seeing many of the leeding characters of the States of K.y OHio and Penna, most of whom are solicitous that you should become a candidate for the next President. I was asked by many whether you would permit your name to be used or not but never having heard any thing from your self on the subject I was unable to give any answer. Mr. Baldwin [1] of Pitts.g a Lawyer of profound talents and great respectability is your friend, and is very solicitous on the subject; he informed me that he had no doubt of your success; that he had heard from many of the Eastern States who were favorably disposed towards you. When you have determined on the subject, I should (if consistent) be glad to know your vews.

Mr. Ross of Pitts.g,[2] a Lawyer of eminent Talents with whom you are no doubt acquainted, as I was informed, is highly displeased at the

[1] Henry Baldwin, whom Jackson appointed a justice of the Supreme Court in 1830. This letter, and Colonel Hynes's of Oct. 24 and Colonel Butler's of Nov. 7 (*post*) indicate that the sentiment of Jackson for President was strong in some sections of the country. Under these circumstances there may well have been truth in the rumor that some politicians wished to discredit him by making his treatment of Judge Hall the subject of impeachment proceedings.

[2] James Ross, U. S. senator 1794-1803.

conduct of Judge Hall against you. He will be at Washington city this winter and would no doubt engage against the Judge, should you have determined to impeach him. The citizens of Pitts.g are extreamly anxious that you should return that way; that an opportunity may be afforded them of expressing their gratitude to you for the signal services you have rendered your country.

Colonel Andrew Hynes to Jackson.

Nashville, October 24, 1815.

Dear Genl. I have but a few days since returned from Kentucky, and while there I heard your name often mentioned most respectfully, yet there are some who still pretend to be dissatisfied, because the same meed of praise was not bestowed on the Kentuckians as was on the Troops of Tennessee. The portion of the discontented are so small that they form but a few black specks in the mass of the people. I was in lexington when the Honl. Henry Clay arrived. There was great Joy manifested on the occasion. His return [1] was greeted by the most kindly welcome.

On my return, I stayed all night at Genl Adair's and he really appears very well disposed towards you. He spoke of you in an anxious manner, and said that he had but little doubt with the proper management of your friends, that you might be elevated to the highest Office in the American Government. I do not know your sentiments or disposition on the occasion, and I know your delicacy will not permit you to speak or write about it, yet if the people of the united states should wish it you no doubt will acquiesc. Not only Genl adair, but many others of Kentucky are anxious for your elevation among whom are many of my friends at Bardstown. Yet I am sorry to say that the Representative from that place Mr. Benja. Hardin possesses such a cynical turn that he delights to find fault with every body. You may however get acquainted with him, and a few social Jokes or a little familiar conversation will make him very friendly.

I Recd. not long since the enclosed letter from Mr. Fletcher. It is confidential, and the information therein contained you can use as you think proper. So soon as Mr. Worsley's [2] disposition towards you is ascertained, perhaps some of your friends in this quarter may furnish the Reporter something on the above subject, which shall be published as coming from a citizen of Kenty.

Whatever may be the present sentiments of the people of America, I will venture to pronounce they will be entirely swayed by the nomination of the caucus of members of congress at washington and the broad field of Elective prerogative will be reduced down to the capricious opinions of a few men. I hope you will give a hearty response to all the kind attentions which may be paid you by members of congress. Altho' they may not be great men, yet they have power in the Nation.

[1] From Ghent.

[2] One of the editors of the Lexington *Reporter*. See Worsley and Smith to Jackson, March 22, 1817, *post*, where it appears that the editors were strongly opposed to Jackson's views of the conduct of the Kentucky troops at New Orleans.

I have many friends in Balto. and Phila. and I have understood several of them are of the same sentiments of Mr. Carswell, but not having seen them personally for about two years I can hardly know their dispositions Will you be good enough to call on those gentlemen Macdonald and Ridgeley and Luke Turman and Co (eminent Merchants) to whom the enclosed letters are addressed and let yourself be known to them. They are my particular friends; and they are popular merchants.

Should Mrs. Jackson be willing to spend a retired hour in the company of a plain quaker woman, whom she will find an affectionate friend I hope she will call on Mrs. Catherine Smith, and for that purpose I have given you a letter to her husband Matthew Smith. I only mention those two last as displaying the greatest simplicity of manners, which you may contrast with the gay extravagance which will surround you at other places. They are not considered among the fashionables, and as the Rich and the gay will be emulous to entertain you, you may not be doing right to mingle with the humble. Permit me to remark that Mr. Turman is a catholick and has great weight among that people and by his wealth and sterling Integrity is universally esteemed. Macdonald and Ridgeley are popular with the Irish and have long been and are now the most particular friends of Majr. Jas Smiley of Bardstown.

I will probably have it in my power to pay you and Mrs. Jackson a visit during your tour in the north this winter.

I am respectfully

Jackson's Visit to Mount Vernon.[1]

Washington, November, 1815.

It is now night, and I am just returned from a visit to Mount Vernon, a spot rendered sacred by the residence of its former owner. Judge Washington was, unfortunately, not at home; but from Mr. Custis and the rest of the family, we received the utmost hospitality and kindness.

The scite is really a delightful one. By a gentle ascent you reach the summit of an eminence which commands, on the one side, an extensive country prospect, and overlooks, on the other, the majestic Potwamac on the smooth bosom of which vessels of various descriptions are seen perpetually gliding. On *that*, stands the venerable dwelling of the patriarch of our Liberties, corresponding in its style, with the plain and simple taste of him who planned it. A neat little flower garden, laid out and trimed with the utmost exactness, ornamented with green and hot houses

[1] Handwriting of Maj. John Reid but indorsed in Jackson's handwriting, "A Jackson Visit to Mount Vernon". Jackson and Reid were in Washington from Nov. 17 until Dec. 24, 1815. He probably visited Mount Vernon soon after his arrival at the capital. The paper is filed in Jackson MSS., vol. 118, p. 117.

The occasion of Jackson's visit to Washington was the report, communicated by the Secretary of War, that some members of Congress spoke of impeaching him for his treatment of Judge Hall. The information made a strong impression on his mind and accompanied by Mrs. Jackson and Major Reid he set out at once for the capital to confront his accusers. Arrived there he found the administration on his side; and public opinion was so much in his favor that his critics did not dare to go on with their charges. See Jackson to Isaac L. Baker, Sept. 12, 1815.

in which flourish the most beautiful of the Tropical plants affords a happy relief to the solemn impressions produced by a view of the antique structure it adjoins, and leads you insensibly into the most delightful reverie, in which you reveiw in imagination the manner in which the greatest and the best of men after the most busy and eventful life, retired into privacy and amused the evening of his days. Indeed, every thing you behold derives a thousandfold interest from its association with the memory of its venerable projector. All the splendor of the most elegant architecture and the most fanciful decorations can produce no such impressions.

From the Garden I went to visit a spot in which no enlivening scarcely a consoling emotion could find a place in my bosom. In a small vault at the foot of the hill, overgrown with Cedar, repose the bones of the father of his country. Why is this so! must the charge of ingratitude forever rest upon Republicks? It is now several sessions since Congress solicited the remains of him whose whole life was devoted to his country's service, in order that some suitable testimonial of a nation's respect might be shewn them. The venerable widow who cherished them as the most precious relict, sacraficed her individual feelings to a nation's wishes, and granted the request. Since then, as though the apparently warm interest they displayed had been a studied mockery, those remains have been permitted to moulder in the "dark, narrow cell" where they were at first deposited. I perceive that the whole family are mortified and hurt at it; not that they wish any splendid national mausoleum to preserve the remains of one who is entombed in their hearts; but that having surrendered their right to them, they have no longer any power

Colonel Anthony Butler[1] to Jackson.

Clarksville, Tenn., November 7, 1815.

My dear General, Upon my arrival at Russelville I met with your letter in reply to mine written you from Limestone: I regret it was not in my power to have seen you before you left home; the subject I wished to converse upon was no less important—than who should be the next Presidt? On my way through Pennsylvania and Virginia I had numerous conversations with persons of the first consideration both for their talents and their standing in the Community, and I found a strong disposition manifested to run your Name for the Presidency. In those conversations some of which were held with Members of Congress, I heard no dissenting voice; to communicate these facts, was one object of the interview requested, And one other object, (and not the least important with me) was to use whatever influence I could have with you to induce you to stand a candidate if solicited to do so whilst you were at Washington City. Upon this subject I have no doubt that I entertain and indulge that interest with a sincere regard for the individual concerned will always excite in an ardent and honest mind, and that under such circumstances the partialities of private friendship have their weight: Yet I am equally

[1] See vol. I., p. 207, note.

certain that the paramount motive in this case is my Country's welfare to which all other considerations will be made to yield when an object so important shall engage my attention.

Our Country for some time past as you know, has been unfortunately under the dominion of Men who altho' extremely well fitted for the calm of Peace were illy calculated to guide the affairs of the Nation in War. The War we have just concluded, has to be sure by a fortunate *tho' late selection* of leaders terminated honorably and gloriously for our Arms, yet the conduct of that War taken as a whole, proves most strikingly the Proposition I laid down, of the unfitness to rule us in time of War, either by providing means, or an Independent selection of instruments best calculated to secure success, and cover the Nation with Glory. The state of affairs in Europe call upon us to be prepared for every emergency, and requires most especially that a Man should be placed at the head of our Government, whose firmness and Judgment in deciding on measures, and whose boldness in execution, would unite the Nation around him: Every man in the U. S. looks to you as this Individual, and whatever might be your private wishes on this subject you would owe it to your Country as a Patriot, not to refuse the station if offered to you: I have written you upon this Topic lest my Journey to the City should be so long delayed as to prevent me from offering the suggestions of my mind, untill the time was past: I feel no doubt that the affair will be mentioned to you very shortly after your arrival, and if it be I pray you in the name of our Country pause and weigh well the subject before you refuse the tender.[2]

. . . .

To the Secretary of War (William H. Crawford).[1]

Washington, December 7, 1815.

Sir: When I entered Pensacola in the month of Nov. 1814 a battery in the main street mounted with two French fours, was opened upon my column, which was immediately charged and carryed. These peices it is beleived were landed by the British and were British property: the Spaniards have never claimed them. Having good carriages they were conveyed to Mobile where they remained until the restoration of peace, when the officer commanding at that post (Col Wm P. Anderson) was directed to have them with their equipments forwarded to Nashville with the discharged militia. The Col. dismounted them and sent only the barrels

The threatened hostility of the Indians on the Mississippi induced me to have them remounted and made ready for the feild—the expence attending which amonting to $258. has been paid out of the public funds, under the beleif that they had become the property of the U States. On this subject, the circumstances of which are thus laid before you, I wish some order to be taken. If the government cannot consider them as the property

[2] In Jackson's handwriting is this indorsement: "The recpt. to be acknde. and the contents will be duly considered."

[1] Copy. Wm. H. Crawford was confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of War on Mar. 3, 1815, but his commission did not issue until Aug. 1 and he entered on the duties of the office on Aug. 8, 1815. A. J. Dallas acted in the interim.

of the nation and shall refuse to receive them, the expence of remounting them must be charged to me and the guns remain at my own disposition.

Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson.

Augusta, Ga., December 12, 1815.

General, I have the honor to inform you that I have completed that part of the Indian Boundary Line runing due east from the Chattahouchie river.[1]

This Line intersects the old Indian Line two and a half miles south of the Altamaha, near the mouth of Goose creek.

distance from Chattahouchie..... 184 miles
" from Flint river..... 124 "

Leaving a narrow stripe of land between the Line and the River, of 60 miles in length and little more than 10 miles wide.

Colonel Hawkins [2] and Colonel Barnet being both sick, and having been thereby compelled to quit the line, I have sent to General Coffee the commission forwarded to me for him, and, without much additional expense of subsisting and transporting troops in the wilderness, I hope to have it in my power soon to inform you that the whole of the line is completed.

I have the honor to be

To Secretary Crawford.[1]

Washington, December 17, 1815.

. . . . So soon as the running of the Indian-line will allow it, a chain of posts, should, I am persuaded, be extended from Mobile to the Georgia line. One of which should be at the point, where the E. Florida line crosses the Escambia—another where it crosses the Chactawhatchee—and a third where it crosses the Apalachicola. I suggest these now, as the best sites, which my knowledge of the country enables me to point out; but it is not impossible, when the country comes to be better explored, more eligible positions may be discovered.

This Chain, however, I doubt not, will be sufficient for our present views, by preventing the operation of foreign influence upon the Natives, and by offering a strong inducement for the speedy settlement of that section of the country by our own Citizens, both of which I conceive to be considerations deserving the most serious attention of the Government.

As closely connected with the defence of the most important part of my Division I must take this occassion to recommend the propriety of

[1] Dec. 1, 1815, Colonel Hawkins wrote to Jackson as follows: "The Indians assembled at the confluence of Flint and Chattohocha with the view of ascertaining their strength and trying ours. but from the importunity of the friendly Indians and prudential motives finding us nearly 800 strong, they agreed the line might go on, and they would not molest us declaring at the same time, an attempt to run out and settle the lands should be resisted with all their force."

[2] Colonel Hawkins was taken ill September 24 and seems to have taken no part in the actual running of the line.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 159.

facilitating the intercourse with that district of country which on any great emergency, must supply the means for this defence. A road leading from Nashville (which is the proper point it should commence at) to New Orleans, may be conducted over much better ground than that which is at present travelled, with a saving of more than 300 miles. A passage thus shortening the distance for the transportation as well of supplies as of men from that country, which, on such an occassion, must furnish both, may be of incalculable consequence in our future operations; Let me add also as a consideration Deserving great weight, that this road will scarcely touch upon land to which the Indian title has not been extinguished. The designation, however, of this road, should be entrusted only to some one in whose honor and honesty the Government has the highest confidence. The opening of it may be of very little expence. I am etc etc etc

To Colonel Robert Butler.

Private

"Linchburgh V." December 31, 1815.

D'r Sir: We left the city on the 24th and reached this place this evening. We have experienced a few days of bad weather—the ground covered with snow. tomorrow we move on for Nashville, where we will arive as early as our horses and the season will permit, our horses are thin and the depth of snow, is very fatigueing to them. I hope to reach you by the 25 or 30th proximo. I shall not attempt, to give you a detailed account of the passing scenes at washington suffice it for the present to observe, that I had the pleasure of seeing all the great men at the city, was friendly greeted by all, and was obliged to flee the profered hospitality of the surrounding cities to restore my health and preserve life. I therefore am retracing my steps to avoid the various pressing invitations. Before I reach you the fate of the bill enlarging the staff of the peace Establishment will be known. on the event of it passing you will be continued in your present appointment. If not, I have the promise of the Sec of war that you shall have an appointment in the line you will observe there is one vacancy not filled. . . . .

. . . . I wish you to say to my overseer, that I am on my return, and will expect that my houses will be prepared in such a way as will prevent the no[r]thern blast from entering. Say further to him, to have as much hemp broke as will make a sufficient quan[ti]ty of Bailing to Bale my cotton and set the wenches to spin it. Give our compliments to Miss Jane Caffery and say to her that we will want something good to eat and drink on our arival, and to Dunwodie to have my young horses in good order, as I shall want as many as will carry me to Mobile. I hope my old friend the Duke will be able for the field. I shall want my Cotton for markett on my arival, say to the overseer to have the ginn started.

Make Mrs. J. compliments with my own to the Colo. his lady and family, and to all our relations and friends and for you and yours accept our best wishes.

I am respectfully yr mo. ob. serv.

To Colonel Robert Hays.

n. p. January 2, 1816.[1]

Sir: Mrs. Hays has been nameing to me, her wish to buy Tom and his wife. This I had once named to Mrs. Hays that I Thought they would suit her. When Tom ran away, and from certain things that has been sugested of and about them, and their price etc etc by some branches of the family, I thought it best for the sake of Justice to my own feelings and Justice to Mrs. Hays—that Negroes should be Bot. with the cash that becomes due from Mr Priestly the first day of June next—on that day there will be the ballance of $2000. after deducting $1107. and the interest thereon from the month of Sept. untill the contract with Doctor Priestly was confirmed which will be about Eight hundred and Eighty Dollars or thereabout out of which I did furnish Stockly to redeem Patseys land $25 which will leave a ballance of about $850. or 55 dollars to be laid out in such Negroes as Mrs. Hays may choose to buy. as soon as I return, this money on bond can be appropriated to the purchase of Negroes such as Mrs. Hays chooses to have Bot., and if I have any thing to do in the thing it will be by first shewing the Negro and Mrs. Hays fixing the price. for I find so many lately, advising and commenting on the vallue of property, that I begin to doubt whether I am even competant to Judge for myself. The sale I intended to make to Mrs. Hays I did think would be advantageous to her and the payment would have met all my wishes, but so soon as I learnt, the comments that were made, by some branches of the family, I immediately converted these Negroes to the object of meeting my debts and the money on the first of June shall be religeously held for the appropriation of Mrs. Hays. as soon as I return If any negroes I obtain or have for markett, or can obtain suits Mrs. Hays it will give me pleasure to furnish them to her, and take Doctor Priestlys debt as cash. I only wait for Benj. Prior to set out. I shall return in 20 days yours as usual with respect

Edward Livingston to Jackson.

New Orleans, January 4, 181[6].[1]

Dear General, I am exceedingly sorry to trouble you with requesting an answer to the Enclosed note, as speedily and as fully as your affairs will permit, but the importance of the subject to me must be my Excuse,

Tho I have not had the honor of hearing from you since your Departure for Washington yet your progress has been so distinctly traced by the expression of public gratitude that your friends have not lost sight of you for a moment. At this particular season its voice is not silent here and you would be greatly Affected to hear the differrent modes in which it is Expressed. I dined not long ago at Col. Larondes, where after the health

[1] The date is written "1815", which is evidently an error. Jackson and Mrs. Jackson were now on the road from Washington to Nashville, somewhere in Virginia. Two days earlier they were in Lynchburg.

[1] The year is written "1815".

of our Deliverer. had been Drank with enthusiasm, his Lady informed me that her Children never went to sleep without calling on god to bless their Father and Mother and Genl. Jackson, I am sure Mrs. Jackson will be Delighted with hearing that the name she most loves is thus associated in the Mind of innocence with its tenderest recollections and Earliest Duties, and it is for her use that I record the anecdote. . . . .

Brigadier-General John Coffee to Jackson.

Fort Strother, January 21, 1816.

Dear General, I last wrote you from Nashville when I mentioned, being called on as a Commissioner for the extension of the lines, agreably to the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Through the medium by which my commission was forwarded, I was advised that I would be joined by one of the other Commissions in the whole of the last month, on that part of the line bordering on the Cherokees. I immediately and by the same express advised the Comrs, that I would lose no time in repairing thither, and would certainly meet them as near the day as practicable, as proposed by them, On my arrival here a week ago, and since that time have not heard from them, but immediately on my reaching this post, I started an express to them, advising of my arrival, and a determination to proceed to business.[1] I am aware of the importance and necessity of finishing this business, and as such, have determined to act, alone, if I am not joined by the other Comrs. delay with me at this late day is inadmissable, as yet I have been engaged in collecting the necessary information to enable me to run the line, (as I have no instruction from the information recd. by the other Commrs, during the last eight months.) this day I am to receive a visit from Spoke Hajah, the Mad Wolf, Fife,[2] and some others, which will enable me to decide on the ground over which the line ought to be run. Tomorrow morning I set out to run an experimental line, that will enable the true line to be run, and marked, by which time I expect a return of the express to the other Commrs. and should they decline joining and acting with me immediately, I shall proceed to run and mark the line. Although I do not believe the Original intention, was, for one Comr, to act alone; yet I think it so important that the business be brought to a Close, that the act will be recognised.

Suppose the line will run from the mouth of Canoe Ck. to the upper end of the Chickasaw Island, near George Fields, so as will leave out the cherokee settlements on Thompsons Ck. I incline to believe the lower line will leave the River Ten. below the shoals perhaps at the mouth of Caney spring creek, and run southwardly to the T. Bigby [3] and with it down. . . . .

[1] Feb. 20, 1816, Brigadier-General Gaines wrote to Jackson that he and Colonel Barnett, the other commissioners, arrived at Fort Mitchell on the 17th. They found that the Indians were not disposed to oppose force to the commissioners. At this time Coffee was running the line on the Cherokee side.

[2] Jim Fife was an Upper Creek chief. He supported Jackson with 200 of his warriors at the battle of Emuckfau, Jan. 22, 1814, and rendered efficient aid to Coffee, who was hard pressed.

[3] Tombigbee.

Statement of Creek Chiefs and Head Men.

Fort Strother, January 22, 1816.

The Statement of the undersigned Chiefs and head men of the Creek Nation convened in presence of Genl. John Coffee one of the Commrs. authorised to adjust the line designated by the Treaty of Fort Jackson and all lines connected therewith, Witnesseth That the line between the Cherokee Nation, and that part of the creek Nation ceded to the united states by the aforesaid Treaty, ought of right to begin at the junction of the Estinola, with the Hightowa, and to run from thence to the old Coosada town, on Coosada Island in the Tennessee River, so as to include all the waters of Peach creek, within the Territory ceded to the united states by the Treaty of Fort Jackson, and thence down the Tennessee River to the Chickasaw lands.

The undersigned also state that a number of years ago, when the Cherokees were at war with the white people, part of that Nation was beaten by Genl. Sevier, and driven back, when they applied to the creek nation for lands to live on, which was granted for that purpose by the Creek Nation, who appointed three persons (Viz) Chinnabie, The Dog Warrier, and the Old Lieutenant, who were to lay off the bounds of said lands, so to be loaned to the Cherokee Nation, which were as follows. Beginning at the junction of the Estinola, with the Hightowa, running down the Coosa river with its meanders to the mouth of Wills creek, thence up said creek to the line dividing the lands of the Cherokees, from those of the creeks, so as to include all the lands in the forks of Will,s creek with the Coosa river. The undersigned also state, that the above tract of land was only loaned to the Cherokees, and that the said lands were always considered the property of the creek nation. They also state that any other settlement made by the Cherokee Indians, to the westward of the above described lines, have been made on the Creek lands, without the Consent of the creek nation.

In Testimony whereof the undersigned have in presence of the subscribing witnesses hereunto set their hands, at Fort Strother, on the 22nd, of January 1816

Witness Charles Cassidy
John Hutchings
Zachariah Mangum
Creswell Mc. Donald

James Qualls
Interpretter.

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Philadelphia, January 24, 1816.

. . . . As relating to our mutual friend Major Read and his Book,[1] Judge Cooper and myself are now busily engaged on that subject. We shall

[1] Through Dr. Thomas Cooper the following proposals were made, Jan. 25, 1816, by J. Conrad and Company, of Philadelphia:

"J. Conrad and Co beg leave to offer for Coll Reads book, One Dollar for every Copy printed, say, for an edition of 5000 Copies Five Thousand Dollars, or for an

sift the matter. I shall call at his Father's on my way out, and then give him the result of our joint exertions. If he has Ten Thousand subscribers he must do well. I shall fix myself and family on the Alabama. My mind is made up on this point. I hope to be with you on the 1st March, shall [write] you before I start.

God bless and preserve you is the prayer of your sincere obliged and affectionate friend.

Secretary Crawford to Jackson.[1]

Department of War, January 27, 1816.

Sir, The general and increasing disposition manifested by a numerous body of uninformed or evil disposed persons to violate the laws of the United States, prohibiting the intrusion and settlement upon the public lands, has imposed upon the President the painful duty of removing them by a military force. This duty is confided to you. Immediately after the expiration of the term fixed in the inclosed proclamation, you will, upon the application of the marshal of any state or territory, cause to be removed by military force, all persons who shall be found upon the public lands within your command, and destroy their habitations and improvements. This removal and destruction of houses and improvements must be repeated as often as it shall be necessary to secure the complete execution of the laws upon this subject.

Intrusion upon the lands of the friendly Indian tribes, is not only a violation of the laws, but in direct opposition to the policy of the govern-

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edition of 10000 Ten Thousand Dollars This sum to be paid in approved notes: payable in three and six months after the publication of the book. The extent of the edition to be regulated by the number of subscribers obtained previous to the work going to press.

"J Conrad and Co are to be at the whole expence of publication and are to do all *the business* of it, but as Coll. Read will receive in proportion to the number of copies printed, and as many persons will no doubt, interest themselves in procuring subscribers for the Coll who wd. not do it for his publisher, his exertions are expected in procuring subscribers. If there is a stage from Richmond or Fredericksburg to Lynchburg, If the above proposal is acceded to And if it is desired by Coll Read, J Conrad will wait upon him at New London to concert the best means of extending the sale of the book, and to make a conclusive bargain for the privilege of printing it It is understood that the Copy right is to remain with Coll Read, but a second edition of the book shall not be printed until the first is entirely disposed of."

In sending these proposals to Colonel Hayne Dr. Thomas Cooper said:

"Mr Conrad gave to me as the agent of Major Read the above proposals to which he and his partner Mr Maxwell wd. be bound. He is in the same condition with almost all the booksellers of Philadelphia, not full of funds, but better able than most of them to get out a book of any number of impressions, soon and well. I deal with him, and trust him: to me as an Author he has behaved more fairly and liberally than any other man in the trade I have dealt with. The expence of printing, and binding in the usual sheep-binding an octavo volume of 500 pages, will be 1¼ Dollar for an Impression. I heartily wish Major Read all the success he deserves; and from what I hear, that is saying enough."

[1] War Dept. files. This letter was published in the *Globe* (Washington), semi-weekly, Oct. 23, 1833. Jan. 29, 1816, Crawford wrote that Jackson was authorized to suspend the execution of this order, so far as it related to the counties of Giles and Murray, Tennessee, in order to give Congress time "to pass an act for their relief". In all other cases the President expected the promptest and most perfect execution of the order.

ment towards its savage neighbours. Upon application of any Indian agent, stating that intrusions of this nature have been committed, and are continued, the President requires, that they shall be equally removed, and their houses and improvements destroyed by military force; and that every attempt to return, shall be repressed in the same manner.

I have the honor to be, etc.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

CAMP COFFEE ON TENNESSEE RIVER, February 8, 1816.

Dear Genl, With much pleasure I have just heard of your arrival at home, and hope that you and Mrs. Jackson has performed the fatigues of a laborious Journey and returned in health.

" I arrived here yesterday, after running a line from Camp Wills, with your road to the foot of the mountain beyond Browns, and thence north to the River Ten, when done I said to Dick Brown and his Clan, if they would enter into an agrement with me for a line, that I would run it, from the mouth of Wills creek to Camp Wills, thence to this place so as to include Browns settlement on the Cherokee lands; or otherwise I would report the line already run as the true line; Brown and Thompson is more than willing to make the agt. but are afraid to do it without a Counsel, for which purpose they requested a meeting of their Chiefs with me here today, some have come forward but not yet as many as they wish to do business, I am not certain if they will meet or agree, yet I think they will.

The other line I have thought ought to run down the Ten. River to Caney creek which empties into Ten. about fifteen miles below the Shoals and with it to its head and thence due south to Gains road, and with it to the cotton Gin post, thence down the River Tombigby to the Choctaw line, etc. I have the statement of Chinabie, Spoke Hajah, and all the Cheroke nation to justify the principal part of this line, and if supported I intend running it in that way, am told the Chickasaws and Chocktaws, or perhaps some of their disorderly young men will oppose me, I am not afraid of a body of them coming against me, but think it likely if no guard they may offer insult or at least they would steal our horses, as such would judge it right to have 20 or 30 armed men to accompany me, I can run and mark that line, which will form our whole western boundary in two weeks, and seeing the probable delay that would result from waiting the arrival of regular troops, and their tardy mode of movements I have thought it would be justifiable to call on mounted Volunteers; the service would be so short, and the lines completed so much earlier by such course, that I think the government would be benefited thereby—in the event such can be admitted I have the offer of men at a minutes warning in Madison County. Mr. John M Armstrong has offered to furnish them and supply them at contract price, and as there is no contractors here, presume no injury could arise therefrom.

In my last to you, I mentioned I had not heard from the Commissioners, when or whether they would meet me agreable to their promise when I first recd, the appointment, nor have I as yet heard from them on the

subject, although I have written them twice by express, I have determined to act alone believing it important to finish the business. I never experienced more anxiety than on account of the delay, as I could have compleated the whole lines since here, had they met me, with the information they had obtained, but I had to commence a new, and collect the necessary evidence to enable me to decide on the proper lines. . . . .[1]

To the Governor of South Carolina (David R. Williams).[1]

Nashville, February 9, 1816.

Sir, The resolution of the Legislature of the State of south Carolina, enclosed under cover of your very friendly letter of the 22nd of December last was received by me last mail. The very flattering and kind manner in which that respectable body as well as yourself, has been pleased to speak of my exertions in the late war with Great Britain and her Indian allies, merits and receives a return of my sincere thanks.

The approbation of his country is certainly the richest reward for the exertions, toils, and privations of a soldier and patriot. This approbation so kindly expressed by the unanimous voice of the representation of that state which gave me birth, and to which you as the chief magistrate are pleased to add yours, hightens my gratification on the present occasion, and calls forth the most lively sensations towards a gratefull country.

The situation of our common country at the time alluded to called for the best exertions of myself and brave associates in arms. These exertions were attended with extraordinary success, but no more than may allways be looked for when our cause is Just and heaven is on our side. Whenever the independence of a nation is endangered by foreign invasion " The highest military results ", may be expected from a people who like the brave americans, *will themselves to be free.*

Accept assurances of my sincere respect and Esteem

To William W. Morris.[1]

Nashville, February 9, 1816.

Sir: your letter of the 13th of Decbr last came to hand since my return from the city, requesting my interception for the reappointment of your Nephew Lt. Charles Henry Roberts, Late of the 15th u States Infantry

From the statement of his case in your letter there does appear much severity to have been excercised in his case. an order may be disobayed, and still such deviating circumstances attending it, that if it cannot be Justified may form solid grounds of excuse, and mitigate the sentence of a court martial from the severity of the highest penalty annexed, to that of the lowest. I have always thought it very harsh and severe conduct in a

[1] On the dispute concerning the line on the northern and western sides of the territory acquired from the Creeks by the treaty of Fort Jackson, see William H. Crawford to Jackson, Mar. 8, 1816, note, *post.*

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book I, p. 176. In this, as in various other letters, Jackson spoke of South Carolina as his native state.

[1] Morris was addressed at Ballston, Saratoga Co., N. Y. The letter is in Jackson's handwriting.

superior, to strike from the Rolls an officer without an investigation of his conduct before a court. There are some cases, that this power ought to be exercised, but it is in extreme cases, where this act done is in view of the superior invested with that power; and the conduct highly disreputable and injurious to the service. In the present case so long as men possess honourable feelings, cases may and will arise, where honourable redress must be called for or the officer submitting quietly to the insult is damd. to everlasting infamy, and notwithstanding the practice of duelling ought to be discountenanced, still with military men it will and must be resorted to in extreme cases,

The brave and honourable soldier fights in all cases under this motto—'*death before dishonor*', and he will resign life before he will submit to disgrace. Disgraced he must and will be if he receives an Insult and quietly submits to it, or if he appeals to a court martial he is branded with the Epithet *coward*, and as evidence of the fact, the appeal he has made is adverted to as conclusive proof. I have lost no time in referring your letter to the Honble. sec of war, with such remarks as the case presented to my mind. I am respectfully yr mo. ob. serv.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

February 13, 1816.

Dr Genl, By the express you will receive several official communications. This is private. I was scarcely in town untill the Genl waited upon me, I was surrounded with company, his looks denoted the sensations of his mind, he knew I was advised of his conduct, and I thought I saw that a guilty conscience *needs* no accuser.

Write me where you will be in ten, fifteen and twenty days, I will see you on my rout and I am compelled to wait untill the next Tuesday mail, for dispatches I expect to receive, and for some information of the engineer.

I have said, write to the other commissioners, inform them of the information and your intended rout, have either their unqualified approbation or disapprobation. But do you progress with the line. I have enclosed you an order to have raised 25 mounted gunmen as a guard and I have also enclosed you a letter to Mr J. M. Armstrong. If you have confidence in him (for I have none) send it to him. If not you can raise the men in one day, and any person who is able will furnish the supplies, and notwithstanding I am not legally authorized to call for such a force they will be as punctually paid as any others. go on my Dear General and complete the line and show them that you are as prompt in the cabinet as in the field. But mark one thing we have found that all generals are not confidential men possessing gratitude, and let me repeat have the approbation or disapprobation of the other commissioners, the promptitude with which you have commenced, the delay of others, will create a jealousy in there minds, excuse must be sought for, and censure if possible will be endeavoured to be thrown over the active agent to *screen* the *drone* from blame and punishment.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

Therefore as you have taken upon yourself the responsibility of acting alone, have the whole honor, or the whole blame, or the unanimous approbation of the commissioners. There is but little doubt if promptly applied to they will approve the whole, to participate in the approbation that must accompany your industry. Have either their full approbation or there dissent, you can fully justify your conduct and proceed promptly, finish the line with as little delay as possible. The object of the Gov. is to bring into the market this land and have it populated, and I expect your report of the compleating of the line will reach the war department as soon as that of the commissioners who ran the line to Georgia this will be as it ought to be, and as I have assured the Government. then finish it without delay, and realise the opinion I have assured the Goverment ought always to be entertained of you. I will be with you shortly and run the line agreeable to the best information can have and can obtain. your own judg't is your guide, and proceed thereon and you are right, *Cold water* is in the creek country, the Choctaws has no claim well founded east of Tombigby. By running the line to Tombigby, will leave it open to the choctaws to shew there claim, and combat the proof of the Creeks, This will open the field to justice you are right to persue your line of conduct adopted.

I am yours affectionately

P. S. I write in haste I neither have time to read it over, correct or keep a copy. I wrote you your accounts would easily be settled.

[*Indorsement:*] I have no money I can appropriate to the quartermaster department or commissioners, I have assumed the amount of the expence of your express one dollar 75/100. charge it in your account I shall charge it to yours.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, February 13, 1816.

D'r Gen. yours of the 8th Instant was handed me yesterday by express, and I have detained him untill to day for the Eastern mail, that any letters from the department of war might be sent you, It is with much pleasure I receive the information that you have thus far progressed with the line, and that you may finish it in the shortest possible time have given you authority to raise by voluntary enlistment Twenty five men to Escort you as a guard, you will have them rationed at the contract price and I hope the[y] will be paid, but let it be understood that I am not authorised for this purpose to make the call, but being so necessary will I have no doubt be paid. I have wrote Major George Colbert stating to him the Information I have recd and informing him emphatically, "if any opposition to running the line, any insult, to you or those with you, or any depredations committed, his nation will be held responsible, and immediate punishment will be inflicted upon them. The U, States wants no land but what it has obtained by the cession from the creeks, this she is entitled to and will

[1] The original letter sent is in the Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Collection, Coffee MSS.

have; If any encroachments are made upon them, by producing proof of there having a substantial claim, the President, will afford them redress. Inform them that you are running the line, from the best information you can obtain from the Creek and cherokee chiefs, and will progress with it."

I regret you have no other commissioner with you. But the line must be run, and that agreably to the best information you can obtain, and I hesitate not in saying that you have run the line as favourably to the cherokees, as any information I possess would authorise. Colo. Brown having acted so Brilliant a part with us in the late war, I have no doubt the Goverment will approve your conduct, in making the offset to include him and his claim, provided it puts down all complaints and disputes as it respects our boundery with the cherokees.

You say you will, "run down the Tennessee to Caeney creek which empties itself into the river T. fifteen miles below the shoals", This is the creek first below *cold water,* as I suppose. If so I have no doubt but your information is correct. The Creeks had a strong village on cold water from which their war parties Issued forth and harrassed this country very much on its first settlement, and continued to do so untill it was destroyed by a campaign from this quarter, about the year seventeen hundred and Eighty six, or Early in 87, part of this banditti made there Escape, and with others formed a settlement on the black warrior and continued there depredations on our country, untill they were destroyed by you, in the fall 1814. Any claim set up by the chikesaws, or choctaws to that section of country must be unfounded; The chikesaws, at that time set up no claim; they professed friendship to the whites, and all the murders, and ho[r]se stealing committed upon our citizens, were ascribed to these marauding creeks, who lived on the black warrior, always acknowledged and called creek Territory untill after you destroyed them

every person acquainted with the disposition of an Indian knows they will claim every thing and any thing—you will therefore proceed on the best information you have and can obtain from the chiefs of the Cherokees and Creeks and any other source on which you can rely and finish the line as early as Possible, and make report of it to the Goverment, with the information upon which you acted. Before doing this tho it will be well to lay before the other commissioners, the plan of the line and information upon which you proceeded and obtain there approbation and signature thereto.

I shall set out for the Southwestern section of my Division in a few days, I await the arival only of an engineer, and will fall in with you upon my rout.[2] Genl Gains must be indisposed, and the other commissioner

[2] In January the Secretary of War sent Lieutenant James Gadsden to Jackson to select the sites which should be fortified for the protection of New Orleans, writing to Jackson Jan. 12, 1816, that Gadsden enjoyed the confidence of General Swift, then chief of engineers U. S. A. The lieutenant arrived Feb. 12 and proceeded to the duty assigned to him. May 10, 1816, he reported to Jackson that he was notified by General Swift that he was appointed chief engineer of the New Orleans district. Gadsden became one of Jackson's most loyal supporters until after the Seminole War. They never became enemies, but Gadsden, a South Carolinian, was a warm friend of Calhoun's and, ultimately, a nullifier. As Jackson gradually entered political life and took a course of his own, Gadsden, who had resigned from the army and become a planter in Florida and then in South Carolina, adhered to Calhoun.

unable to attend or they would have Joined you before this. The delay that has taken place in the running of the line is shamefull, you will I hope promptly execute the duty assigned you—write the commissioners from time to time, urge them to Join you, and call upon them for there approbation and advice on the subject of the proposed line, and if they disapprove of the line proposed to be run by you, call upon them for a frank avowal of the same with the reasons for disagreement.. . . .

To George Colbert.

Nashville, February 13, 1816.

Friend and Brother, I have recvd. a letter from Genl. Jno Coffee who is now running the line agreeably to the treaty with the Creek Indians, he has extended it to the Tennessee between the U S. and the cherokees and is about to proceed with it to the chickasaw and choctaw lines: He informs me that your people has threatened to stop him from running the line: He is ordered to proceed and you will notify your people that the line will be run, and if they attempt to oppose it or insult Genl. Coffee or his guard, your people will bring down immediate punishment upon them: Your father the President of the U States wants no land but what belonged to the creek nation; Genl. Coffee is running the line agreeably to what they claim, and the cherokee chiefs tells him the creeks were entitled to, and if he runs upon ground the chickasaws are entitled to upon producing good evidence of their claim, it will be given up to the nation. But you will remember that Cold water was occupied by the Creeks; from that point the Creek warriors committed every kind of rapine and murder on our women and children, untill we destroyed and drove them from there. Those that escaped collected on the Black Warrior and there continued to murder our Citizens and steal our property untill Genl. Coffee drove them from there and burnt there houses: The chickasaws therefore cannot claim Cold water that was so long possessed by our enemies the Creeks and to which they never put up claim untill long after the Creeks were driven from there; I do not know that they now claim it but if they do they must be prepared to shew their right and to account why they suffered our enemies to occupy their ground whilst they were killing our Citizens and stealing our property: I have to repeat, the line will be run by Genl. Coffee and if yr. people attempt to interrupt him you will bring destruction on yourselves; The President I repeat wants not any land that you have a good claim for, and if the line includes any of it he will restore it on your shewing that you are entitled to it. But either insult or opposition to Genl Coffee will meet with prompt and immediate punishment. The President of the U States loves his red children, and will do justice to them; but he will punish his red children when they attempt by force to do wrong

I write you this as your friend and brother and as a fri[e]nd of your nation to save you from involving yourself in trouble. Some bad men has been lately on the road stealing horses—this you must prevent. Our citizens on that road must pass in safety and undisturbed in their property, this will ensure you our friendship; If our property is stolen you must

deliver up the bad men that they may be punished; this will keep us fri[e]nds

I am yr friend and Brother

Major Abram Maury to Jackson.[1]

Poplar Grove, near Franklin, Tenn., February 17, 1816.

Dear General. Your letter of the 9th Inst is now before me—from its contents I entertain the belief that it is your opinion as well as my own that the work begun by our friend can be best finished in the Western Country, and if you think Mr. Levingston will engage in it, I know of no person who could give to it greater celebrity. In addition to the ease and Elegance with which he writes—He was for some time a member of your family, a witness of many of the great scenes to which it must refer. and near to the exhibition of many more, and if you wish to associate with him Mr. Duncan, He also stands high in my estimation, *He did so I know* with our friend. They are where they can with facility obtain information, if it should be wanted; They must have a more correct knowledge of the geography of the country, than a stranger, and freed from many difficulties, which the absence of this knowledge might embarrass others

George Colbert to Jackson.

Colbert's Ferry, March 1, 1816.

friend Brother, This day I have had the pleasure of seeing you letter, with respecting Genl Coffee and runing the line made cession by the Treaty of Fort Jackeson to the United States; and as to Genl Coffees being Appointed as Commissionor to lay of the boundry lines I did not know any thing of it or his being runing the line's untill he came on as far as the Mouth Caney Creek; and there send a few lines to me as express with a letter to our Agent Col. Cocke by one of his men, requesting that I should send the letter on to Col. Cocke without dailey, which I did in a few minites after it being hand to me, since that time to this, last night I have received a massiage from the head men of this Nation, that there is a council call on hand, which I must attend to without fail, however I dont not know what it is for, but Genl Coffee might have orded them to hole a council with him for what I know. and as to stoping or giveing any insult to Genl. Coffee, I dont believe the Chickesaw knowd any thing of his laying of the line however they might have known it but my opinion that they not. If they talk any thing like that un[i]ted states agent as a gride ought to have told them better If there was any of the kind you letter to me will convince them there ignorance and will rejoice at your friendly advice

I am Sir yr friend and Brother with respectfully yr mo Hobl Servt

[1] Major Reid died Jan. 15, 1816, at the house of his brother in Bedford County, Virginia. He was busily engaged writing his book and had completed four chapters when he died. After some efforts were made to find a writer to continue the work it was placed in the hands of Maj. John H. Eaton. Maj. Abram Maury was Major Reid's father-in-law. Reid was a man of ability. His part of the biography of Jackson was well written and gave evidence of good historical powers.

SECRETARY CRAWFORD TO JACKSON.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, March 8, 1816.

Sir, Your letter of the 10th ulto. has been duly received. I presume Lieut. Gadsden has joined you long before this will be received.

Altho there is nothing in the state of our relations with Spain which ought to excite apprehensions of hostilities with that power, I think sound policy requires that a large portion of the troops under your command, should be concentrated in the South Western section of your division. This is the position which ought to be chosen with a view to any change of our relations with Spain, as well as to the employment of the troops in cutting a military road from the most convenient point upon Tennessee river to Mobile and New Orleans. This point is left to your selection. The point intersected by the southern angle of madison County, should be preferred, unless the inequalities of the ground thro' which it would have to be laid out, should render it objectionable. It is presumed that the artillery assigned to the Southern division will be sufficient to occupy the fortifications upon the Atlantic frontier. A regiment, or perhaps three battallions will be necessary to guard the posts upon the Upper Mississippi. This arrangement will enable you to concentrate at least three regiments of infantry, or of infantry and riflemen in the section proposed. You will, however, exercise your own discretion in determining the number of troops which shall be kept up the Mississippi. The employment of the troops in opening military roads, and in constructing fortifications, has been determined upon by the President, after due deliberation. It is believed to be no less necessary to the discipline, health and preservation of the troops, than useful to the public interest. Precise regulations will be adopted as to extra allowances which shall be granted in consideration of their constant employment on works of public utility. Any suggestions which you may think proper to communicate upon this subject will be received with attention.

The Cherokee deputation are now in the city, and feel much indisposed to the execution of the treaty with the Creeks proposed by our Commissioners. An examination of the various conventions which we have held with the Cherokees, will not permit the United States to insist upon the line contended for by our Commissioners. The same obstacle presents itself to the establishment of the Tom Bigby as the Western boundary of the Creek cession. These difficulties will make it necessary to form conventions with the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes. The President is determined to obtain no lands from either of those nations upon principles inconsistent with their ideas of justice and right. The difficulty with the Cherokees will not interfere with the military road from Tennessee to the gulf of Florida, as they propose to admit of any roads which the President shall direct to be opened.[1]

I have the honor to be,

[1] By the treaty of Fort Jackson the United States took the Creek lands west of the Coosa. Jackson, who made the treaty, claimed that the Creeks had owned the land in this region as far north as the Tennessee and as far west as the Tombigbee. It is true that Cherokees occupied a large tract of the land south of the Tennessee,

To Mrs. Jackson.

Judge Toulmans,[1] March 13, 1816.

My Love, I reached this place this morning in good health, will set out for mobile in a few minutes, by water having sent my horses across by land to the mississippi. I shall make but little stay at mobile, will I hope reach Neworleans in ten days where I shall expect to hear from you.

If you see Genl Coffee say to him I was within a few hours of meeting him at the Cotton gin Port. I will write him at the first stage I stop for a day—in the mean time you may say to him, that from all the information I can collect I am still more inclined to believe that the choctaws have no real claim to any lands East of the Tombigby.

Say to my son if he will learn his Book well his sweet papa, will bring him a *pretty* from neworleans, kiss him for me, and say to him I send him my blessing, say to my young friend Lemuel (who I hope has recovered) that I miss him much, and I have regretted that I left him in franklin indisposed without biding him farewell, accept of my prayers for your health untill I return, and believe me to be afectionately yours

Secretary Crawford to Jackson.

Department of War, March 15, 1816.

Sir, It appears from the representations of colonel Hawkins, that the Negroe fort erected during the war, at the junction of the Chatachouchie and Flint rivers, has been strengthened since that period, and is now occupied by between two hundred and fifty and three hundred blacks, who are well armed, clothed and disciplined. Secret practices to inveigle negroes from the frontiers of Georgia, as well as from the Cherokees and Creek nations, are still continued by the negroes, and hostile Creeks. This is a state of things which cannot fail to produce much injury to the neighbouring settlements, and excite irritations which may ultimately endanger the peace of the nation. The President has therefore directed me to instruct you to call the attention of the governor or military com-

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but he held that it had only been lent to them by the Creeks. The Chickasaws and Choctaws claimed much of this region east of their own lands and were not willing to accept the Tombigbee as their eastern boundary. The Cherokees appealed to Washington and secured a treaty, Mar. 22, 1816, by which a strip of land fifty miles wide, from the Coosa to what is now the Mississippi line, was awarded to them. They were also promised $25,500 to pay for damages by Tennessee militia during the recent war, in accordance with a report already made by the Cherokee agents.

This treaty aroused the ire of Tennesseeans and a vigorous protest went to the President from the citizens of Davidson County, Tennessee (*Am. St. Papers, Ind. Aff.*, II. 89). To adjust matters three commissioners were appointed, Jackson, Gen. David Meriwether, of Georgia, and Jesse Franklin, of North Carolina. They made a treaty with the Cherokees, Sept. 14, 1816, at the Chickasaw Council House, and another with the Chickasaws at the same place, Sept. 20, 1816, by which annuities were paid to the Indians and the desired lands ceded to the whites. The Choctaws yielded the desired boundaries in a treaty made by Gen. John Coffee, John Rhea, and Col. John McKee, commissioners, Oct. 24, 1816. Jackson resented bitterly Crawford's unwillingness to carry out the boundary arrangements in the treaty of Fort Jackson in accordance with the ideas of its author.

[1] Near Fort Stoddert. For Judge Toulmin, see p. 9, note 1.

mander of Pensacola to this subject. The principles of good neighbourhood require the interference of the Spanish authority, to put an end to an evil of so serious a nature. Should he decline this interference, it will be incumbent on the Executive to determine what course shall be adopted in relation to this banditti. Should it be determined that the destruction of this fort does not require the sanction of the legislature, measures will be promptly taken for its reduction. From the representations of its strength heavy cannon will be necessary to batter it. It is presumed, that a cooperation of the naval force may be useful, at least, in transporting the battering train.

I have the honor to be,

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Baltimore, March 27, 1816.

Dear General. I have this moment stepped out of the Stage from Washington. I would have written you while there, but I was so much indisposed, that I was induced to postpone it, till my arrival at this place. Since the President of the U. S. has communicated a special message to both Houses of Congress, on the subject of the Donation from the Creek Nation,[1] to yourself and other's, it has progressed no further, and being myself at leisure, and also being persuaded that I could promote your interest in this business by being on the Spot, I repaired to Washington. I had an interview with Mr. Madison, (Mr. Monroe was present) I also saw our Sec.y Mr. Crawford, Governor Holmes and my Carolina friends generally etc. These gentlemen seem well disposed towards you. Mr. Brown is the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Senate, Mr. Robertson, that appointed by the House. These gentlemen both assure me that they are friendly disposed towards the Bill, and that the reason why they have not yet made their Report, is that they fear that a Majority of the Committee are opposed to the Bill. But they have promised me to act promptly and suffer no longer delay to take place. Col. Hawkins and the Interpreters seem to be the great cause of difficulty. Your friends think and with great justice in my mind, that a separation ought to be made between your *Case* and *their's*. As it respects them it might open a

[1] For the facts with respect to the donation, see Jackson to the Secretary of War, August 10, 1814, note 2. The tone of Colonel Hayne's letter indicates that in 1816 Jackson was not averse to accepting the land, if Congress passed an enabling act. As to his motives in Aug., 1814, the following testimony, dated Apr. 16, 1816, from Col. Benjamin Hawkins, who aided him in making the treaty, is of much importance:

"I am just apprised by Mr. Barnett that it is currently reported General Jackson thro' me negotiated the donation of the Indians to him. I declare upon honor, and am willing to add to it the solemnity of an oath, that he never directly or indirectly thro' me or any person within my knowledge, attempted any such thing, and I have reasons to believe, and do believe, the first intimation he ever had of their intention on this subject was from me, in the way reported. He rejected the idea as soon as presented, and I heard no more until the morning that the gift was mentioned and made to him as stated in my report. The foregoing I owe to the General, and if it was true, that I had an agency from myself in producing it, I should not disown it, as from my particular situation I know how much he merited from the friendly Indians, as well as from his country for services, all things considered which have never been excelled."

Door for the Commission of Fraud, as to yourself the reverse is the fact. And *should* the *Committee* Report *against* the *Bill, yet* by *bringging* it before both *Houses* of *Congress, they* may *decide other wise.* I know yr high mind and delicate feelings, and in my conduct I have never for a moment lost sight of them. Mr. Lowndes still thinks the business will have a favorable issue; and will not fail to give it his support, so will Mr. Gaillard. But these gentlemen could do nothing before the Committee had made their Report. Time must soon determine the matter, and I cannot but believe that the Decision of Congress will be such, as not to cause us to Blush for them. But this much I am certain of if you do not succeed this session, you never will succeed at any future period. Services Genl, are soon forgotten. But yrs never can, for you must ever be looked upon as only next to Washington.

While in Washington I had the pleasure to meet with my friend Judge Johnson, of the Supreme U. S. Court and of So. Ca.[2] The Judge made the following Proposition to me and which I promised him to communicate to you and to the Major's Father. He says if the materials which have collected are placed in his hands, *He Will Write The Book, and Present it to Mrs. Reid.* That he will devote the whole of the ensuing Summer, to that employment, and will leave nothing undone on his part, to make it worthy of the occasion and the nation. The Copy Right would sell for at least $3,000, in Philadelphia. And this arrangement you will at once perceive will not cost Mrs. Reid a single cent. The Judge wishes it expressly understood that he does not wish to obtrude his services. I know it would be unpleasant for your private papers to be perused by any one but a friend. I think in the hands of Judge Johnson, they would be safe. Pray let me hear from you on this subject as I wish to write the Judge, as he tells me if he does not engage in this work he wishes to travel the ensuing Summer. . . . .[3]

To Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines.[1]

New Orleans, April 8, 1816.

The growing hostile dispositions of the Indians must be checked by prompt and energetic movements: half peace half war is a state of things which must not exist. The Murderers of Johnston and Mc.glaskey [2] must be had and punished. No retreat must provide an assylum for them. Any town or village affording them protection if refused to be surrendered

[2] William Johnson, associate justice 1804-1834.

[3] When Colonel Hayne learned that the book was to be continued by Major Eaton he wrote to Jackson, Mar. 31, 1816, as follows: "It affords me great pleasure to find that our mutual deceased friend's Book has fallen in such good hands as those of Major Eatons. Of course your main object is to present it to the World in such a shape as will be the means of making it most advantagious in a pecuniary point of view, to the Widow and orphan, children of our Departed friend. Judge Johnson's proposition was predicated on the supposition that *he* was to be the *Author,* and altho' I have a high opinion of Judge Johnson, yet nevertheless I am well convinced that the *Love* of *Literary Fame,* induced him to make the offer. I strongly suspect the Judge would wish, to mould the Book into a "Living Form" himself."

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] They had been killed by Indians near Fort Claiborne early in February, 1816.

when demanded must be destroyed. I regret much that the statement made by a free man of colour respecting the negroe fort and refered to in yours of the 20th february did not accompany your dispatches. I therefore can only repeat that you possess the power of acting on your Discretion, which I hope you will exorcise on this.

If the conduct of these people is such as to encourage the Indian war, if the fort harbours the Negroes of our citizens or friendly Indians living within our Territory, or hold out Inducements to the Slaves of our Citizens to desert from their owner's service, this fort must be destroyed. Under whose authority has this fort been established? Whose subjects do they profess to be? who occupy it? will be necessary enquiries for you to make.

If they profess to be the subjects of a power with whom we are at peace then their acts are acts of war and ought to be made the subject of demand for redress by our government. If they are a Banditti assembled on the Territory of Spain or claim to be the subjects of any other power and are stealing and enticing away our negroes, they ought to be viewed as a band of outlaws—land pirates, and ought to be destroyed. Notify the Governor of Pensacola of your advance into his Territory and for the express purpose of destroying these lawless Banditti

I have very little doubt of the fact that this fort has been established by some villians for the purpose of murder rapine and plunder and that it ought to be blown up regardless of the ground it stands on, and from the facts and knowledge you possess regarding this negroe fort if your mind should have formed the same conclusion, destroy it and restore the stolen negroes and property to their rightful owners. . . . .

Big Warrior to Jackson.

Camp on Ofuckskee, April 16, 1816.

General Jackson, My friend. I am going now to answer your letter.[1] I wish to know whether you want me to search out for those murderers. I thought I had put all that power in General Gaines so far as I was able to do it.

I recollect the treaty at Fort Jackson; I told you your enemy was just over the river, that they were not Completely cowed and that they would be yet killing of us and said let us follow them and kill them. You replied, if you kill them I will kill you, let them alone the war is ended with the Indians. I told you of this, that whenever they quit their towns, and lost their lands, they were like a parcel of wolves, had no homes to go to and would be doing mischief; that they would never return to the friendly party and were like wild people in the woods. You Cannot expect such fellows as those will return to their native Country, nor expect from me to make a search for them.

[1] Nov. 26, 1815, Jackson wrote to General Gaines: "I received a very friendly letter from the Big Warrior of date 28th Ulto. but he is certainly a man of great duplicity."

It appears that I am suspicioned by these murderers coming into their former towns. If it was found out that they Came over the line on our side, our warriors are ready, I would turn them out and put the law in force and see they were punished; But as the murder has been done below the line on your side it is out of my power to do any thing in it. They have never returned to the settlements of the friendly Indians Since they were driven off by General Jackson.

My freind Jackson, I remember, the speech you made at Fort Jackson, that you were going to have a line directly. You told me all the damage done above the line I should be answerable for. That line was to cut me off from all those below the line and from having any Connection with foreign powers or others; you were the only Commander below the line. I recollect what I have here stated and for that reason cannot have any agency below the line. This is all I have to say to my friend and brother General Jackson in answer to his letter.

I have now to speak to him on a subject that concerns us. Since the treaty at Fort Jackson there has been several murders Committed above the line, by Soldiers and by Citizens. One in particular at the Council-house (Tookabatchee). I did not think the murderer would be Carried out of the Country, but would be executed: Instead of that he was taken over the line.

One was killed at ocmulgee ferry and buried on the hill when the regular troops were there. One at the big spring on the west side of Fort Mitchell by the militia and one by a Captain of the Army at Fort Jackson. I think hard about the female killed at Tookabatchee, she was a beloved woman. The officer Commanding the Regiment there, told me the murderer should be confined in irons. In place of that he was seen the other day travelling along the road with his wife. If the Indian murderers were as Completely in my power as this murderer was in yours, you should see what I would have done with them, but as the Case now stands I am sorry for it. This is what I wished you to know had been done above the line, Which I send to my friend General Jackson.[1]

Your friend and brother,

Big B W Warrior

Speaker for Upper Creeks

[1] The following letter from Brigadier-General Gaines to Jackson, Apr. 18, 1816, shows in what attitude the Indians bent before the inevitable:

"I explained to the Indians settled near Summochichoba the object of our movement—to complete the line according to the Treaty, and lay off the land, that our people may buy and settle it, that I brought the pipe of peace for our friends, and for our enemies the *cannon* and *bayonet*. They replied that they were too poor and too weak to oppose us, and therefore had determined to sit still and hold down their heads. The line from chattahoochie to the ofuxche has been corrected and completed.

"Upon the receipt of your letter I sent captain Robertson with an Interpreter to the Big Warrior, with your letter to him; I now enclose his reply. It was taken down by captain Robertson, as he assures me, in the words of the Big Warrior, strictly, as interpreted by James Cornells. The Big Warrior, captain Robertson adds was unusually serious. Reports say the life of this *great Prince* is menaced by his own people."

To John Hutchings.[1]

Mr Richard Butlers, April 22, 1816.

D'r Jack. I am thus far on my return, hope to reach Nashville on the 8th or ninth of May, where it will afford me much pleasure to meet you. I have been making some conditional contracts for land on the coast, and am to see a gentleman on my way to Natchez on the subject of the purchase of a suger estate. on these as well as some other subject I wish to see you as soon as I reach Nashville will you on the receipt of this, be good enough to come down. I am sir yours affectionately

If you see my friend Genl Coffee present my respects to him and say how much pleasure it would afford me to see him. a great speck'l[?][2] is to be made at present in this quarter as well as on the allabama.

To the Commandant of Pensacola (Mauricio de Zuñiga).[1]

Washington, M. T., April 23, 1816.

Sir, I am charged by my government to make known to you that a negro fort erected during our late war with Britain at or near the Junction of the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers has been strengthened since that period and is now occupied by upwards of two hundred and fifty negroes many of whom have been enticed away from the service of their masters—citizens of the United States: all of whom are well clothed and disciplined. Secret practises to inveigle negroes from the citizens of Georgia, as well as from the Cherokee and Creek nations of Indians, are still continued by this Banditti and the Hostile Creeks. This is a state of things which cannot fail to produce much injury to the neighboring settlements, and excite Irritations which eventually may endanger the peace of the Nation; and interrupt that good understanding which so happily exists between our Governments.

The principles of good faith which always ensure good neighborhood between nations require the immediate and prompt interference of the Spanish Authority to destroy or remove from our frontier this Banditti, put an end to an evil of so serious a nature, and return to our citizens and the friendly Indians inhabiting our territory those negroes now in the said fort and which have been stolen and enticed from them. I cannot permit myself to indulge a Belief that the governor of Pensacola or the military commander of that place will hesitate a moment in giving orders for this Banditti to be dispersed and the property of the Citizens of the United States forthwith restored to them, and our friendly Indians: particularly when I reflect that the conduct of this Banditti is such as will not be tolerated by our government, and if not put down by Spanish Authority will compel us in self Defence to destroy them. This communication is entrusted to Capt Amelung of the 1st Regt. U. S. Iy who is charged to

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] Speculation?

[1] War Dept. files. Also with Jackson to Secretary of War, June 15, 1816. The reply of Governor Zuñiga is in the Jackson MSS., dated May 26, 1816. It is quite diffuse; the tone is friendly.

bring back such answer as you may be pleased to make to this letter. In your answer you will be pleased to state whether that fort has been built by the government of Spain and whether those negroes who garrison it are considered as the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, and if not by his catholic Majesty by whom and under whose orders it has been erected.

Captain Ferdinand Amelung to Jackson.

New Orleans, June 4, 1816.

Sir: In obedience to your order received on the 6th May last, I proceeded the next day for Panzacola but owing to adverse winds (having to wait 12 days at the Bay St. Louis) I only arrived at that place on the 24th May I was received and treated with great attention by the governor and his officers, and after receiving his answer to your letter I left there on the 27th and arrived here on the 2d Inst:

I have the honor to transmit herwith the answer of the Governor (which I think embraces all the points touched upon in yr. letter) and also take the liberty to subjoin a translation thereof, as it might happen that no person is near you understanding the spanish Language. I am firmly of opinion that the Governor asserts the truth in his communication, and am convinced that the Inhabitants of Panzacola have suffered and do now suffer more than our Citizens from the existence of the Fort and its Garrison. I also take the Liberty of communicating such intelligence as I have been able to collect from good authority and which might perhaps be of some use.

The Fort in question is situated at Bonavista on the Eastern Bank of the Apalachicola River 15 miles above its mouth and 120 miles East of Panza. The River discharges itself into St. George's Sound and vessels drawing not more than 10 feet water may come in between St. George's and St. Vincent's Islands: the Bar however is dangerous and requires a skillfull pilot.

The fort was constructed by Nichols and Woodbine and the British occasionally resorted thither but on their final evacuation of this country, left it in possession of a Garrison composed of Negroes and Indians with 4 heavy pieces of ordnance and 10,000 wt. of Powder etc. About 20 choctaws, a number of Seminoles and a great number of runaway negroes are supposed to have been there some time ago but a great part of these Brigands have abandoned the Fort on account of scarcity of provisions and have gone to Savannah (alias St. Josephs) River in East Florida,[1] whither they will no doubt all retire in case of an attack by land, as they have a Schooner and several large Boats to make good their retreat, if not intercepted by Sea. From this spot they can easily annoy our Settlements on Flint River and the whole Georgia Frontier, and are in a country, where they can procure subsistence with facility

Panzacola itself is, I can assure you, entirely defenceless; the Garrison consists of from 80 to 100 effective men exclusive of a Batallion of

[1] Apparently the Suwanee is meant. The only river then called St. Joseph, apparently, was one lying much farther south, entering the Gulf at 28° 15′ N.

color'd troops say abt 150 men, of whom the Inhabitants themselves stand in constant dread. They have about 150 serviceable muskets about 500 musket cartridges and not enough Gunpowder to fire a salute; one gun was mounting at Barancas on the day I left there. To this is to be added the dissatisfaction of the Inhabitants and even of a number of the officers of Government and the desire of the majority to see a change effected. I must not forget to present to you on the part of the Governor the thanks of the inhabitants of Panzacola for the examplary and humane conduct of the Army under your command while at Panzacola, and I verily believe their professions to be sincere

The Governor also, on my mentioning in conversation that I was persuaded you would willingly assist in destroying the Fort, said that if the object was sufficiently important to require the presence of General Jackson he would be proud to be commanded by you, and that if the Captain General of Cuba could not furnish him with the necessary means, he might perhaps apply to you for assistance.

Having nothing further to add I remain

Very Respectfully General

To Secretary Crawford.[1]

Nashville, June 10, 1816.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo in answer to mine from New Orleans of the 11th April. I regret that my best exertions to ward the Government from imposition and prevent serious difficulties have proved abortive.

Mine of April was in answer to yours of the 8th of March, announcing the disapprobation of the President to the lines run by the commissioners appointed under the Creek treaty. At that time I had no knowledge of the convention entered into with the Cherokees, and addressed you with a hope that I might prevent a hasty surrender of the country, which, for national security, was all-important to be preserved. On the principle of right and justice, the surrender ought never to have been made. The Government has certainly been imposed on. The convention should not have been ratified, unless we are getting like the nations of old, who, having become so hardened, would not listen to the voice of instruction until brought to repentance by the visitation of some serious calamities.

The treaty of 1806 has been referred to in this convention as a reason for what has been done. I can either not see, or not understand, if, in the clause relied on, there is any thing like a recognition of boundary or title. The United States undertake, and so declare, that they will use their best endeavors that a settlement of the western boundary of the Cherokees shall be agreed on by the Chickasaws; but, even if it had been an absolute acknowledgement of their boundary, (which is not the fact,) let it be recollected that it was altogether an *ex parte* inquiry, to which the Cherokees were, alone present, and could not or ought not to affect

[1] *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs,* II. 110.

the interest or title of adverse claimants, who were not present and not heard. Why the Government should feel a wish to aggrandize the nation at the expense of other tribes, or against the interest of their own citizens, is unknown. In this matter the Indians—I mean the real Indians, the natives of the forest—are little concerned. It is a strategem only acted on by the designing half-breeds and renegade white men who have taken refuge in their country. If the course now adopted by the Government is to be pursued, it is difficult to say what remote period we may calculate on our uniting settlements and giving security to our frontiers: this connetion and security, so important, it was believed, had been secured under the Creek treaty; Georgia, with the Mobile country, and Tennessee were united; the Chickasaws and Choctaws were, under that arrangement, detached from the other tribes, and here security was abtained; the communication between the northern and the southern Indians was cut off by the interposition of the white settlements, and thus an additional security was had; but, in one day, at the city of Washington, without any evidence in support of the right, except what was brought forward by a party deeply interested, and in the absence of all testimony in support of other claimants, is this inquiry taken up, and the surrender made. Can it be right? Either the Creeks had a title, or they had not; if they held under the treaty, it was ceded; if not, it should have been open to investigation, that the certainty of the fact might have been ascertained, and a full adduction of every information that could be had on the subject.

Were I disposed to throw off the military garb and assume the character of a politician, I think it susceptible of argument if the President and Senate have not just as much right in hasty convention to cede away West Florida to Spain as to do what has been done. In the circumstances of the two cases there is a marked resemblance: France cedes the lower country; Spain claims it; the cession makes the title complete; and, if France had any, it estops the President and Senate to give it to any power whatever. The Creek treaty makes the country ceded, beginning where the Cherokee southern line crosses the Coosa, and running, etc.: these lines are, by the treaty, to be ascertained by commissioners hereafter to be appointed. I understand it to be a maxim both of law and reason that what can be rendered certain is already sufficiently special. Though it was not defined where this line would cross the Coosa, yet when the commissioners, the agents of the Government, came to act, it was their duty to call in and act on the best evidence they could procure declarative of this fact: this was done; from that moment the title to the ceded country vested in the United States became a part of its territory, and was beyond the control of the treaty-making power.

Agreeably to the present course adopted, I would ask, when will Indian claims be extinguished on our borders? The title is procured from one tribe, another claims it, and from him also is the extinguishment to be had; effect this, and again another claimant presents himself. On the principles pursued by the Government of so carefully avoiding injustice to these tribes as even to be unjust to themselves, I say it is difficult to fix a time when we may expect a connexion of our territory by the possession of their claims: the assent of all will first be necessary to be had;

and all will require to be extravagantly paid. With the commissioners there was no difficulty in astaining the Cherokee boundary; if their report had been agreed to, all would have been satisfied, except a few designing half-breeds and white men, who have manifested such deep concern on this occasion.

I accord with you perfectly in sentiment that a nation should never acquire advantages, however important, by acts of injustice; and expect you will be equally ready to concede that, for the sake of being over just, that nation should not heap injustice on herself and her own people. Justice and right are concomitant. If a nation has no right to the thing demanded, there can be [no] justice in acceding to the demand; it may be charity to do so; and then I would deny they could practise this Christian virtue at the expense of their own citizens: I deny it to be good policy to buy the friendship of any nation; it costs too much; for it lasts no longer than the price is recollected and continued; and I very much question, too, if it is not of as much importance to preserve the confidence of our own citizens as that of the Cherokee Indians.

The universal clamor is, that injustice has been done, and that the Indians had no title to the lands ceded. Tennessee, I hope, will never disgrace herself by opposing the Government; but when it is recollected that, in open violation of the orders of the United States, in 1794, a campaign was set on foot that broke the hostile spirit of the Cherokees and secured peace, judging of human nature it may be believed that when these people are ordered from the old Creek villages burnt by General Coffee, and which they aided to conquer, they will feel disposed to wreak their vengeance on this tribe. Common report says that these people, who have settled in considerable numbers on this land, are much enraged; that they are perfectly disposed to meet the views of the Government, but cannot accede to the idea of its being taken away to give to a people who have no title, and who have been assailing them from the earliest settlement of the country. Should these people be attempted to be removed, how is it to be done? The militia will not answer for this service; they are not to be relied on for such an undertaking, because their feelings are the same with the settlers. If a regular force be resorted to, that force will require to be kept up, or the situation of these people will be hazardous indeed. When I say the militia will not aid in obtaining a surrender of this land to the Cherokees, I speak in refernce to the discontents, murmurs, and anxieties manifested by all on this subject, from whence the conclusion is fairly to be inferred. Enclosed is a letter from the Governor of the State, which will show you how important the country is considered, and how unrighteous and unjuest the cession is viewed.

You are mistaken in supposing an army can so readily pass this section of country; it could not be passed in two or three days, as you suppose. There is no point on the Tennessee where a road to New Orleans and Natchez will cross that is less than eighty miles from the Creek village, on the Black Warrior, burnt by General Coffee, below which the line is to cross. A road leading through this country will make the distance not less than one hundred miles. The Flat Rock spoken of in the conversation nobody knows anything about, unless it be the southeast

and northeast corner of where the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes claim, which is south of the Cotton Gin Port, on Mobile. Should the Choctaw claim prevail, as the Cherokee has done, the country below will contain a very narrow strip of good land, not sufficient to afford supplies adequate to the support of an army necessary for the defense of the lower country.

I have now done: political discussion is not the province of a military officer. As a man, I am entitled to my opinion, and have given it freely. I have the honor to be, etc.

To Secretary Crawford.

Nashville, [June 13 ?], 1816.[1]

Sir: The inclosed paper was a few days since sent me with this remark, that it was believed, that a copy of it had been laid before the president as an evidence of the cherokee claim, and of the agreement of the creeks, to the cherokee right of Territory to the bounds as ceded in the late convention to the latter, and the evidence on which said surrender of Territory was made by the President of the u states to them, with an intimation that this was the coulouring given the instrument by Colo. Meigs, agent for the cherokee Indians. I hope this is not the fact, I do hope, (and this hope is founded on the high sense I entertained of the truth and candeur of Colo. Meigs) that this is not the fact, but if it should be contrary to that good opinion I had formed of the probity of the Colo. I will have to declare that the Colo. has sinned against light and knowledge by stating that to be true which he knew to be false The latter part of the inclosed instrument, beginning "Be it known etc etc was the only part agreed to by the creek chiefs and as such attested by us. The first part was a paper as I was informed by Colo. Meigs, drafted by him and presented to the creeks, which as he stated they had agreed to sign but when presented refused. The second number is as I suppose a comment made by Colo. Meigs or some other person, of which I have no recollection.

The facts are these, being informed by the creek chiefs at an early period after I reached the point where Ft Strother now stands, that the creek lands extended much higher up than Will' creek, the point shewn me by the cherokee chiefs as I entered the creek country, even as high as the mouth of the high Tower, and along the creek path to the Tennessee where it crossed that river and that the cherokees was settled on land loaned to them by the creeks, as far down Coose as the mouth of Will' creek, when ordered to receive the capitulation of the creeks, and a surrender of as much land as would indemnify the u states for the expence of the creek war, I wrote to Colo Meigs, my wish, that he with the cherokee chiefs, would attend at Ft Jackson and settle there boundery with the creeks, before I concluded a treaty with them. This was impor-

[1] This draft of a letter is without date. It may have been made for the letter of June 13, to which Crawford alludes in his letter to Jackson of July 1, 1816, *post*. It seems to have been written after Jackson's letter to Crawford of June 10, since nothing was said in the letter of June 10 about the paper used to make it appear that the Cherokees owned the disputed lands. The convention with the Cherokees, mentioned in this letter, was made in Washington on Mar. 22, 1816.

tant, in as much as I would otherwise not have a knowledge what bounds would belong to the creeks, and what would be an indemnification to the u states, for the expence of the war.

Colo Meigs and the chiefs attended at Ft Jackson as I was informed by Colo. Meigs and some of the creek chiefs, (for I was not present at any of there conferrences not being invited) they had several meetings, but could come to no agreement, some of the creek chiefs stating to me that the cherokees wanted them to acknowledge their right to lands, now that they were about to cede it, that never belonged to the cherokees, which they would not do, Finding Thus from the information of Colo. Meigs, and some of the creek chiefs, that no agreement as it respected boundery would be entered into, I proceded to close the treaty, with the creeks, leaving it for the commissioners, that would be appointed by the President under the treaty or convention to designate the boundery defined in the treaty, without calling in the treaty for any point that might prejudice either claim.

On the evening of the 9th of august, after much warmth as I had been informed had arisen between the cherokees and creeks, the paper attested was brought by Colo. Meigs to my tent, and requested to be attested by Colo. Hawkins and myself as the only thing that could be done between them at that time, and for the purpose as was declared, to secure the cherokees who might be settled on creek land quiet possession untill these bounderies could be settled, and to prevent them from being subject to creek laws. It did seem to me that there was a wish in some of the cherokees to obtain an acknowledgement from the creeks to Territory that they never had a right or claim to. These are the facts, and if any other representations has been made, if it has been sugested that ever the creeks agreed to any boundery with the cherokees in council, which was attested by me, or that they had agreed to any boundery, and were prevented from signing it by me it is a wilfull and unfounded calumny but be the representation what it may if any, I wish it communicated and by whom made. I cannot for a moment permit myself to believe, that such an uncandid statement, would be made or countenanced by Colo. Meigs

But if made, I care not by whom, it is false and unfounded, and well calculated to have induced the President to enter into this hasty and iniquitous convention, by which the best portion of the lands ceded by the creeks to the amount of five millions of acres as an indemnity for the expence of the war has been surrendered and with it the security of the lower country and our own frontier, and to which as I believe it was well known to all the cherokees and agents that they had no rightfull claim to nor never had, below the mouth of well' creek on the Coose and Thompsons creek on the Tennessee. These were the reasons that induced me to state to you when I was in the city and it was announced that Colo. Meigs and the cherokee chiefs was coming on, that they would put up pretensions to land that they had no right to, and requested that the designation of the points defined in the treaty should be left to the commissioners appointed. I would gurantee ample Justice would be done to all, and a free acquiesence by all to the boundery, thus established, by the commissioners.

I must here state at that time I had no idea that a copy of the paper inclosed would be attempted to be palmed on the Goverment as an evidence of right in the cherokees and consent to that right by the creeks, *I could not* have such an idea; the paper speaks for itself, and expressly declares, that no boundery had been agreed to between them. I hope it has not been attempted, but if it has, and on this evidence the surrender has been made, and such fraud practised on the president as an inducement to enter into the convention, the thing ought to be investigated, and the odium thrown on the shoulders of those who deserve it, and which has been heaped upon the President, and the instrument set aside on the principles of fraud, The evidence of Colo. Hawkins Colo. Butler adjt Genl, Capt Tho.' Butler then my aid of major Howel Tatum and mr Cassedy, will frelly ellucidate this whole transaction.

I sincerely regret the precipitancy with which this convention was closed. The least reflection on a view of the copy of the paper inclosed might have shewn, the polacy of the representation as sugested to have been made, and induced a fair inquiry to have been made, as to the right of the cherokees to this land, and would have lead to a detection of their want of right to the pretended claim, saved all the emotion and heart burning, of the western people, and the President and yourself from the bitter reproaches, that is heaped upon you. Candeur to the Goverment, and to that administration I have admired compells me to be frank, and state to you, that the people of the west will never suffer any Indian to inhabit this country again, that has been for thirty years the den of the murderers of there wives, and helpless infants, and on the conquest of which, and for there security hereafter, they shed there blood and sufferred every privation. I tell you frankly they never will unless coerced by Goverment, and when this is attempted I fear it will lead to scenes that will make human nature shudder. I might not be mistaken if I was to say, it may lead to the destruction of the whole cherokee nation, and of course to a civill war.

When you see a people like those of the west as well attached to there Goverment, who supported it thro thick and thin, who adored there President, instantaneously and unanimously breack out in such bitter reproaches against the men of there heart, you will conclude with me, that this act has stung them to the quik, that it has deprived them unjustly as they believe of that security that they so cheerfully fought and bled for, and as they think wantonly and without right, Justice or National policy, bestowed it upon a nation of Indians, whose hatchet and scalping knife has left many orphans and many a parent without children, when you reflect on these considerations, and add to them, that many of those people now settled down in the verry Villages, from which they drove the hostile creek, and who composed part of the Volunteer band who marched on the Newjack expedition, contrary to the express orders of the Goverment, and by that prompt chastisement of the cherokees gave us peace with that nation—I say whenever these verry people are to be removed from the Villages of the hostile creeks which was the den of the murderers of our wives and children, find this land to be given

once more to the prowling lion of the forest who has done us so much injury, your forebodings will be like mine, that the worst of consequences may flow from the hasty and precipitate convention.

I hope it may be believed that I am seldom alarmed at bubbles, but that in all my acts, and all my expressions and information to the goverment I am swayed alone from the disinterested motive, *publick good*. I inclose you a copy of a letter written to Colo. Meigs on the subject of the inclosed paper, as I am determined that in no instance shall my named be used unfairly, to agrandize Indian tribes or private Individuals or to work an injury to my country, or be made the means of my Goverment closing an act that may bring upon them the indignation of there country, without investigation and detection. I am respectfully

yr mo. ob. Serv.

To Secretary Crawford.

June 16, 1816.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ult, have duly noted that part, that relates to the settlers south of the Tennessee river which will be duly attended to. The ballance of your letter contains a system of Ethics, at open war with those practised by Mr Madison president of the u states, through a long and well spent life, therefore I cannot believe the doctrine advanced by you have been sanctioned by him, but is the offspring of your own mind, and shall thus v[i]ew them so far as I conceive it necessary to reply.

I must in the first place premise, that I never did expect to hear it announced through the organ of our Goverment, whose main pillers are virtue, that to be charged with Robery was no disgrace to an officer and soldier, and that it was inconsistant with the dignity of our Goverment, to investigate fraud, where it had been practised against the u. s.

I made the request in my letter of the 8th of april that Justice might be done the W. Tenneseens,[1] and that a discrimination might be made between the guilty and innocent—and if charges had been made against them, believing they were unjust that the[y] might be investigated. This Justice being witheld, and a determination displayed, to mingle us with the guilty, measures will be taken at a proper time to procure that Justice to them that I know there good conduct entitle them.

your observation " that it is well known that the march of the best disciplined troops, thro there own country is always attended with loss ", must have proceded from inexperien[c]e, for where it ever happens the officer ought to be cashierd for neglect of duty, and it is the well known fact, that the west.T. troops in the year 1812-13 and 14 and 15 to the lower country and back through the cherokee and creek country and

[1] The West Tennessee troops were charged with destroying the cattle of the friendly Cherokees during Jackson's Creek campaign, 1813-1814. Return J. Meigs, Cherokee-agent, said that most of the damage was done by the East Tennessee troops. The claims amounted to $25,214.85½. (See Jackson MSS., Military Papers, IV., folios 37-40, 68-78.) Jackson collected certificates from Howell Tatum, Col. William Martin, Reuben McCay, and others, to support his position. See Jackson MSS., vol. 41, nos. 5624-5627, also Col. Wyane's certificate, July 31, 1816, and Jackson to Thomas, July 24, 1816.

entered pensacola under circumstances that might have induced disorder from thence to Neworleans and back and the Tongue of truth cannot point to a single act of private property being infringed without Just compensation. The concurrent Testimony referred to, to produce a correction of my mistake, in asserting that no losses were sustained by depredation committed by the west Tennesseens, are too absurd to obtain credit by a reflecting mind, unless indeed those Gentlemen by some kind of instinct or intuitive knowledge after a lapse of two years could tell, by the track, how many cattle, hogs and horses, the cherokees two years before possessed, that they had been stolen, not made use of or sold by themselves, and if stolen, that they were carried away by the west Tennesseens, I am sorry the names of these inspired gentlemen were not given, that the publick might admire them for there wisdom and divinity. However I shall inclose an extract from Colo. Popes letter, who was some times present, which I hope will obtain as much credit as those Gentlemen who passed through the nation two years after the depredations are alledged to be committed, and will also refer you to the accounts on file in the quartermasters department—filed by Colo. S. D. Hays and Major Wm. B. Lewis.[2]

I inclose for your information a copy of a letter from Colo. Barnett to Genl Coffee from which you will discover, more particularly how the cherokees has been tampering with the creeks to filch the U States out of the land which they well knew had been ceded by the creek treaty. I should have noticed your concluding sentence, but I cannot believe you to be serious, no man who possesses honourable feelings and brought up in a country, where the laws punish vice, and applaud virtue, can believe that the charectors of the west Tennesseens are not implicated, when they are recorded as the worst kind of robers, Taking from the poor Indian. I shall here close the subject, resting an appeal for Justice, to a source, who may appreciate, virtuous conduct of the american officers and soldiers, more than you appear to do and who I hope will think it Justice, that the innocent should not suffer for the crimes of the guilty.

Secretary Crawford to Jackson.[1]

War Department, July 1, 1816.

Sir, Your letter of the 13th ultimo has been received.[2] The omission on the part of the Adjutant and Inspector General to send you a copy of the order to General Gaines, has produced the remarks which it contains. From the perusal of that order, which the Adjutant and Inspector

[2] To this letter Crawford replied on July 5, 1816, in the following brief note: "*Sir,* My letter of the 24th of May last, was written with a view to satisfy you, that the information requested in your letter of the 8th of that month, was unnecessary for the purpose for which it was intended. Altho' the views taken in that letter, are believed to be correct, yet as a different view is still maintained by you, the information requested, has been directed to be furnished."

[1] Copy.

[2] It is to be regretted that this letter is not preserved. The words of Crawford imply that Jackson had protested against the order to Gaines much as he protested during the following year against the order to Maj. Stephen H. Long.

General has been directed to forward, you will discover that no absolute arrest has been directed. The Executive has been induced to take this course, as well from the nature of the case, as from the situation of affairs in the Department more immediately under his command. It was believed, that his services might be necessary in the Department, as long as it was practicable for him to remain there consistently with his punctual attendance at the Court instituted for his trial. The distant period assigned for the Convention of the Court, was intended, among other things, to give you an opportunity of assigning the Command of the Department to any other officer in your division, should the aspect of affairs render the selection an object of importance.

The ferment produced in the public mind in the State of Tennessee, by misrepresentations in relation to the cherokee convention, is more regretted, as it can only tend to the injury of those who are led astray. That Convention, as well as every other which has been, or shall be ratified by the President, with the advice of the Senate, will be strictly executed, unless the Cherokee and Chickasaw title to the lands in question, shall be extinguished by the Commissioners appointed to treat with the latter tribe.

The idea attempted to be imposed upon the public, by the intruders, that they are ready to remove from their settlements, as public property, but not as Indian lands, is too shallow a device to deceive the most inconsiderate. The most of these intruders have entered upon the land in question, since the running of Genl. Coffee's line,[3] and are as liable to be removed, as tho' the act of Congress had never passed. That act provides only for those who had intruded before the first day of February last, on the ground that the proclamation was not known before they had entered upon the public land.

The intruders upon the land in question, acted with full knowledge upon the subject; or, at least, they had the means of knowing that their intrusion was in violation both of the law, and the proclamation, and yet they have the effrontery to talk of submission to the laws. It is easy to make professions, and nearly as easy to devise pretexts for an unlawful act, especially if it is not thought necessary that they should even be plausible. This appears to be the case in the present instance. This delusion must be terminated. The idea of resisting the authority of the government, must not be admitted for a moment. As the execution of the law, should it be resisted, will immediately devolve upon you, as the Commanding General of the Southern division, it is expected, that you will use your influence to arrest this momentary delusion, which otherwise, may possibly be carried so far as to make the interference of the military indispensable. This unpleasant alternative is by no means apprehended; but the very idea of it ought not to be permitted to exist.

I have the honor to be,

[3] Line run by General Coffee as commissioner under Jackson's treaty of Aug. 9, 1814, with the Creeks.

To the Secretary of State (James Monroe).

Nashville, July 8, 1816.

D'r Sir. I have Just recd your friendly letter of the 18th of June last, The Justice done Genl Coffee is truly gratifying to me, and will be duly apreciated. The feelings you express towards the patriotic citizen and soldier who have fought the battles of their country will endear you to them, and in case of emergency ensure their services to the Government.

I feel it a duty I owe to my country to undertake any service wherein it may be thought I can be usefull, this consideration alone will induce me to enter on the duties assigned me as commissioner,[1] but unless my instructions will authorise a full investigation and adjustment of the teritory ceded by the creeks with the cherokees as well as the chikesaws no benefit can result to the u states, for in this convention exists all the evil and dificulty. If a delegation should be authorised from the cherokees with full powers to investigate their and the creek boundery, I have no doubt but all things could be adjusted to the satisfaction of all on the broad principles of Justice, and that security, to the lower country, and our frontier regained, that has been surrendered by the convention with the cherokees, but untill, this convention is got rid of, every foot of land obtained from the chikesaws in that quarter only tends to the agrandizement of the cherokees, by this convention all that portion of Territory belonging to the chikesaws, that could be usefull to the u states are given to the cherokees, it follows of course that the moment, the u states are invested with a right to it, it vests in the cherokees. hence the necessity of getting clear of this convention, which I think could be easily effected, by proper management if another convention with that tribes was ordered, the Cherokees know they never had a right to this land, they see the irritation of the whites on this subject, and the[y] begin to dread what is really to be feared, that is, there own destruction by an irratated people.

Colo. Meiggs ought to exert himself on this occasion, I fear he has not acted with his usual candeur with the goverment, or this hasty convention with the cherokees would not have been entered into. he as agent can still cause justice to be done by a surrender of this Territory for a small annuity, and candeur compells me to say to you, that from the present feelings of the people they will never permit the cherokees to inhabit the country from which the creeks have been expelled. what follows, treaties are the surpreme law of the land, must be executed, and the consequence may be, that the cherokees will be anihilated, which will compel the arm of goverment to be raised against her own citizens for this violent infraction of the treaty. This subject has caused me much reflection and has filled me with sincere regret. I hope a remedy will and may be found in another convention with this nation, and that shortly. . . . .

[1] Commissioner, with David Meriwether and Jesse Franklin, to negotiate with the Cherokees and with the Chickasaws.

P.S. a whiteman has been lately killed by the cherokees on the Georgia road, as soon as it was known major Russel raised four hundred men to penetrate there nation, was prevented from it by the speedy surrender of the cherokees who committed the murder. From this you can see what may result, to that nation. from the contents of letters of Colo. Lowry to major Russell, as I am informed, I have but little doubt if a proper application was made to the cherokees, they would yield up all pretentions to this Territory for a very small compensation in fact they had agreed on a boundery with Genl Coffee, in case nothing had been done at the city. you will see from the remonstrance of the citizens, their feelings on this subject, and this feeling is unanimous.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, July 19, 1816.

D'r Genl. I have this moment rec'd the instructions from the President of the United States by which we are to be governed in holding the treaty with the Chickasaws. they are ample. a delegation of Cherokees are to be present, and I have a hope with proper management, we can obtain a recession from the Cherokees, and fully establish with the other tribes your lines.

Preparatory to this interesting object an interview with some of the principle chiefs, by you and Colo Barnett will have a very good effect. you can impress upon there minds, the chickasaw claim. The Whites having settled on this land as the territory of the creeks, the irrotation that there removal will create, and the injury that may be done their nation by these whites, and the determination of the chickasaws that the shall never settle on it, that they can now get from the U States a fair consideration for this doubtful claim of theirs in money, that will give them schools to educate there children, and money to buy negroes to work there land, that by selling they will live in peace with these whites and red bretheren, which is all important to them as a nation. That they know they have no right to this land, and they now can get paid for it, and that the whites that have settled on it as creek land will never permit them to live on it in peace, that under all these circumstances, every real friend of the nation will advise them to take the price offered for this doubtful title, and live in peace. There is no game on this land, and they cherokees has more land than they can cultivate without this.

I think such a talk as a friend with Brown and Lowry and such other leading chiefs will have a good effect, particularly as I am ordered to suspend the removal of the intruders off their land for the present. It strikes me that this cannot fail in producing a good effect upon their minds, They are a good deal alarmed, and not without cause, they do know there perilous situation, and if they will not take a fair consideration for this property to which thay know the had no just claim to, they must abide by the consequence. But every advice ought to be afforded them, by the late convention the Government is pledged, and better to

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

give a just compensation to get clear of this thing, than an act should be done to tarnish the Government or bring one rash and imprudent citizen into difficulty. The treaty as long as it exists is the supreme law and must be executed, and every exertion ought to be made to get clear of this hatefull instrument. I send my letters to Brown and Lowry open for your perusal and beg of you to have them handed to them

I am respectfully yr mo ob serv

(private)

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville July 21, 1816.

(Private)

D'r Genl, I have this moment rec'd by mail the letter to your address here enclosed, having opened it and finding it from Colo McKee and being on the subject of the Choctaw treaty,[2] I enclose it.

From the late date of the meeting of the chiefs it will afford sufficient time for you to attend to the duties on the line. It is really strange that you and Colo Barnett has not rec'd instructions to desist from running the line for the present untill, the event is known, of the treaty ordered with the cherokees, for a recession of those lands lately ceded south of the Tennessee, was it not for so many plunders being lately committed, I would conclude, that there was no reallity in this show of a treaty with the cherokees, or there would have been some others aded to the commission. it proves one thing at least, that they have not attached so much importance to this thing, as to the other treaties to be holden, when I view it as the key to all things that can benefit the U. S., and can be obtained by treaty.

I really am not sorry that you are without advice, your orders will compell you to go on and will authorise you to call for the chiefs to attend you, and you can do more with the chiefs, by advice, than will be done by Colo Meigs. I wish you and Colo Barnett would see Colo Brown Lowry the Path Killer and the ridge. should you, you can sound them to the bottom and obtain from them a declaration that they will resign all claim for a very small sum, they know they never had any rights and they will be glad as I believe to swindle the U States out of a few thousand dollars, and bury the claim, if persisted in, which they know, might bury them and there nation. By obtaining a declaration from the chiefs that the[y] will sell, you can tell them I am authorized to buy from them, and expect a full delegation from their nation at the chickasaw treaty to be held on the first of Sept next at the old council house. Colo Meiggs is instructed to have a full delegation there. But as all this may be for the public eye, when really under the Rose advice may be given contrary, we ought to be on our guard, to detect duplicity (if it exist) and expose it, and do all we can justly, to do away that *cursed convention* that may deluge our country in blood. The cherokees are alarmed

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] Coffee, John Rhea, and John McKee were commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Choctaws.

and justly, and with a little vigilence and good policy, all the evils can be everted only the sum that will have to be paid for the recession.

The hight of my diplomatic ambition is that we may restore to the U states the territory fairly and justly ceded by the creeks, if the convention with the cherokees can be set aside the ballance will follow, as a thing of course, if that cannot be done all that can be obtained from the chickasaws will agrandise the cherokees, whom it delighteth the sec to honor, when I take a view of this whole thing with all its ramifications I cannot determine whether it proceeded from thear weakness or corruption, or from what else it could have proceeded, to say the least, it was a wanton, hasty, useless thing calculated to injure the best interests of the U states, without affording the least hope of benefit to her. we must exert ourselves to get the government honourably clear of this convention that they may by more vigilence and care regain the good opinion of the good citizens of the west, with my best wishes to you and respects to Colo Barnett, adieu

To Secretary Crawford.[1]

Nashville, July 24, 1816.

Sir, I have this morning received yours of the 5 Instant, accompanied by an estimate of the losses which the Cherokees are said to have sustained by our Troops; and stipulated to be paid for, in the late convention. I have written Colnl Meigs on this subject; as soon as I receive his answer, I will do myself the pleasure of giveing you a full detail of the whole account (as far as it relates to the west Tennesseans) accompanied by such vouchers as will leave no room to doubt the fraud which has been practiced on the Government [2]

These charges prove (what is really the fact) that no confidence is to be placed in the honesty, or Justice of an Indian. But that a whiteman (holding an office under Gover'ment) should be found, who would Certify to the correctness of the accounts exhibited (and now before me) is truly astonishing, and portrays the corruption of mankind, in colours too dark to be dwelt on. I will only add (confineing my rema[r]ks exclusively to the west Tennesseans) that the charges as exhibited, are one complete tissue of groundless falshood, with the exception of Polly Browns (marked *doubtful*, who might have had some foundation of claim, *for labour done, and materials furnished.*

I have also the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the same date, accompanied by the Depositions referered to; which is noted, and will receive due attention. The Treaties spoken of can be procured.

From Mr James Deposition, it will be necessary to have some of the oaldest of the Creek Chiefs present. I have determined to send for oald Chief Chenibee, Spokeakehager, the mad woolf, and James Fife. The first named chief is of the Natchez Tribe, and possesses perhaps more

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] Jackson's letter to Return J. Meigs, Cherokee agent, has not been found. But Meigs's reply, Aug. 7, 1816, is in the Jackson MSS., and it makes out a good case against persons in Jackson's army.

information of the different boundaries, and general Situation of the country than any man living. He was a chief at the first Treaty with the Creeks under the Provincial Goverment, at Savannah [?][3] I hope this will be approved. The expence will be trifleing, and the presence of this old Chief, will have its due wait on the minds of the Chickesaws and all others concerned

I am respectfully

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, July 26, 1816.

D'r Genl By last Tuesdays mail I rec'd a copy of the accounts exhibited by the cherokees for depredations committed by our troops, and for which the convention has stipulated the payment etc etc. It exceeds all corruption, that ever came to my knowledge. I shall enumerate a few of the items. Ratcliffe 300 cattle and 150 hogs $2000 Colo Richard Brown 79 head of cattle and 144 head of hogs $992 John Brown Sen'r 15 cattle and 150 hogs $420 etc etc in all against our army six hundred and seven head of cattle and seven hundred and twenty seven hoggs with sundry horses. Should you see Colo Brown Ratcliffe and Browns Clan, you can alarm them by saying this fraud will be inquired into and the only way to get clear of it will be to enter into another treaty receive what is offered them for there claim of land south of the Tennessee and revoke the former convention. This alone will prevent an investigation of the account that being found fraudulent there claim to the land will be found equally so and the whole revoked through fraud. This will have a good effect. if it should not [*illegible*], I am preparing certificates to have us relieved from the censure. i have wrote fully to Colo Meiggs, It behooves him to act, on this occasion, an investigation must blame him or the sec of war.

I must see you before I go on to the treaty, I shall leave home about the 20th of August, and will pass any rout that I can fall in with you. The public interest requires that I should see you, and have a conference with you, I hope it may be convenient for you to attend the chickasaw treaty.

with sincere respect

The Governor of Tennessee (Joseph McMinn) to Jackson.[1]

Knoxville, August 30, 1816.

Sir, Your esteemed favour of the 12th Inst. addressed to Kingston, never came to hand until last evening, at which time, I had every thing in readiness to Set out for the *Treaty Ground*; but assure you Sir, never was I more gratified than to find myself disappointed, particularly from your very warm, and friendly acceptation of the office of Commissioner for holding a Treaty with the Cherokee Indians.

[3] Probably the treaty of Oct. 20, 1774, between Georgia and the Creeks, is meant.
[1] Tenn Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[1] This letter is published in the *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville), VIII. 383. The original was sold in Stan V. Henkels's sale in Philadelphia in December, 1921.

With respect to the Chickasaws, I am not perfectly satisfied, how far I am authorised to enter into an arrangement with them, for an extinguishment of their claim, to lands, within the limits of this State. More particularly, as I am not apprised of the extent of your power, derived from the Genl. Government; or of the views of the President of the United States, upon that subject, and therefore, will communicate what I have to say on a separate sheet,[2] to the end, that you may use it, or not, at your discretion.

Although I am well aware of the Justice, and policy of such a demand, as regards, those who held granted land within their Claim, I am nevertheless satisfied in dispensing with the subject for the present. But Sir, it appears to me, a great abuse of Justice, for our Government to transfer the Lands of those, who perhaps, have fallen in defence of our Countries best rights, to a Set of vagrant hunters. And as regards the Cherokee's, once unprincipled enemies, and whose only interest in the Soil was forfeited, by an aliance with Great Britain. Such however was not the fact, as regards the Chicasaws, they have not, at any time, engaged in open War against us, yet, that fact is not sufficient, to entitle them to claim nearly eight Million acres of Land, within the limits of our States; and between two and three millions of which is actually granted, or at least located.

Should the Government not have authorised you to purchase those lands, nor any part thereof; what would you think of sounding them for those lands which lie on the North side of Tennessee River, which from the map, I cannot suppose contains more than two millions of acres; out of which we may fairly suppose one forth is granted and about one half of the whole quantity seems to lie within the Mississippi Territory. In case you should be able to make a purchase, the sum given would (according to the plan laid down by the Secretary at War in the case of purchasing the lands from the Cherokees) have to be divided according to the relative value of each lot of Land. These remarks are however, predicated upon the supposition that Tennessee is bound to extinguish the Chickasaw Title; of which fact (as before remarked) I am not so well advised, as to enable me to give an opinion, tho' if I was to hazzard one, it would be to say, that I think Tennessee is not bound; and if you (who know infinitely better than I) should be inclined to the same opinion, you will easily perceive the propriety of keeping Tennessee out of view, in your negociations with the Chickasaws. Although, Sir, it would give me the highest pleasure to have the honor, of throwing the weight of our beloved little republic into the scale, of negociating for its own, and citizens rights, Yet Sir, a just regard to its resources, is sufficient to admonish us from siting a precedent, in purchasing the small Tract, North of Tennessee River, out of one so very large as the entire Chickasaw claim; whilst the propriety of purchasing the whole, is as obvious as the smallest portion. And I feel conscious, that the day is not very distant, when

[2] See the next letter.

the General Government will have to adopt measures for the total redemption of all Indian claims within Our State.

Very respectfully
Your obd Servt

GOVERNOR MCMINN TO JACKSON.[1]

KNOXVILLE September 2, 1816.

Dear General, Having previously stated that I would communicate my views in relation to the Chickasaw Claim, now come to the following conclusion, by stating that I entertain a hope that you are authorised by the Genl. Government to negociate for the whole of their claims, or at least for that part which lies North Tennessee River. But Sir if I knew the fact to be otherwise, I should feel a strong disposition to invite you to enter into treaty. In fact I would do so was I conscious that the power I possess would be co-extensive with the enterprice. For Sir there never was a moment equally auspicious with the present, for purchasing those lands, so important to our interest, first because no man is better known to the chiefs than yourself, and secondly no influence with them is equal to that bottomed on fear, or that which proceeds from a military man, and the acquisition of those lands, being of the very highest importance to the State, and the consideration of the expense of assembling the indians being discharged by the United States, who must be Bound in the first instance for the payment of the price of the Land. These circumstances all being brot into view with many others, seems to form conclusive support to my opinion of this being the most prosperous moment, that I have ever witnessed for treating, etc, etc.

I therefore feel perfectly satisfied in taking my share of responsibility with you either by your extorting from them in the form of a conditional contract, the price they would ask for their Land, on the north Tennessee River, Or by your entering into an absolute contract, Conditioned for its ratification by the Genl. Government and also by the state of Tennessee. In either of those cases I feel very confident that the citizens of Tennessee would derive benefits of the most essential and important character

And if such be your views and prospects let you and my Self in Gods name, and in behalf of the whole people of Tennessee, unite our hearts and hands, in endeavouring to execute a work which will not only be of the highest interest to the present, but to future posterity.

And as time will not permit us to consult their wishes at the present, you will please act (as I know you will) according to the best dictates of your conscience, not only in the price you will propose to give for the land, but in every thing that relates to the transaction, and leave the result to the magnanimity of a people whom you and my Self have always found for those thirty years past to be extremely profuse of their favours, and prone to be content, with the acts of their public Servants

May God Grant you many prosperious and happy years is the wish of

[1] This letter is published in the *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville), VIII. 385, with the date of Sept. 3, 1816. The original was sold in Stan. V. Henkels's sale in Philadelphia in Dec., 1921.

To Colonel Robert Butler.

Chickasaw Agency, September 5, 1816.

Sir. By Major Thos. L. Butler, I wrote you inclosing a letter to Genl Coffee, requesting cer[tain] papers to be forwarded, If the papers requested is not already forwarded, you must by express to Genl Coffee, have them, and forwarded them by the earliest opportunity. The council begins this day, and we must have them as early as possible, These papers we find will be of the utmost importance, They creek chiefs not being here—we must have them in a few days. If all influence but the native Indian was out of the way, we would have but little trouble. But a letter from the Secretary of war to the agent, which had been recd and read to the nation in council before our arival, has done much mischief, to counteract this will give us much trouble, and makes the possession of these papers promised by Genl Coffee of the utmost importanc[e]. Mr. Bell etc is now here, I delivered your message to him, he says he will comply with it. Tell Major Eaton I have recd. his letter will answer it in due time But my whole time and thoughts are occupied, in finding out the wilds, of the deceiptfull, and to obtain if Possible the object in view, and finally disappoint the *would be President.*[1] . . . .

To James Brown.[1]

Chikesaw Council House September 6, 1816

D'r Sir. I am favored with your very friendly and polite letter of the 25th of July last—and from the publick business with which I am surrounded, snatch a moment to acknowledge its receipt.

For your friendly invitations and the manner you have been pleased to make mention of my exertions and those associated with me in defense of the lower country, accept a tender of my thanks. It would have been truly grateful to have had the good fortune to have met you at New Orleans and converse with you upon those subjects you refer to.

It is the first wish of my heart to be in friendship with all good men. It being the wish of some of my friends that I should meet Judge Hall in friendship, their wishes I could not forego. When he offered me his hand I received it and in the gratification of my friends on this occasion my mind receives its reward and tells me I have done right. I have in some measure added peace to his bosom, tranquility to my own and restored him to the social circle of his former friends and acquaintances. On my part the hatchet is buried in oblivion and from what you say of him I have no doubt it is so on his part. . . . .

Accept assurances of my respect and esteem

[1] The treaty with the Cherokees made by Jackson, Meriwether, and Franklin at the Chickasaw Council House Sept. 14, 1816, is in *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs,* II. 92. The secretary's instructions to the commissioners and other correspondence relating to this negotiation are *ibid.,* pp. 100-123. The same commissioners made a treaty with the Chickasaws. See *ibid.,* pp. 92 and 104-123.

[1] This letter was offered for sale by Forest H. Street, Cleveland, O., Mar., 1924. It is in Jackson's handwriting. James Brown was senator from Louisiana 1813-1817, 1819-1823, minister to France 1823-1829.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Chickisaw council house September 19, 1816.

D'r Genl, On the 14th instant we concluded a treaty with the Cherokee delegation,[2] for all the land south of the Tennessee subject to the ratification of a full council of the nation at Turkey Town on the 28th instant, for the sum of six thousand dollars per annum, five thousand dollars for Meltons [?] and other improvements and some small presents to the fifteen chiefs that attended here, with this variation from your line, Beg'g at camp Coffee, south to the ridge, then eastwardly along the ridge leaving all the waters of the Black warrior on the right to where the ridge is oposed by the west fork of Wills creek, thence down the east side of said fork and Wills creek to the Coosee then down the Coosee, all south of the Tennessee and west of that line is ceded to the U.S. On tomorrow we are to have an answer from the chickasaws and we are told by their chiefs, that a cession will be made of all lands north of the Tennessee, and all south east of your line.[3]

We have had much to encounter, we were obliged to take a firm and decided stand, we took the evidence of the chickasaws, then produced the creek claim, with all evidence in its support, then made them the proposition as a peace offering telling them the creek claim was the best, but their father the President of the U. States, hearing they had a claim offered the compensation as a peace offering, that from the evidence he had a right to hold it as a conquered country, and sell it to pay to there nations and the Choctaws the expence of the war, that it was demanded for this purpose from the creeks, ceded for this purpose and our citizens being in possession could not be removed, nor would they be taxed to pay the expence of the war untill this land was sold for that purpose, that they must clearly see not only the justice but the generosity of their father the President in the offer. he first proposed to pay each nation a fair price for their claim, that the land might be sold for the benefit of all, to pay the debt due to the cherokees, the chickasaws and the choctaws and the ballance to pay their white brothers.

In this stand I was well supported by Genl Meryweather[4] who is a fine old fellow, and this stand was what has and will procure us success, and the choctaws are prepared to receive the offer of the government. But an Indian is fickle, and you will have to take the same firm stand and support it and you are sure of success. Franklin[5] was detained by the sickness of his son, and fortunately did not get up until the Indians had received our proposals and were deliberating upon them, he is butting at every thing, his horns are getting sore and I believe he will be docile and butt no more. I should have posponed writing you untill we had finally closed, but our time is so short and after we hear there answer if favourable as I now expect, will be so much hurried that I am fearfull I

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[2] Text in *Am. St. Papers, Ind. Aff.*, II. 92.
[3] Treaty of Sept. 20. *Ibid.*
[4] David Meriwether of Georgia, M. C. 1802-1807.
[5] Jesse Franklin of North Carolina, M. C. 1795-1797, U. S. senator 1799-1805, 1807-1813.

would not have time. I therefore give you the outlines of the course we have steered, a firm stand and you will be successful, all the chiefs said they had listened to the talk of there father the President was a good talk. you must tell them to lay aside all ideas of hunting become farmers like us, and that for this purpose the annunity is offered, and that this land being disputed no reservations to the nation can be granted.

May the gods bless and protect you, and grant you success is the fervent wish of your unalterable friend

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Nashville, October 23, 1816.

Mr. Munroe. I returned from the Indian nation on the 12th Instant, and seize the first moment from duty to write you. I have the pleasure to inform you, that we have obtained by cession from the cherokees and chikesaws all their claim south of the Tennessee river, that interfered with the Creek cession. we experienced some dificulty with the chikesaws, from what they call their gurantee, or charter given by President washington in the year 1794, and recognized by the treaty with that nation in the year 1801, which not only guranteed the Territory but bound the u states to prevent intrusions of every kind whatever. in the treaty with the cherokees in 1816 the greater part of the land guranteed to the chikesaws was included The fact was that both President washington and the present secratary of war were imposed on by false representations, as neither the chikesaws or cherokees, had any right to the territory as the Testimony will shew it being in the possession of the creeks, at that time and continued to be possessed by them untill we conquored the country in the fall 1813. and spring 1814. But all these conflicting claims are happily accomodated by the late treaties with those tribes at the moderate premium of 180,000 dollars payable in ten years—in which is included, the cession from the chikesaws of that extensive and fertile country lying north of the Tennessee. This Territory added to the creek cession, opens an avenue to the defence of the lower country, in a political point of view incalculable. we will have now good roads, well supplied by the industry of our own citizens, and our frontier defended by a strong population. I would here remark, that the sooner this country is brought into markett, the better. by dividing the territory in two Districts by a line run from mouth of the Black warior east to the warriour, and an enterprising individual chosen as survayor, will have the no[r]thern District ready for sale by the first of June next. the vast capital that is now held up for the purchase of this land, if offerred for sale before the holders turn there attention to other objects will bring into the treasury immense sums of money, and will give us a population capable of defending that frontier.

[1] This is the first in the series of letters between Jackson and Monroe in which Jackson counselled the President-elect to appoint some Federalists to office and so put down partizanship. This letter is undoubtedly Jackson's draft. Parton's insinuation (*Jackson*, II. 357) that Jackson did not write these letters is unfounded. See Bassett's *Jackson*, I. 339-344, for a history of the correspondence. The publicity given to the letters caused them to be reprinted in many periodicals.

I have Just learnt from Genl David Meryweather that Mr Crawford is going out of the war Dept. which induces me as a friend to you and to the Govrt. to bring to your notice Colo. William H. Drayton late of the army of the u states.[2] I am not personally acquainted with Colo. Drayton, but from the best sources, that can be relied on, he is a man of nice principles of honor and honesty, a man of military experience and pride, possessing handsome talents as a lawyer and a stateman. I am told he has been ranked with the Federalists, but the moment his country was threatened, he abandoned private ease and a lucrative practice for the tented fields, such a man as this, it is not material by what name he is called, he will always act as a true american whether he will accept or not I cannot say but if he would, the choice would be highly usefull to the american nation.

It is all important to have the office of Sec of war well filled, both in peace and in war and from every source of information I have been able to obtain, Colo. Drayton is better quallified than any other charector I have any knowledge, either personal or from information. I write you confidentially—it is said here that Colo. Johnston of Kentuckey[3] is thought of as a fit person to succeed Mr Crawford, rest assured he will not do, when I say this, I wish you to understand me that he does not possess sufficient capacity stability or energy—the three necessary qualifications of a war officer. These hints proceed from the purest motives, that you may be supported in your administration by the best talents and virtue of our country, and that you may be hailed on your retirement from the executive chair, with that unanimous approbation that has called you to it.

Presents Mrs. J. and myself respectfully to your Lady and family in which we include Mrs. Hay[4] and accept for yourself our best wishes for your Happiness, and believe me to be with sincere reguard yr mo, ob. serv,

To Colonel Edward Ward.

Nashville October 26, 1816.

Sir. I did intend on yesterday to have addressed you on the following subject, but hearing you had company declined it, the object of this letter being to make enquiry of and concerning the death of Doctor Purnells horse—the causes of Suspicion of his being Poisoned, etc etc; I have therefore to request, that you will be good enough to state—at what time of the day the horse took Sick—whether before or after his mornings exercise—and whether before or after his mornings feed—had his stable a lock on how fastened, if any what appearenc[e] of any person having been in his stable—what were the differrent remedies applied—and which of them and how many by and with the directions of Doctor Purnell—at what time did the Doctor first state his oppinion of his being Poisoned—whether before or after the horse was oppened—did the horse swell much, and if he did, how long after he was first taken before he did

[2] Not William Henry Drayton, but William Drayton the younger, colonel U. S. A. 1812-1815, M. C. from South Carolina 1825-1833, opponent of nullification. Jackson when President offered him this secretaryship.

[3] Richard M. Johnson, vice-president 1837-1841.

[4] Mrs. George Hay, Monroe's daughter.

swell whether he appeared to be convulsed and at what time what was the appearence of his stomach when oppened—and the distance of time from the date of the horses being taken ill as nigh as can be recollected, untill the time he was disected—and how long after his death. I have had a statement from Mr William Sanders and Eli Hammonds, but these Gentlemen not being there when the horse was first taken or at his death I wish to have a full statement from you. If the horse was Poisoned, the villain that did it ought to and must be punished, if not that man who has been malignant anough to give rise to the idea of his being Poisoned, that Suspicion should light somewhere on innocence if that even on a slave—deserves punishment I was compelled to Bedford court, or I should have called on you for the before information. I hope you will have the goodness to furnish me with it today

I am Sir yr mo, ob, serv,

Edward Livingston to Jackson.

New Orleans, November 7, 1816.

. . . . When my son went to New York he was desirous of taking with him the picture with which you honored me on your Departure; I intrusted it to him and he has returned it; but the little scroll which accompanied it in your hand writing (which I highly valued and which I intended to frame with it) has been lost; may I beg the favor of you to transcribe it once for me and enclose it in your next on a bit of paper of the size enclosed to suit the Picture, tho' it was suggested much more by your friendship than my merits, I was too much flattered by it not to remember the words, which I have written on the slip of Paper. A propos of pictures! what a vile Caricature Latour has put at the head of his book there is an excellent engraving of the picture taken here by Wheeler lately come from England executed by the Engraver of the *Prince Regent*. it is a pity the original was not a better likeness and indeed I find none that has Done you the least justice but Vallée in the miniature you gave me.

How does the continuator of poor Reids work progress. I hope it will be well Done for I am not quite satisfied with the other. Mrs. Livingston begs me not to forget her most Affectionate remembrances to your self and Mrs. Jackson Be assured that every individual of my family feels for both of you that high respect and warm attachment which you[r] conduct and attentions to them were calculated to produce. For myself my Dear General you want I hope no professions to convince you of my sincere friendship and Esteem.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Private

Nashville, November 12, 1816.

Sir. In my last to you, I took the liberty to draw your attention to the benefits that would result both to the Treasury and defence of the

[1] This letter is the second of the Jackson-Monroe series of 1816, which later did service in politics. It was printed in many papers during the campaigns of 1824 and 1828.

lower Mississippi and its dependencies, by bringing into markett the country at the disposal of the u states by the late treaties with the creeks, cherokees, and chikesaws etc

Lt Gadsdone[2] who carries on those treaties and who will hand you this, and who I beg leave to introduce to yr notice affording a safe convayance, I am so deeply impressed with the importance of this subject, that I cannot forego the present opportunity of again bringing it to your view.

I have this moment wrote the comptroller on this interesting subject, and if the plan proposed is adopted, the land can be brought into markett in a very short time, and a permanent, and strong settlement, given to that section of country by american citizens, competant to its defence—should the Government divide the survayors District as proposed, and place Genl Coffee as survayor of the no[r]thern District, his Energy and industry will bring it into markett in all June next—should this event take place it will leave open the appointment of receiver of publick money promised to the Genl. If this should ocur from the late delicate state of health of Lt. Gadsdone, which has occasioned a desire to retire from the service to regain it, I warmly recommend him to fill that office. In this, as in all my recommendations, I have publick good in view. from the acquirements of Lt. Gadsdone he will be a great loss to the army, but by retireing at present, his services may at a future day be preserved to his country, his constitution may be restored his health regained, should he remain and fall a victim to the insalubrious climates his present duty calls him, he is lost, both to the army and his country. his Education being of the best kind, has cost much. tho, both moral, oeconomical and prudent, a Lt can lay up nothing—his situation therefore requires some office that would procure him a competancy, whilst preparing himself for some professional persuit. This office would afford it. These are they reasons that induce me, to warmly recommend him, seeing the treasures of his mind, that at a future day his country (if in Peril) may benefit by them. Lt Gadsdone is every way fit for this office, and on the events occuring aluded to, I warmly recommend him.

Being deeply impressed with the importance of another subject as relates to yourself as well as to the Goverment, I will beg leave in this as I did in my last to mention it, That is the charector who fills the vacancy in the war office occasioned by the transfer of Mr Crawford to the Treasury.

your happiness, and the nations benefit, materially depend upon, a good selection to fill the heads of Departments. I need not tell you that feuds exists and has existed to an injurious degree in the no[r]thern army. To fill the Dept. of war with a charector whose feelings has taken a part in those feuds, is feeding it with a fewel, that will extend the flame. This and other consideration induced me to enter on the enquiry for the most fit charector to fill the Department of war, it resulted in the selection of Colo. William Drayton, and give rise to the hasty production on this subject in my last—since which, Genl Ripley has arived here, and

[2] James Gadsden.

on enquiry of him, he gives it decidedly as his opinion that Colo. Drayton is the best selection that can be made for the next Presidential term. Pardon me for the following remark. Every thing depends upon the selecting of your ministry, both as to yourself and country, in every selection party, and party feeling ought to be laid out of view (for now is the time to put them down) by selecting those the most honest, possessing capacity, virtue, and firmness, by this course you steer the national ship to honor and preferment; and yourself to the united plaudits of a happy country—consult no party or party feelings in your choice, persue that unerring Judgment you possess, that for so many years has added so much to the benefit of our common country.

accept assurances of my sincere friendship and believe me to be respectfully yr mo ob, serv,

To the Secretary of War ad Interim (George Graham).[1]

Nashville, December 11, 1816.

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the 31st October and 5th and 7th November which reached me last evening from Huntsville, to which place they had been forwarded to meet me and had not reached when I passed it.

After giving to them that attentive consideration that the importance of the subjects they embrace respectively requires, permit me to remark, as far as I have the power to control, no act shall be done to provoke a war with spain, to do to and compel justice from others I have always conceived to be the certain mode to preserve peace. I have never yet received any precise statement respecting the three American citizens alledged to be confined by the Governor of Pensacola and held at hard labour at the Barancas.

I presume Colo. Jessup had been informed that they had been taken within our territorial jurisdiction by a military force and being thus arrested, he had a right to take the responsibility on himself to restore them to their territory and liberty by a military force. If the fact had been so and this act of agression by Spain declared unautherized by its government, the liberation of the citizens would have been another unautherized act on the part of Colo: Jessup, which would then have been easily adjusted by the two governments, and taught spain to know, that the wanton infringement of our rights by her Officers would be met by the same measure, and thus confine them to proper conduct towards their peaceful neighbours. But the moment I received information on this subject I gave an Order to Colo: Jessup which has been reiterated to Genl Ripley his successor "*To permit no act to be done to provoke war with Spain*" I beg you therefore to assure the President of the United States, that no improper act towards the government of spain will be permitted to be done by any of the officers or soldiers under my command. . . . .

[1] War Dept. files. George Graham, chief clerk, was Secretary of War *ad interim* from the transfer of Crawford to the Treasury, Oct. 22, 1816, to Dec. 9, 1817.

SECRETARY MONROE TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 14, 1816.

Dear Sir, I have since my last to you, had the pleasure of receiving two letters from you, the last of the 12th November. The advantage of the late treaties with the Indians is incalculable. One of the benefits, consists, in putting an end to all dissatisfaction on the part of Tennessee, proceeding from the former Treaty. This has been done on very moderate terms. Another, consists, in enabling the Government to bring to market, a large body of valvuable [*sic*] land, whereby the Public debt may be considerably diminished. A third, in extending our settlements, along the mississippi, and towards the mobile, whereby, great strength will be added to our union, in quarters where it is most wanted. As soon as our population gains a decided preponderance in those regions, Florida, will hardly be considered by Spain, as a part of her dominions, and no other power would accept it from her as a gift. Our attitude, will daily become more imposing on all the Spanish dominions, and indeed on those of other powers in the neighbouring islands. If it keeps them in good order in our relations with them, that alone will be an important consequence. I have communicated what you have suggested, respecting Genl Coffee, and Lt Gadsden, to the President, who is, I am satisfied, well disposed to promote their views.[1]

It is very gratifying to me to receive your opinions on all subjects on which you will have the goodness to communicate them, because I have the utmost confidence in the soundness of your judgement, and purity of your intentions. I will give you my sentiments on the interesting subject in question, likewise without reserve. I agree with you decidedly in the principle, that the chief magistrate of the country, ought not to be the head of a party, but of the nation itself. I am also of opinion, that the members of the Federal party, who left it in the late War, and gallantly served their country in the field, have given proofs of patriotism and attachment to free government, that entitle them to the highest confidence. In deciding, however, how a new Admn. ought to be formed, admitting the result to correspond with the wishes of my friend, many considerations claim attention, as on a proper estimate of them much may depend of the success of that Admn., and even of the republican cause. We have heretofore been divided into two great parties. That some of the Leaders of the Federal Party, entertained principles, unfriendly to our system of Govert. I have been thoroughly convinced; and that they meant to work a change in it, by takeing advantage of favorable circumstances, I am

[1] This letter, with others of the same subject, was a copy made by Andrew J. Donelson and sent on to Washington to Eaton, who sent it to Gales and Seaton for publication in the *Intelligencer*. Eaton marked for omission the first paragraph, beginning "I have since my last", and the last paragraph but one, beginning "On the subject of fortifications". But Monroe when he saw the letter asked that it be printed entire. In compliance with this request Eaton appended the following note to Gales and Seaton: "I had thought it advisable to print only such parts of the Letter as referred to the subject as it is before the public: the President however desires that the whole be given. Disregard therefore those parts crossed by the pencil." The whole letter is printed, from a copy among the Monroe MSS. in the Library of Congress, in *Writings of James Monroe*, V. 341.

equally satisfied. It happened that I was a Member of Congress, under the confederation, just before the change made by the adoption of the present constitution, and afterwards of the Senate, beginning shortly after its adoption. In the former, I served three years, and in the latter, rather a longer term.[2] In these stations, I saw indications of the kind suggested. It was an epoch, at which the views of men, were most likely to unfold themselves, as if any thing favorable to a higher toned Govt. was to be obtained, that was the time. The Movement in France, tended also, then, to test the opinions and principles of men, which was disclosed in a manner to leave no doubt on my mind, of what I have suggested. No daring attempt was ever made, because there was no opportunity for it. I thought that Washington was opposed to their schemes, and not being able to take him with them, that they were forced to work, in regard to him, underhanded, using his name and standing with the nation, as far as circumstances permitted, to serve their purposes. The opposition which was carried on with great firmness, checked the career of this party, and kept it within moderate limits. Many of the circumstances on which my opinion is founded, took place in debate and in society, and therefore find no place in any Public document. I am satisfied however, that sufficient proof exists, founded on facts, and opinions of distinguished individuals, which became public, to justify, that, which I had formed.

The contest between the parties never ceased, from its commencement, to the present time, nor do I think that it can be said now to have ceased. You saw the height to which the opposition was carried in the late war; the embarrassment it gave to the Govt; the aid it gave to the enemy. The victory at New orleans, for which we owe so much to you, and to the gallant free men who fought under you, and the honorable peace which took place at that time, have checked the opposition, if they have not overwhelmed it. I may add, that the daring measure of the Hartford convention, which unfolded views, which had been, long before, entertained, but never, so fully understood, contributed also in an eminent degree to reduce the opposition to its present state. It is under such circumstances, that the election of a Successor to Mr Madison, has taken place, and that a new admn is to commence its service. The election has been made by the republican party, supposing that it has succeded, and of a person known to be devoted to that cause. How shall he act? How organise the Admn., so far as dependent on him, when in that station. How fill the vacancies existing at the time?

My candid opinion is that the dangerous purposes, which I have adverted to, were never adopted, if they were known, especially in their full extent, by any large portion of the Federal party, but were confined to certain leaders, and they principally to the eastward. The manly and Patriotic conduct of a great proportion of that party, in the other states, I might perhaps say, of all, who had an opportunity of displaying it, is a convincing proof of this fact. But still, Southern and Eastern Federalists, have been connected together as a Party, have acted together heretofore, and altho' their conduct has been different, of late, especially, yet

[2] Member of Continental Congress 1783-1785, U. S. senator 1790-1794.

the distinction between Republicans and Federalists, even in the Southern and middle and Western states, has not been fully done away. To give effect to free Government, and secure it from future danger, ought not its decided friends, who stood firm in the day of trial, to be principally relied on? Would not the association of any of their opponents in the Admn., itself, wound their feelings, or, at least, of very many of them, to the injury of the republican cause? Might it not be considered, by the other party, as an offer of compromise with them, which would lessen the ignomy due to the councils, which produced, the Hartford convention, and thereby have a tendency to revive that party on its former principles? My impression is, that the Admn should rest, strongly, on the republican party, indulging toward the other, a spirit of moderation, and evincing a desire to discriminate, between its members and to bring the whole into the republican fold, as quick as possible. Many men, very distinguished for their talents, are of opinion that the existence of the Federal party, is necessary to keep union and order in the republican ranks, that is, that free Government cannot exist without parties. This is not my opinion. That the ancient Republics, were always divided into parties; that the English Govt. is maintain'd by an opposition, that is, by the existence of a party in opposition to the ministry I well know. But I think that the cause of these divisions, is to be found in certain defects of those Governments, rather than in human nature; and that we have happily avoided those defects in our system. The first object is to save the cause, which can be done by those who are devoted to it, only, and of course by keeping them together; or, in other words, by not disgusting them, by too hasty an act, of liberality to the other party, thereby breaking the generous spirit of the republican party, and keeping alive, that of the Federal. The second is, to prevent the re-organization, and revival of the Federal party, which if my hypothesis is true, that the existence of parties is not necessary to free Govt., and, the other opinion which I have advanced, is well founded, that the great body of the Federal party are republican, will not be found impracticable. To accomplish both objects and thereby exterminate all party divisions in our country, and give new strength and stability to our Govt., is a great undertaking, not easily executed. I am nevertheless decidedly of opinion that it may be done, and should the experiment fail, I shall conclude, that its failure, was imputable, more to the want of a correct knowledge of all circumstances claiming attention, and of sound judgement in the measures adopted, than to any other cause. I agree, I think, perfectly with you in the grand object, that moderation should be shewn to the Federal party, and even a generous policy be adopted towards it; the only difference between us seems to be, how far shall that spirit be indulged in the onset, and it is to make you thoroughly acquainted with my views on this highly important subject, that I have written to you so freely on it. Of the Gentleman, of whom you have spoken, I think as you do, of which I gave him proof when in the dept of War, by placing him in the board of officers, for digesting and reporting a system of discipline for the army, and afterwards, by other tokens of confidence, and I add, with pleasure that

I should be gratified, regarding the feelings and claims above stated, to find an opportunity, at a proper time hereafter (should the event in contemplation occur) to add other proofs of my good opinion and high respect for him.

In the formation of an admn, it appears to me, that the representative principle, ought to be respected, in a certain degree, at least, and that a Head of a dept (these being four) should be taken from the four great sections of the Union, the East, the middle, the South and the West. This principle should not be always adhered to—great emergencies and transcendent talents, would always justify a departure from it. But it would produce a good effect to attend to it, when practicable. Each part of the Union would be gratified by it; and the knowledge of local details, and means, which would be thereby brought into the cabinet, would be useful. I am no wise compromitted in respect to any one, but free to act, should I have to act, according to my judgement, in which I am thankful for the opinions of my friends, and particularly for yours.

On the subject of fortifications, or works for the defence of the coast and frontiers, an arrangement has lately been made, by the President, with which I wish you to be well acquainted. You have, heretofore, I presume, been apprised, that Genl Bernard, of the French corps of Engineers,[3] under the recommendation of Genl Le Fayette, and many others of great distinction in France, had offer'd his services to the U States, and that the President had been authorised by a resolution of Congress, to accept them, confining his rank to the grade of the chief of our corps. This resolution being communicated to Genl Bernard, by the late Secy of War, to whom he was known, he came over in complyance with the invitation, which accompanied it. From Mr Gallatin he brought letters, stating that he was the 7th in rank in the corps, and inferior to none in reputation and talents, if not first. It required much delicacy in the arrangement, to take advantage of his knowledge and experience, in a manner acceptable to himself, without wounding the feelings of the Officers of our own corps, who had rendered such useful services, and were entitled to the confidence and protection of their country. The arrangement adopted will I think accomplish fully both objects. The President has instituted a board of officers, to consist of five members two of high rank in the corps, Genl Bernard, the engineer at each station (of young Gadsden for example at New Orleans), and the naval officer commanding there, whose duty it is made, to examine the whole coast, and report such works as are necessary for its defence, to the Chief Engineer, who shall report the same to the Secretary of War with his remarks, to be laid before the President. McKrae and Totten[4] are spoken of, for the two first, who with Genl Bernard will continue till the service is per-

[3] Gen. Simon Bernard, lieutenant-general of engineers under Napoleon, was commissioned "assistant in the corps of engineers of the United States, with the rank of brigadier-general by brevet". Brig.-Gen. Joseph G. Swift, chief engineer of the army, thereupon resigned. Bernard remained in the service until 1830, constructing Fort Monroe and other coast defenses. In 1834 and from 1836 to 1839 he was Minister of War in France.

[4] Lieut.-Col. William MacRea (see p. 46, note 1, *ante*), and Capt. Joseph G. Totten, chief engineer 1838-1864.

formed; the two latter will change with the station. The Genl commanding each division will be officially apprised of this arrangement, that he may be present, when he pleases, and give such aid as he may think fit. The attention of the board will be directed, to the inland frontiers, likewise. In this way, it is thought that the feelings of no one can be hurt. We shall have four of our Officers, in every consultation, against one foreigner, so that if the opinion of the latter becomes of any essential use, it must be, by his convincing his colleagues, where they differ, that he has reason on his side. I have seen Genl Bernard, and find him a modest, unassuming man, who preferrd our country in the present state of France, to any in Europe, in some of which he was offerd employment, and in any of which he might probably have found it. He understands that he is never to have the command of the corps, but always will rank second in it.

This letter you will perceive is highly confidential, a relation which I wish always to exist between us. Write me as you have done, without reserve, and the more so, the more gratifying your communications will be

With great respect and sincere regard yours

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy. And. J. Donelson.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, December 26, 1816.

D'r Genl. Your letter on the eve of your departure enclosing Major Bakers and Genl Parkers was duly received. I wrote to Genl Parker as directed, and further added, that I was determined to engage in purchasing or entering lands for any individual or company, on the following terms. 1st any individual or company furnishing ten thousand dollars and upwards scrip that I would furnish the amount in cash directed by law, purchase and enter to the amount, at my own expence, having one third of the land so purchased or entered. 2d on any individual or company furnishing as above scrip within three years from the ending of the sales of the public lands, for which the same is receivable, I would pay in lands, at valluation the nominal amount of said scrip. 3d and lastly, that any individual furnishing scrip or in stock as above, that I would within five years from the termination of the sales of the lands for which the stock is receivable, pay to the individual etc etc in cash the nominal amount of said stock or scrip so furnished, whether any of those terms will suit the Genl and his friends I expect to learn shortly. I have heard nothing from congress yet, The Sec of war writes me of date 4th instant that the land ceded will be brought into market with as little delay as possible, and the treaties has met with the entire approbation of the President.

Lt Gadsden writes me of the 3d instant that Mr Crawford is oposed to bringing this land into markett speedily. he says it would glutt the

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

markett, and the U states would loose by it. Mr C has a better reason than this, he does not like us, wishes at the hazard of the safety of the union to cramp our growing greatness and wishes to prevent the population of Georgia to be reduced by the emigration to this new country, and he oposes it because I have recommended it. But the tenor of the sec of wars letter of the 4th breathes a different sentiment than Mr C. I therefore conclude he has but little influence in the cabinett.

I am directed to remove all intruders north of the Tennessee, to lay off a site for an armory and foundery near the shoals, with a reservation of thirty thousand acres of land, below. the shoals will (you see) become a great and important place. I shall set out shortly to explore that country. I heard the other day from your family, they were all well. I have removed to the Hermitage, I landed last monday. I wanted to lay myself up in dry Dock for repairs, but the government will not let me. I cannot bear whilst eating the public bread, to report unfit for duty.

Accept of my best wishes. adieu

George W. Campbell to Jackson.[1]

[N. P.] December 27, 1816.

. . . . The Treaties made with the Indian tribes during last sum[mer] have all been ratified ['by the' stricken out] in Senate. No material change has lately taken place in the state of our foreign relations Our affairs with Spain remain in Statu-quo. Her minister here declared his conviction that the attacks on the Fire-brand in the Gulf was without the orders of his government and would be disavowed by it. The attention of Congress is, by a late message from the President drawn to certain *armaments* etc. said to be carrying on in our seaports [*word erased*], supposed to be designed to aid the Patriots in South America. What further legal provision, if any Congress may be disposed to make on the subject, is yet uncertain. Some, no doubt think, the law now existing, are sufficient. The subject of the little Creek Indian boy presented to me at your table, and noticed in your note to me, previous to leaving Nashville, shall not be forgotten. I have frequently reflected on it, have named it to some members of both houses, shall feel great pleasure in promoting the benevolent object your remarks have in view, but, still from the disposition generally manifested in most legislative bodies in regard to such *insulated subjects*, and *solitary* objects, I doubt, very much doubt, the success of any attempt, that will be made in his favor. If however there appears the smallest prospect of a favorable result, the effort shall be made. I shall be very happy to hear from you when convenient. You will please tender my best respects to Mrs. Jackson and accept for yourself assurances of etc

[1] Collection of Mrs. Susan P. Brown, care of Dr. Lucius P. Brown, of Franklin, Tenn. Campbell was at this time U. S. senator from Tennessee.

To Secretary Monroe.[1]

Nashville, January 6, 1817.

Dear Sir. I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th Decbr. last, which I have perused with great interest and much satisfaction.

your Ideas of the importance of the late acquired Territory from the Indians is certainly correct, and all the importance you attach to it, will be reallised, The sooner these lands are brought into markett, a permanant security will be given to what, I deem, the most important, as well as the most vulnarable part of the union. This country once settled, our fortifications of defence in the lower country compleated, all urope will cease to look at it with an eye to conquest. There is no other point of the union (america united) that combined urope can expect to invade with success,

On the other subjects embraced in my letter as well as this I give you my crude ideas with the candeur of a friend, under a recollection of the old adage, that the Bee may suck honey from the mire. I am much gratified that you received them as I intended, It was the purest friendship for you individually, combined with the good of our country that dictated the liberty I took in writing you. The importance of the station you were about to fill to our nation and yourself—The injury in reputation that the chief magistrate may sustain from the acts of a weak minister—the various interest, that will arise to recommend for office their favourite candidate—and from experience in the late war, the mischief that did arise to our nation and national charec[tor] by the wickedness or weakness of our war minister,[2] induced me, to give you my candid opinion, on the importance of the charector that should fill this office. I had made the most extensive enquiry, from the most impartial sources, for the most fit charector, possessing virtue talents honor and energy, and all united in the Individual named, I am fully impressed with the propriety as well as the policy you have pointed out of taking the heads of Departments from the four grand sections of the u states, where each section can afford a charector with equal fitness—but where that cannot be done I think the executive is entitled to have the best talents, when combined with other necessary qualifications that the country can afford reguardless of the section of country that hold them

I have read with much satisfaction that part of your letter on the rise, progress and policy of the Federalist. It is in my opinion a Just exposition—and I am free to acknowledge, had I commanded the military Department where the Hartford convention met, If it had been the last act of my life, I should have hung up the three principle leaders of the party, I am sure an independant court martial would have condemned

[1] This letter is a draft in Jackson's handwriting. Comparison with the copy published in Parton's *Jackson* (II. 366) shows that every idea in it was Jackson's and contradicts Parton's assumption that Maj. W. B. Lewis was the real author of the letters to Monroe. A copy of this letter, addressed to the Secretary of War, exists in the War Department files. At that time Monroe had been out of the War Department for more than eighteen months, and Jackson had written many letters to Crawford, his successor in office.

[2] Meaning Armstrong.

them under the 2nd section of the act establishing rules and articles for the goverment of the army of the u. s. These kind of men altho called Federalist, are really monarchrist, and traitors to the constituted Goverment. But I am of opinion that there are men who are called Federalists, that are honest, virtuous, and really attached to our Goverment, and altho the[y] differ many respects and opinions with the republicans still they will risque every thing in its defence. It is therefore a favourite adage of mine, " that the tree is known by its fruit," experience in the late trying war has taught me to know, that it is not those who cry patriotism loudest who are the greatest friends to their country, or will risque most in its defence. The Senate of Rome had its Sempronius, america has hers, and when I see a charector with a manly, honest, firmness, give his opinion, but when overruled by a majority, fly to support the Eagles of his country, meet every privation, and every danger, for a love of country and its security I care not by what name he is called, I believe him to be a true american, worthy the confidence of his country, and all good men. Such charectors as this, will never disgrace themselves, or do an act injurious to their country. Such is the charector given to me of Colo. D—and believing in the recommendation, I am and was confident, he was well qualified, to fill the office with credit to himself and benefit to his country, and aid you in the arduous duty of the station a gratefull country has called you to fill. I will Just add, names are but Bubbles and some times used for the most wicked purpose. I will name one Instance I have once upon a time been called a Federalist. you will smile when I name the cause, when your country put up your name in opposition to Mr. M. I was one of those who gave my opinion, that on the event of war, (which was then probable) you would be my choice, every person knew I Esteemed Mr M. as one of the best of men and a great civilian, but I always believed, that the mind of a Philosopher cannot dwell upon blood and carnage with any composure and not well fitted for a stormy sea. I was for these Ideas unhesitatingly denounced as a Federalist. But I trust that Judging the tree by its fruit, it was unjustly ascribed to either. To conclude my Dear sir, my whole letter was predicated, to put you on your guard against american Semproniuses, that you might exercise your own Judgt. in the choice of your own ministry—By which, you would Glide smothly through your administration with honor to yourself and benefit to your country. This was my motive, This the first wish of my heart—to see you when I am in retirement, endeavouring to nurse a broken and debilitated, constitution—administering the Goverment with the full approbation of all good men persuing an undeviating course alone dictated by your own independant matured Judgtment.

To Secretary Graham.[1]

Headquarters Division of the South,
Nashville, January 14, 1817

Sir. A report from Major Long, Topographical Engineer, has just reached me through the medium of the Adjutant General's Office, and

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS. Graham was still Secretary of War *ad interim.*

I enclose a copy, by which you will perceive, he has, by orders from the Dept of War, left the duties assigned him, and is now on duty in the Northern Division.

If this report be correct it at once shews the impropriety of ordering and transfering an officer from one Division to another, except through the medium of the commg General thereof: it is inconsistent with all military rule and subversive of the first principles of that subordination which ought, and must be maintained, either to make an Army usefull or efficient.

This Officer had been ordered on a special duty by the Commandant of the 9th Dept and that at a time when his prompt execution of the order, and report thereon, was deem'd all important, and would so have been, provided a war with the Indians, which was highly probable at that time, had to have ensued. Instead of completing the duty assigned him, by furnishing a perfect sketch of the topography of the country, he is, without any notice thereof to the Officer commanding the Department "ordered to Washington by the Secy of War" and thence to N. York; and that too, without any notice to the Officer Commanding the Division, who is held responsible for its safety and Defence.

Without Topographical Engineers are kept at duty within their Divisions in time of peace we cannot expect but little benefit from them in time of War, and they might as well be stricken from the rolls of the Staff; for as yet, as far as my information extends they have rendered no beneficial service in my Division, and Major Long is the only one who has made the least effort under orders from the Divn of the South.

I have to request an explanation how it has happened that Major Long, has been ordered from duty in my division to the Northern, without due notice, thereof, to me; and, if any, what T. Engineer has been transferred to the Southern Division in his stead. And I have further to request, that, if Major Long has not been transferred to the North, he be ordered to report himself, without delay, at the Head Quarters of the Southern Division.

I am Sir Very Respy Yo. Mo. Obt St

Secretary Graham to Jackson.[1]

Department of War, February 1, 1817.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo, which seems to have been founded on an erroneous impression of the instructions which had been given to major Long; extracts from which are enclosed. When major Long reported himself to this department in pursuance of those instructions, he applied for leave to go to New York for the purpose of arranging some private business—this permission was granted on his representation, that his report and topo-

[1] The letter here given shows that Parton's statement (*Jackson,* II. 372) is inaccurate in that it omits any reference to a protest to the War Department before the letter of Mar. 4 to Monroe. Graham's letter throws a new light on the controversy. The reference is to Maj. Stephen H. Long, serving under Jackson and ordered out of his department without notice to Jackson.

graphical plans could be executed by him with greater facility, in consequence of the instruments which he had there, and Which he could not readily procure at this place. He was, also, verbally instructed to act temporarily, if necessary, as topographical Engineer to the Board of Fortifications; provided, major Roberdeau, Who had been assigned to that duty, should be prevented from joining the board. It is not understood, however, that he has been called on to perform any duties of that kind.

So soon as major Long has made his report to this department, he will in pursuance of the original intention of the department, be ordered to report himself to you at Nashville. It is distinctly to be understood, that this department at all times exercises the right of assigning officers to the performance of special duties, at its discretion.

I have the honor to be,

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Nashville, February 24, 1817.

My Dear Andrew, ... you are now entered on the theatre of the world amonghst Stranger[s], where it behoves you to be guarded at all points. in your intercourse with the world you ought to be courteous to all, but make confidents of few, a young mind is too apt, to form opinions on speecious shows, and polite attention by others and to bestow confidence, before it has had proofs of it being well founded, when often, very often, they will be deceived, and when too late find to their Sorrow and regret that those specious shows of profered friendship, are merely to obtain confidence the better to deceive, you therefore must be carefull on forming new acquaintances, how and where you repose confidence,

I have full confidence in your Judgtment, when ripened with experience, I well know, you will part with existance, before you will tarnish your honor, or depart from the paths of virtue and honesty. But you must recollect, how many snares will be laid for the inexperienced youth to draw him into disapation, vice and folly, against these snares I wish to guard you, This will be attempted first by obtaining your confidence, by specious display of, sacred reguard to virtue, honor and honesty, and deriding morallity and religion as empty hypocritical shows, endeavouring to draw you into little vices and dissapation, and step by step into those of a more destructive kind, from all which I wish you to be guarded. I do not mean by these observations, that you should, shut yourself up from the world, or depr[ive] yourself from proper relaxation, or inno-

[1] Library of Congress, Jackson-Donelson Correspondence. Andrew Jackson Donelson was a nephew of Mrs. Jackson and lived at the Hermitage from an early age. Jackson supervised his education and in 1817 got him admitted to the Military Academy at West Point, then recently remodelled as an out-and-out educational institution. After graduating there in 1820 he served two years in the army under Jackson. He resigned his commission in February, 1822, and entered Transylvania University as a law student. He was admitted to the bar in 1823 and settled in Bolivar Co., Miss. When Jackson was elected President he went to Washington as his private secretary. From that time his career was prominent. He was a man of such fine ability that his friends declared him worthy of a better position than first assistant to a distinguished uncle.

cent amusement but only, that you should alone intermix, with the better class of society, whose charectors are well established for their virtue, and upright conduct. Amonghst, the virtuous females, you ought to cultivate an acquaintance, and shun the intercourse of the others as you would the society of the viper or base charector—it is an intercourse with the latter discription, that engenders corruption, and contaminates the morals, and fits the young mind for any act of unguarded baseness, when on the other hand, the society of the virtuous female, enobles the mind, cultivates your manners, and prepares the mind for the achievement of every thing great, virtuous and honourable, and shrinks from every thing base or ignoble. you will find Genl Swift[2] in New york, when you reach there wait upon him and deliver the letter I gave you for him, take his instructions for your guide, I have requested his patronage for you under his admonitions, you are safe, from them I hope you will not depart,

I have barely to add, whilst I recommend oeconomy to you as a virtue, on the other hand shun parsomony never spend money uselessly, nor never withold it when necessary to spend it, I have notified Genl. Swift that you are authorised to draw on me for what sum of money may be necessary for you education and support. . . . .

Secretary Monroe to Jackson.

Washington, March 1, 1817.

Dear sir. I wrote you, a short letter, lately, by Genl. Bernard,[1] and intended to have written you another, but had not time; indeed, so constantly have I been engaged, in highly important business, that I have not had a moment for my friends.

In the course of last summer, the President offerd the dept. of war, to Mr Clay, who then declind it. Since it was known, that the suffrages of my fellow citizens, had decided in my favor, I renewd to him the offer, which he has again declined. My mind was immediately fixd on you, tho' I doubted, whether, I ought, to wish, to draw you, from the command of the army, to the South, where in case of any emergency, no one could supply your place. At this moment, our friend, Mr Campbell, called and informd me that you wished me not to nominate you. In this state, I have resolved to nominate Govr. Shelby, tho' it is uncertain whether he will serve. His experience, and long and meritorious services, give him a claim over younger men, in that State or Ohio.

I shall take a person for the dept. of State from the Eastward, and Mr Adams's claim, by long service, in our diplomatic concerns, appe[ar]ding to entitle him to the preference, supported, by his acknowledged abilities and integrity, his nomination will go to the Senate. Mr Crawford, it is expected will remain in the Treasury. After all that has

[2] Brig.-Gen. Joseph G. Swift was chief engineer of the army and *ex officio* superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point.

[1] Nov. 15, 1816, President Madison, acting under a resolution of Congress, Apr. 29, 1816, commissioned General Simon Bernard as "assistant in the corps of engineers of the United States". See p. 269, n. 3, *ante*.

been said, I have thought, that I should put the admn., more on national ground, by taking the Secry of State, from the Eastward, than from this quarter, or the South, or west. By this arrangment, there can be no cause to suspect, unfair combination, for improper purposes. Each member will stand, in his own merit, and the people, respect, us, all, according to our conduct. To each I will act, impartially, and of each, expect the performance of his duty. While I am here, I shall make, the admn., first, for the country, and its cause, secondly, to give effect, to the government of the people through me, for the time of my appointment, not for the aggrandizement of any one.

with great respect and sincere regard yours

As my letters to you are private and confidential, it seems hardly necessary, to state it

To the President (James Monroe).[1]

Head Qrs D. of the South, Nashville, March 4, 1817

Sir, I have waited with anxious solicitude for the period to arrive, when I could congratulate my Country and myself on your being placed into the Presidential Chair of this rising Republic.

Your Predecessor accomplished much for his Country. None could have served with more virtuous zeal, yet there still remains undone, much for you to perform. The safety of the Country has its first claim upon your attention; next its general welfare, and I am convinced that you will pardon me, and ascribe to its proper motions, my having, at so early a period, after your instalment to the Executive chair, brought to your notice the defenceless situation of New Orleans, Mobile and their dependencies, in consequence of the want of repairs to the old Fortifications and the erection of others which are absolutely necessary for their safety and defence. On file in the War Department you will find the result of the examination of that Country, which was made by Lieut Gadsden and myself, contained in his report; which met the approbation of the then Secretary of War; yet so far as I am informed nothing has been either done, to the old Fortifications, nor preparations made towards the erection of new ones.

Next to the completion of the Fortifications of Defence, I would by leave to call your attention to strengthing that Frontier by a permanent settlement of all the Lands acquired from the Creek Indians. Short sighted politicians may urge that by bringing too much land into market at once, it will reduce the price, and thereby injure the finances of the Country. Others, still more blind, may contend that it will drain the oth[er] States of their population, to prevent which, that the land ought not to be brought into market for twenty years. Such are the reasons which have been used, but they are too weak to have any influence upon strong and experienced minds; The lower country is of too great importance to the Union for its safety to be jeopordized, by such short sighted policy. All the lands to be sold, are, in a national point of view, but as

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

a drop in the bucket when brought in competition with the value of that Country to the Union, or when compared with the amount which it would cost the United States to retake it, should it once fall into the hands of an Enemy possessing a superiority on the Ocean. Every moment then should be employed, and all the means in the power of the Nation used, to add to its strength, and insure its defence, with the least expense. In what manner then can this be accomplished with so much certainty as by giving it a permanent population, able to defend it, who will by their industry afford ample supplies for an army, good roads, and improve the navigation, so as to render the transportation of everything necessary for an Army, easy and cheap. Permit me here to repeat, that, the fortifications compleated, and a permanent settlement on those Lands made. Louisiana may be considered safe, and the lower Country impregnable to an enemy.

Closely connected with this subject is the Foundry and Armory contemplated on the waters of Tennessee, on the site lately selected by me under the order of the President. This can be erected in six months, and will produce a sufficient supply of metal for all purposes of defence; the Tennessee River below the Shoals, and within eighteen miles of the site, affords at all seasons of the year a free communication to all points on the Mississippi. From this situation on the Tennessee, where a general Depot ought to be established, to the Cotton Gin Port, will not exceed fifty miles, and may not be more than Forty five; here, on the event of war and an invasion of Mobile (should the water communication between Orleans and Mobile be cut off) might be a Depot of Arms and supplies, which could with ease be transported to the operating army. This situation on the Tennessee is highly advantageous it being perfectly secure from the approach of an enemy, and on the contingency mentioned could supply at very little expense, the temporary Depot at the Cotton Gin Port. The site chosen for a Foundry and Armory in point of ore, water, Timber, and appearance of Stone coal, cannot be surpassed. The Ore is of the richest quality and from every appearance inexhaustible, taking into consideration all those advantages, I do not hestitate to recommend it as the most advantageous site in America. I may add that the military road ordered to be laid out and opened will pass directly through the reserve, and by the Foundry; this road I hope to be able to commence opening in a few weeks; I expect Capt Young Asst Topographical Engineer, who is now engaged in running an experimental line to return to the Tennessee during this month. So soon as he reports, the work will be commenced.

Connected with the safety and defence of the South Western section of the union is another subject, (which altho more intimately united with the defence and safety of the North West) I beg leave to present to your view. It is that the Lands on the Ohio, within the State of Kentucky and on the East bank of the Mississippi be obtained from the Chickasaws and immediately settled. Although it may be said that we have sufficient Territory already, and that our settlements ought not to be extended too far, yet every thing should be done to lessen our frontier

and consolidate our settlements; this would at once have that effect, it would not only cut off all intercourse between the Northern Indians, and the Chickasaws and Choctaws but insure safety to our commerce on the Ohio and Mississippi, and afford a strong defence within striking distance of the settlements on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

I would also add another important reason why just policy should dictate the acquirement of this Territory, within that part which lies within the chartered limits of the State of Tennessee a great portion was sold early in 1783 to redeem the public debt of the revolution and Patents have been issued for the same. The individuals purchasing expected immediate possession. They believed that the State of North Carolina possessed a good title as no other was set up or acknowledged; and by the treaty of Peace Great Britain acknowledged it conquered, and ceded it without any kind of reservation whatever. The policy of the Government in open violation of the constitution which secures property from being taken for public use without just compensation being made, has by law, prevented the individuals from taking possession of their Lands, and reserved them for hunting grounds for the Indians. The game being destroyed as acknowledged by all, the right of possession, granted to the Indians for the purpose of hunting ceases, and justice, sound policy and the constitutional rights of the Citizen, would require its being resigned to him.

It may be asked how this land is to be obtained from the Indians, they having refused to relinguish their claim to the commissioners lately appointed instructed and authorized to make this purchase from them one of whom, I was. I will answer, and I beg you will not be astonished at the ground I assume until you examine it well. I have long viewed treaties with the Indians an absurdity not to be reconciled to the principles of our Government. The Indians are the subjects of the United States, inhabiting its territory and acknowledging its soverignty, then is it not absurd for the soverign to negotiate by treaty with the subject. I have always thought, that Congress had as much right to regulate by acts of Legislation, all Indian concerns as they had of Territories; there is only this difference, that the inhabitants of Territories, are Citizens of the United States and entitled to all the rights thereof, the Indians are Subjects and entitled to their protection and fostering care; the proper guardian of this protection and fostering care is the Legislature of the Union. I would therefore contend that the Legislature of the Union have the right to prescribe their bounds at pleasure, and provide for their wants and whenever the safety, interest or defence of the country should render it necessary for the Government of the United States to occupy and possess any part of the Territory, used by them for hunting, that they have the right to take it and dispose of it. In the mean time justice would require that these wants, in return, should be provided for, and that protection should be granted them, and certainly Congress is as competent to do them justice, as a commissioner appointed for that purpose.

The wisdom of the Government has wisely provided, that the property of a Citizen can be taken for public use, on just compensation being

made, and can it be argued that an Indian, thrown on the bounty of the Government, subject to its soverignty, not possessing the right of soil or Domain merely having the possessory right, yielded by the liberality of the United States through humanity, when they were ceded by a treaty with a conquered Country, without a reservation of any kind in their favor, I ask can it be contended with any propriety that their rights are better secured than our Citizens, and that Congress cannot pass laws for their regulation, when it is acknowledged, that they live within the Territory of the United States and are subject to its soverignty and would it not be absurd to say that they were not subject to its laws.

If they are viewed as an independent nation, possessing the right of soverignty and domain, then negotiating with them and concluding treaties, would be right and proper. But this is not the fact, all Indians within the Territorial limits of the United States, are considered subject to its sovereignty, and have only a possessory right to the soil, for the purpose of hunting and not the right of domain, hence I conclude that Congress has full power, by law, to regulate all the concerns of the Indians.

To this might be opposed the policy and practice of the Government so long pursued towards them; to which I would answer, that this policy grew out of the weakness of the arm of Government, and the circumstances under which the nations were placed, and not from Rights acknowledged to be possessed by them, by the confederated Government. The arm of Government was not sufficiently strong to enforce its regulations amongst them, it was difficult to keep them at peace, and the policy of treating with them was adopted from necessity. Circumstances have entirely changed, and the time has arrived when a just course of policy can be exercised toward them. Their existence and happiness now depend upon a change in their habits and customs which can only be effected by a change of policy in the Government. The game being destroyed, they can no longer exist by their bows and arrows and Gun. They must lay them aside and produce by labour; from the earth a subsistance; in short they must be civilized; to effect which their territorial boundary must be curtailed; as long as they are permitted to roam over vast limits in pursuit of game, so long will they retain their savage manners, and customs:

Good policy would therefore point to just and necessary regulations by law, to produce this grand object, circumscribe their bounds, put into their hands the utensils of husbandry, yield them protection, and enforce obedience to those just laws provided for their benefit, and in a short time they will be civilized, and by placing near them an industrious and virtuous population you set them good examples, their manners habits and customs will be imbibed and adopted, and by circumscribing the Chickasaws to the limits mentioned, you leave them sufficient extent of Territory, you do justice to those Citizens who have been so long and so unjustly deprived of the possession of their property, and you place your landmarks at a permanent point, from which neither justice or sound policy will require a removal. You give content at home, and peace on your frontier by the consolidation of your settlements. Justice to the Citizen, the interest and security of the United States, and the peace and

happiness of the Indians require that this should be done, and it can only be affected, by the Legislature of the Union whose powers are coextensive with the object, and, under the change of circumstances, the arm of Government sufficiently strong to carry them into execution. There can be no doubt, but that, in this way more justice will be extended to the Nations, than by the farce which has been introduced of holding treaties with them, for it is too true that avarice and fear are the predominant passions that govern an Indian. And money, is the weapon, in the hand of the commissioner, wielded to corrupt a few of their leaders, and induce them to adopt the plans embraced by the views of the Government, when the poor of the Nation receive but little, and are, by the influence of their Chiefs, (thus managed by corruption) induced to assent to their wills. Honor justice and humanity certainly require that a change of Policy should take place.

Not knowing who may fill the Office of Secretary of War, and from powers assumed by the late incumbent, which strike at the very root of all subordination, that ought and must exist in an Army, I cannot forbear bringing it thus early to your notice, that it may find a correction before its disorganizing features, take root, and be hereafter quoted as precedents. It is the right, assumed by the Secretary of War to direct the Topographical Engineers to perform special duties, the manner in which they shall report, and even directing them to report to an independent department, and all this without the knowledge of the commanding Genl.

The case alluded to, is, instructions given to Major Long Topographical Engineer, who had reported to this Division, and been ordered on duty; after which, the first that is known of him, is, his report from New York, stating that he is there by an order from the Secretary of War.[2] A letter is written and request made of that Department, to be informed, whether any orders have been given that officer, and in answer the Letter and Extracts inclosed, marked No. 1, 2, and 3 was received. It is expressly declared that, that department reserves the right to order subordinate officers to perform special duties when it may think proper, without that order even going through, or being made know[n] to the commanding General. Such a doctrine, is a violation of all military etiquette, and subversion of every principle of subordination, and could only originate in an inexperienced head, perfectly unskilled in military matters, and really unacquainted even with the duties prescribed by the rules and regulations for the government of the Army, or the act organizing the General Staff.

Admit for a moment this modern doctrine, and you destroy all subordination, deprive, at the pleasure of the Secretary the Commanding Genl (who is responsible for the safety and defence of his Division) of the services of his best Officers, to whom he has assigned the execution of duties, for the most important purposes, and that too without his knowledge, with out their report, and kept for a considerable time ignorant

[2] Major Long's orders were dated June 18, 1816, while Crawford was Secretary of War. A copy is in N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

of their situation, when he is in daily expectation of receiving their report upon which depends an important movement of the Army, a sudden attack of the enemy.

It will be at once acknowledged by all military men that the duties and labour of a Topo: Engineer are alone important to the Officer directing the operations of an Army; it can be of no benefit to him that the Topography of a Country has been obtained and locked up in the War Department, or even, which is more ludicrous, instead of being reported to him, reported to the chief of Engineers. It is the correct knowledge of the Topography of a country that enables the commander of an Army to strike the enemy with certainty and effect, and act with promptness and success; for this purpose that part of the General Staff was created by law and attached to the Division, and made subordinate to the orders of their Commanders, and cannot be removed without their knowledge and consent, unless it is by establishing in the person of the Secretary of War a Tyrant superior to the law, whose will is the constitution, his caprice the law.

Ours, is a Government of laws and this wise principle pervades the whole from the President down both in the civil and military departments, with that regular subordination and responsibility, which at once not only beautifies, but gives regularity and system to the whole machinery; destroy one link, and you disorganize this well regulated system, and everything becomes insubordination and chaos. Every military order must pass through the regular channel, the responsible Officer is then enabled to calculate his strength, and means, make all the necessary regulations, for the safety and security of his command and be prepared at all points. If he fails in duty or preparation for defence and a failure ensues, his head ought to pay the forfeit. Justice cries aloud against making him responsible, when another department assumes the right, at pleasure, and his own caprice, to deprive him of the means without his knowledge or consent and this too when the duties assigned to the Officer taken, is all important to the security and defence of his Division. I will barely add, what your great experience teaches, that a time of peace, is the proper time to obtain the true Topography of the Country, and make the necessary preparations for a state of War.

I have the honor to be Sir with great respect

Your Obt St

To President Monroe.[1]

Private

Nashville, March 18, 1817.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure this day of receiving your letter of the 1st Instant, that by Genl Barnard, I have not recd., I learn by this days mail, that he has reached Knoxville and will be on in a few days.

My friend Judge Campbell, was fully authorised by me to make the communication to you that he did, and I hope, gave you, fully my reasons for my determination and wishes on that head.

[1] In Parton's *Jackson*, II. 369, in a revised form.

I have no hesitation in saying, you have made the best selection to fill the Department of State that could have been made. Mr Adams, in the hour of dificulty will be an able helpmate, and I am convinced, will give general satisfaction—no persons stands higher in my Estimation than Governor Shelby, he is a well tried Patriot, and I have no doubt, if he accepts, will with a virtuous Zeal as far as his abilities may enable him, discharge the duties of his office. But sir, I cannot disguise, my feelings on this occasion, that sincere friendship I have for you and my anxious solicitude for your Public and pr[i]vate wellfare, compells me to be candid, and say to you that the acquirements of this worthy man are not competant to a discharge, of the multiplied duties of the Department of War, I therefore hope he may decline the acceptance of the office for should he accept, I am fearfull, he will not add much splendor to his present well Earnt standing as a public charector. Should he accept, be assured, that as long as I remain in the army It will afford me great pleasure, in obaying your orders through him, and rendering his duty Easy and pleasant, as far as it may be in my power

I am aware of the dificulties that surround you; But the plan you have adopted, of making all considerations, subserviant to the general weal, will bring you to retirement with the applause of all the virtuous, wise, and good, and if properly seconded by the congress of the u states (of which I have much fear) will enable you, to place the union, in a state of security and prosperity, that cannot be shaken by foreign convulsions. To this end you can calculate with confidence on all my feeble exertions, so long as my constitution, may permit me to be usefull. I have looked forward to the period, when under your guidance, our government would be in the full tide of successfull experiment, when I would retire from public life, to endeavour to regain a much enfebled constitution, should you be properly seconded, in your views, This period will arive, as soon as the measures you adopt for the defence of the frontier, is caryed into effect—by a completion of those fortifications, that have or may be selected for its defence founderies and armourys established, the militia organized and classed, agreable to your recommendation to congress in the spring of 1815. *Then we will have peace*, for then we will be prepared for war. Every man with a gun in his hand, all urope combined, cannot hurt us, and all the world will be anxious to be upon friendly terms with us, because all the world will see, we wish peace with all, but are prepared for defence against all those who would wantonly infringe our national rights

accept assurances of my best wishes, and believe me to be respectfully yr mo, ob, serv,

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Philadelphia, March 20, 1817.

I am moving on in my business, not as speedily as I could wish, fast tho as I can. I have but 140 pages yet completed It is neatly executed on good paper and looks remarkably well: the type is wholly new. I regret not being able to get off home sooner, but I much expect not to leave

this untill perhaps the last of May; fifty pages a week is all that can be done, and the work can not be divided out to different p[r]inters, because not knowing how many pages the manuscript will make, the pages could not be arranged in a manner to meet. There is no doing any thing here through agents, and if I had not come on, this book would have just gone on at the leisure and convenien[ce] of the parties engaged in it: I must stay then untill all is completed; how long this may be I dont know, for no application is yet made to a book binder or any thing known of the time it may take to have them bound. M. Carey is my publisher.[1] He insisted on having it, not, as he said and I believd with a view to benifit himself, but that you might come forth to the world in as unacceptionable an attire as possible: between us I hope it will be done; a proof sheet comes to each of us, he suggests any alteration or improv[em]ent he pleases and sends it to me to be judged of—he has been highly serviceable and I feel myself under obligations to him for it

Major Gadsden has executed and forwarded all the plates, and Mr Tinner has finished their engraving neatly and handsomly. I have not been able to procure a likeness. Mr West who had a minature painting is at new orleans. The one sent mr. munroe is in the hands of the Society of fine arts at this place, I have applied to mr. Ropertson for it, but cant procure it. I have written to mr. munroe on the subject and expect an answer in a day or two. I have an engraved likeness executed by Edwin which all who know you say is an excellent one, I think so too: it was done for a gentleman in N. York, to whom thro' some gentlemen here I have applied, to get the plate and am in hopes of succeeding.[2] Should this and the application to mr. munroe fail I know not what will be done. I must then prevail on you to send me one from Nashville; in the event of failure you will hear from me in three or four days after this.

My respects to mrs. Jackson
very respectfully

To Messrs. Worsley and Smith.[1]

Nashville April 11, 1817

Gentlemen, Your letter of the 22nd ult. assigning your reasons for not having published agreeably to my request, my letter to you bearing date the 11th March, has been recd.

At the time that letter was written I can assure you, I had not the most distant idea, that any harshness of remark against the authors of the base

[1] Besides the offer of Conrad and Company (see A. P. Hayne to Jackson, Jan. 24, 1816, note 1, *ante*) W. W. Woodward made an offer, Nov. 22, 1815, to bring out the book and pay the author twenty-five cents royalty on each copy printed, the publishers to own the copyright.

[2] *The Life of Andrew Jackson, Major-General in the Service of the United States, commenced by John Reid, Brevet Major, completed by John Henry Eaton* (Philadelphia, M. Carey and Son, 1817), has for frontispiece a portrait of Jackson, "Wheeler pinxt., Edwin sc.". It also has engraved plates of battlefields. The miniature by West was probably used in the making of the medal, voted by Congress and engraved by Moritz Fuerst, engraver to the United States Mint.

[1] This letter, recently purchased by the Library of Congress, is in Amos Kendall's handwriting. As Kendall did not know Jackson in 1817, it was probably a copy made at a later date. Worsley and Smith were the publishers of the Lexington, Ky., *Reports.*

fabrication commented on, could apply to you. That forgery was published to the world by you under the declaration of my name, not as an extract from the Palladium [2] or any other paper and I therefore had every reason to believe, that you would not have given it in the manner you did, unless you held in your possession the original documents; had it been published as an extract from the Palladium or any other paper I should have enclosed you the following letter from Major Helm to me, dated "Hardensburg 29th, May 1815" nine days after the date of this letter to the Editors of the Palladium.

"*Sir:* You will probably have observed in the Reporter, a remark made by Genl. Thomas, or rather by myself as Secretary to Genl. Thomas respecting the conduct of the detachment of Kentucky Militia composing Col. Davis' command on the 8th Jany. I would here observe that those remarks are somewhat ambiguous, but that they have no allusion to you, whatever, but it is believed that the conduct of the Kentuckians have been misrepresented to you by Genl. Morgan, to whom those remarks allude, when saying "The conduct has been misrepresented" Signed "H. P. Helm."

This letter will show that I had every right to believe that Major Helm had corrected the error: It now appears evident, that if he has withheld this information from the Editors in Kentucky who has published at his request this base fabrication, the above letter was written for the purpose of inducing me to believe that the falsehood had been corrected, thereby to secure my silence that the thing might pass upon the public as the offspring of my pen; and it will prove that there exists somewhere a combination to impress, by false suggestions the public mind with the belief that I had added the weight of my disapprobation to the official reports of the affair of the 8th of Jany. made by Comm. Patterson and Genl. Morgan, and thereby brand those two officers, (whose conduct alone with the Artillery on that day was praiseworthy, on the right bank of the river) with the infamy of having reported falsehoods. How far your own showing in your letter of the 22nd compared with the publication in your paper of the 21st ult. and addressed to the Editors at the Eastward, will shield you from censure, I cannot say; when they find that at the very time you published it to the world as mine, you had doubts whether it ought to be attributed to me or Genl. Thomas. Having thus far premised, I have to state that your explanation is by no means satisfactory. The effect of the medicine must reach the seat of the disease or a cure cannot be effected. Now Sir this had gone forth to the world attributed to me, and has had, as it was intended to have the most injurious effects upon the character of Patterson and Morgan. It ought, and must therefore, meet with as public a contradiction; that done and I am satisfied.

You are pleased to observe that as my letter is founded on error (the spurned forgery of the remarks) which your statement corrects, you have concluded not to publish it. But when this thing applies to Genl. Thomas it cannot admit of an error. Genl. Thomas left New Orleans on or about the 18th of March, was in Natchez on the 29th, and continued

[2] The *Kentucky Palladium*, published in Frankfort.

there on the 3rd of April, to prove which I refer you to an extract from my order for the discharge of the Kentuckians, Tennesseeans, and Louisianians, which was issued on the 14th March and here enclosed with a certificate of Mr. Bedford both marked No. 1 and the copy of the drafts drawn in the name of Genl. Thomas on me, signed in the hand writing of his aid and secretary Major Helm, marked No. 2. Genl. Thomas and Major Helm reached Nashville on the 17th of April, as proved by the statement of T. Childers enclosed md. no. 3 and partook of a Dinner given them by the Citizens, which you will find noticed on your files; I am this particular to show you that Genl. Thomas was not, nor could not, be in Orleans on the 4th of April, the day on which this paper bears date of course he could not have given it, on that day and is therefore a forgery when applied to him; and I am truly astonished, that the moment it was ascribed to him, It did not occur to you, that it was a forgery, and Helm's letter a wicked fabrication for some base purpose.

Major Helm says in his letter "I left New Orleans on the 16th of April. General Adair has gone through the Attackapas but I presume that he will soon be at home. One hundred and five of the Kentucky sick came on with me, and the remainder will soon be on. I traveled with Genl. Jackson to the Choctaw agents, where I left him, but presume that he is in Nashville before this." I left New Orleans on the 6th of April, he states that he left it on the 16th. The fact is he left it about the 18th of March, therefore *could not, nor did not,* travel with me. I reached the Choctaw agents about the last of April and he reached Nashville on the 17th of the same month, his statement therefore, that he traveled with me, is false and unfounded. It has been clearly shown that Genl Thomas was not in New Orleans on the 4th of April, the day this paper bears date and it could not therefore be a production of his pen, unless the date is a forgery; but to answer the base purpose intended, it was necessary that it should bear that date.

The object in view is well explained by the extracts you have given from the History of the late War in the Western Country;[3] that it might appear that Genl. Adair had become the Hero of truth and defender of the Kentucky reputation and had dragged from me this "dry, reluctant sentence of justification." Now Sir I have only to add that neither Genl. Adair nor any other man, has, or ever will drag from me a falsehood, and I was unwilling to believe, when I saw the extract published in your paper of the 28th of Feby. that Genl. Adair had any agency in the production of this falsehood. But he is charged with it, by the Historian in the following extract from Page 520 "They" meaning Patterson and Morgan" induced Genl. Jackson to tell the War department, that "the Kentucky reinforcements ingloriously fled, drawing after them by their example, the remainder of the forces", and the commodore in his report to the Navy department, stigmatized them in terms still more offensive. A court of Enquiry was demanded by Col. Davis, before which the facts were proven as above detailed. The court however merely pronounced the Kentuckians *excusable*; which being deemed unsatisfactory, General

[3] By Robert B. McAfee (Lexington, Worsley and Smith, 1816).

Adair again pressed the subject on the Commander in Chief, and at last obtained a dry reluctant sentence of justification." Here we have the positive declaration of the author that this forg'd paper was furnished by Genl. Adair, and it remains for the Genl. to let the world know from whence he obtained it.

For a further elucidation of this subject it may be necessary to bring into view the date of Genl. Adair's letter to me which was on the 20th of March and my answer on the 2nd of April. This answer, did state, " that I did believe the report of Patterson and Morgan, and that I was bound to believe it, but that if any conformation was wanted you (Genl. Adair) *cannot have forgotten by how many persons it was offered* ". I will here add that the full view which I had from the parapet of my view of defence, gave me full evidence of the inglorious flight of the Troops on the right Bank, before the Enemy, and although I could not distinguish between corps, still it was clearly seen that the right first gave way, and no where did I behold that manly defence I expected, except from Patterson's Barreties which were well served.

This statement I had more than once made to Genl. Adair, he knew my feelings on this occasion and that I could not be brought to bend from them, my answer as I now suppose was found not to meet the purpose, that was expected; therefore this forged dish dressed in the true Spanish style was produced, to convey to the world the idea, expressed in your quotation from the History of the late war in the Western country that Genl. Adairs application to me had produced, " this dry, reluctant sentence of justification ". Now Sir you have declared that had you found that an imposition was intended, you would have felt the same indignation which I had expressed, you must now be convinced of it, and will I trust expose to public view the authors of this forgery that they may receive at the [bar?] of public justice merited punishment. I hope it will not be found as alledged by the author of the late War that Genl. Adair has had any agency in bringing into existance this piece of fabrication; but he certainly appears implicated, and if innocent it is due to justice that he should be declared so and the real source from whence it came, assertained.

You have stated that in making the publication you have only had in view the vindication of your fellow citizens from what you regarded as a base calumny. This was a laudable motive so long as you confined yourself within the pale of truth, but when advanced beyond that in their defence, to the injury of merit unjust. You further state that it was " completely refuted by an official investigation sanctioned by my name ". Why then not let their defence rest upon that, it placed them upon as high ground as they diserved, and an impartial public would have judged justly of their conduct and merit upon that occasion, but the attempts that have been made at imposition by first ascribing to me dry, reluctant expressions of justification, which I never uttered, then applying them to Genl. Thomas, who every one knows had no right to add any thing to the approval of the Court of Inquiry, and who being constantly sick, and on the sick report, could know nothing of his own knowl-

edge of the affair and from it, being dated at New Orleans at a time when it was known to every officer that he was not there, shows such a systematised plan of imposition on the public that every one must believe that a cause which required for its support such baseness, must be bad, in the extreme.

I will barely observe, that it is impossible to write men into Heroes, who fly before a weak enemy without the least manly resistance, and as you are in search of truth on this subject I enclose you Marked No. 4 an extract from the journal of Major Tatum my Topographical Enginneer whose impartiality is proverbial. I also give you the strenght of Col. Thorntons command on the right bank taken from a report found on the Enemy which is believed to be correct. Col. Thorton's regt. Inf. 450, Marines 200, Sailors 200, aggregating 850. The Sailors were left to protect the Boats and cover the retreat. The batteries marched up in their columns. The command of Genl. Morgan amounted to about 1600 men as appears from the enclosed letter marked No. 5[4] from him on the 8th day after the Battle.

You are pleased to remark that you "cannot see the propriety of so much warmth and indignation." I trust that I shall ever feel an honest warmth and indignation when I see truth sacrificed at the shrine of local feelings and interest, and an attempt made under the authority of my name to blast the well earned fame of meritorious and deserving men. From your own profession, I have grounds for believing, that from the evidence now before you you will feel equally indignant at the imposition, and believe that the troops in question have not been so much defamed or the injustice done them so notorious as you had supposed.

You state that the reported conduct of those Troops was calculated to stain the proud military character of a large and Patriotic State. As well might it be said that the disgraceful flight of my rear guard, on the 24th Jany. 1814 at Enotochopco had stained that proud military character of the State of Tennessee. The cases are similar. I witnessed both, and could anyone ever think that the disgraceful flight of a few, while others of the same corps fought bravely and sustained the honor of their country, could attach disgrace to a state? surely no! The fact is, that the Kentuckians like all other good material, have, and ever will cover themselves with glory, when well officered and gallantly led, but like all other Troops, when badly officered and timidly led, will be covered with disgrace.

You repeat your astonishment at my warmth: I will add another reason why I feel warm and indignant. From the foregoing extracts from the History of the late War in the Western Country it will be seen that these fabrications are attempted through that audience to be handed down to posterity as truths, and that too, without contradiction under the eye of those who knew their falsehood. The most unworthy and dishonorable feelings are then ascribed to me. I am described as *reluctantly yielding justice to the demand of Genl. Adair.* Such degeneracy of feeling towards any of the Troops which I have had the honor to command, is false, and

[4] These five enclosures are not discovered. In Major Tatum's "Journal" (*Smith College Studies in History,* VII. 127-129) the conduct of the troops on the west bank of the river is described with little credit to either Kentuckians or Louisianians.

to ascribe them to me could only proceed from the most malevolent heart. Had I possessed any such feelings towards the Kentuckians the conduct of a detachment of them, on the night of the 25th Jany. under the command of Colo. now, Genl. Hinds on the Bayou Bienvenue afforded ample room for comment. For the best reasons in the world I withheld it from the public. It was never named in general orders, and is only now mentioned to rebut this ungenerous insinuation.

I trust that the foregoing remarks with the accompanying documents will have the effect of placing the conduct of Comm. Patterson and Gel. Morgan in a proper light: and I feel the more confident in this belief, when a view is taken of the decision of the Court of Inquiry, the time when it took place, when the danger had passed and the joy attendant on success had induced a feeling in every breast, (from the influence of which the court could not have been exempt) to bury and excuse every thing that might tend to lessen the general joy, or tarnish the American character. Added to which when we take into view that the Enquiry was conducted without a Prosecutor, and that only such evidence was edduced as the individual who sought it thought it proper to bring before the Court. I say that when it is perceived that under all these circumstances the courts barely found them "*excusable*" it must be acknowledged that the reports of Comm. Patterson and Genl. Morgan were strictly true. I trust at least it will be believed that I have ever considered them so, and that under a contrary belief it would long since have met with my decided approbation. Justice and truth are my polar stars, from which I never have, nor will, knowlingly depart, and permit me to add, that neither wealth, power, or any other consideration can ever draw from me a falsehood, or prevent my doing justice.[5] Whenever I could be operated upon by such ignoble feelings, as either flattery or fear, to do an ungenerous act, I should loath myself and wish to

Cherokees of Arkansas River to Jackson and Meigs.

April 18, 1817.

To the Honourable
Major Generall Andrew Jackson

Sir. We the Cherokees that live on the Arkansas River beg leave to present to you our best wishes for a long life and prosperity *Father and friend* we live a long way from you and cannot all be present to see you. we have therefore in full Councill appointed two of our party agents vested with full power to transact our business with our Father the President and the Chiefs of the old Nation. we hope Sir you will Receive them and consider them as if we where [*sic*] present ourselves we have directed them to speak with you ask your advice for our good.

For Colonel Megs

3700 is our Standing Number. Since last fall that we talked with Governor Clark,[1] We have not aded the Numbers that have come since

[5] This letter called out a sharp reply from General Adair, which appeared in the *Reporter*.

[1] William Clark, governor of the Missouri Territory.

and is on the River coming. My Fathers and friends G Jackson and Colonel Meggs, we understand are about holding a treaty with the Chiefs of the Cherokees about Land. Colonell Meggs you Remember very well I know that the Cherokees sent a deputation to federall City in the year 1807 [2] how they were divided concerning coming to this Country and that the President agreed with both parties and I was advised to come to this Country and I have the paper to shew. you have the paper also. My friends and Brothers your Chiefs of the Cherokees you remember the Councill at Brown Town. when my coming to this Country was fully digested and talked off and you all agreed, I did not steal it from you. Now I understand some of you since, that you turned your talks another way, what I am talking about is a long time back I am not bred of you. My friends you are still in your houses. I still think of You I keep hearing crooked talks about me from you. Now the time is I will speak about Land—this day I think myself very strong and my people is coming to me every day we do not think of looking back nor going back—we love our Country here. My freinds your Chiefs our fathers General Jackson and Col. Meggs. I Expect you understand what I say we sent our talk by John D Chisholm and James Rogers I Expect when I hear from my father the President I shall hear that all is done to satisfaction I hold his arm fast. My father General Jackson and Col Meggs there are two roads leading to help my people keep the Roads open and clear for them I never loose sight of the Presidents talks to hold all people by the hands I have done so.

I am now compelled to let go the hands of the Osages because they let mine go and the Presidents also. they are daily stealing my property and killing my people and white people also. you ask to know the size of the Osage purchas [3] we do not wish the Goverment to Run it. it will be a bad President if you agree to pay their damages—their will be and end to their stealing. My young men have now took their guns in their hands we mean to make our Crops before we begin. I expect a great many of my freinds from the old Nation. I mean to have provision for them I mean to wait three months to work the Corn I also expect my friends from the old nation in that time to assist me. General Jackson and Col Meggs I ask your advise should I conquer the Osages and drive them off will not the Land be mine. the depredations committed on us and on the whites and French are not Resented by them, I now resent it I cannot take it any longer. My freinds and Brothers your Chiefs of the Old Nation I am informed by Governor Clark, that you was to see the President last you denied us and said that none of the anuity or Land belonged to us. Why say you so if we Cherokees in the Old Nation we are Cherokees here also and we have not changed our nation nor rights. Colonell Meggs and General Jackson we ask you to let our deputies to have their expences paid to them. as we have no agent we look to our fathers. We conclude by saying we are your Children and friends.

[2] 1808 and 1809.
[3] Under the treaty of Nov. 10, 1808.

Done in full Councill this 18th day of Aprill 1817 Signed by the Chiefs in behalf of the whole

In the presence of JOSEPH SEVERE
and
WILLIAM WARE

KACUTTOKAH
TALLAN TUSKEY
BLACK FOX
SANAWNEY
WATERMINOR
KIAMI
THOMAS GRAVES

COLONEL ROBERT BUTLER TO JACKSON.[1]

WOODSTOCK, April 20, 1817.

My Dear Sir. I drop you a hasty line, to Inform you of the Safe arrival, of Truxton. I met him at Ft. Adams, landing yesterday. My friend at Natchez, recd. him there of Mr. Hamilton and forwarded him *on* a favourable oppty. offering, by water. It is with great pleasure I have it to State to you the old *Cock* is in, good order and plight, considering, the length of time, he has been on the water, he has a little cough, which, I presume, green food will immediately remove, with moderate exercise and the care, that shall be taken of him. Mr. Hamilton, I think has done his duty towards the Horse; I am sorry I could not see Mr. H. My friend at Natchez writes me, he comes no furthe[r].

My Dr Genl. I feel under great obligations to you for, this *Horse* of *Horses*. I certainly, never beheld, a more noble animal of the species I shall cherish him and *pet* him as a great favourite, so long as he lives—he arrives in good, time for my mares—they have just commenc'd to drop their foals. I will use my best endeavours, to raise you a couple of war Horses, by the commencment of the *next war,* which I think will be in about five years hence, when I promise you also to serve by your side, should such an event occur. I shall ever *regrett* and *deplore* whilst I live, that we were not personaly acquainted before the opening of the last war. . . . .

DIVISION ORDER.[1]

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, NASHVILLE, April 22, 1817.

The Commanding-General considers it due to the principles of subordination which ought and must exist in an army to prohibit the obedience of any order emanating from the Depart of War to Officers of this division who have been reported and been assigned to duty, unless coming through him as the proper organ of communication. The object of this order is to prevent the recurrence of a circumstance which removed an important officer from the division without the knowledge of the Commanding General, and, indeed, when he supposed that officer engaged in his official

[1] This letter indicates the final phase in the life of the famous horse Truxton. The postmark was "Pinckneyville, Mississippi Territory".

[1] This order is in *Niles' Register,* XII. 320, and in Parton's *Jackson,* II. 373. It is in the Jackson MSS., Military Papers, vol. X., folio 36.

duties, and anticipated hourly the receipt of his official reports on a subject of great importance to his command; also to prevent the topographical reports from being made public through the medium of the newspapers, as was done in the case alluded to, thereby enabling the enemy to obtain the benefit of our topographical researches as soon as the General commanding, who is responsible for the division. Superior officers having commands assigned them are held responsible to the government for the character and conduct of that command, and it might as well be justified in an officer senior in command to give orders to a *guard* on duty, without passing that order through the officer of that guard, as that the Department of War should countermand the arrangements of commanding generals, without giving their orders through the proper channel. To acquiesce in such a course would be a tame surrender of military rights and etiquette, and at once subvert the established principles of subordination and good order. Obedience to the lawful commands of superior officers is constitutionally and morally required; but there is a chain of communication that binds the military compact, which, if broken, opens the door to disobedience and disrespect, and gives loose [reins] to the turbulent spirits who are ever ready to excite to mutiny. All physicians able to perform duty, who are absent on furlough, will forthwith repair to their respective posts. Commanding officers of regiments and corps are ordered to report *specially* all officers absent from duty on the 30th of June next, and their cause of absence. The army is too small to tolerate idlers, and they will be dismissed the service.

By order of Major-General Jackson

ROBERT BUTLER, Adjutant-General.

TO SECRETARY GRAHAM.[1]

NASHVILLE, April 22, 1817.

. . . . In yours of the 25th Ult. you say " As circumstances may probably make it inexpedient to enter into a negotiation with the Cherokees, for an exchange of Territory, at so early a period as that mentioned in my letter of the 22d Inst. it will be unnecessary to take any measures " etc, etc.[2] If the President finds the grounds for protracting the time of the exchange, in the belief that the minds of the nation is not sufficiently made up to meet that question; I will barely remark my belief that it might be brought before them without any prejudice at the ensuing meeting,[3] stating to them the necessity of an immediate understanding on that subject, that a section of country might be appropriated at once, and the whites prevented from settling on it: and also stating to them the necessity, to prevent a division of the nation, the President would be under, if a change was not effected, to remove those back who had already settled on the

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] By 1817 more than 3000 Cherokees had moved west of the Mississippi and were settled north of the Arkansas. To induce the remainder to exchange the land whereon they lived for lands beyond the Mississippi became a strong motive among local politicians.

[3] Expected to occur on June 20, but delayed.

Arkansas river: and it might be further urged that altho' the President felt the necessity, for the reasons above stated, to come to an immediate understanding, yet their immediate removal would not be insisted on.

Should the President conclude to bring this subject before them at the next meeting, it would be pleasing to have Genl. Meriwether associated with me in that duty. If this cannot be done I could wish that the Adjutant Genl. Col. Butler, might be his substitute, as I concieve a necessity for some assistance, in my infirm health, as, then, in the event of my sickness the business might nevertheless progress.

The Cherokee Agent is now here, and says he has, and will impress the policy of an exchange on the minds of the chiefs. It is certainly their true policy, and, in my opinion, will be adopted by the mass of the nation; a few half breeds may oppose it; these might be provided for by the reservation of a section, so long as they chose to occupy it, but when abandoned, for it to accrue to the United States; and whilst they remained, for them to be subject to the laws of the United States. . . . .

To Colonel Robert Butler.

Hermitage, May 7, 1817.

Sir, I have just seen the Lexington Reporter of the 2nd Inst. my health not permitting me to go to my office at Nashville at this time, and being called upon, to furnish the facts relative to the conduct of a detachment of Kentucky militia on the night of the 25th of Jany. under the command of Col: (now Genl. Hinds) on the Bayou Bienvenue; you will therefore forward the Editors a certified copy of my order to Genl. Thomas to detach from his Division Two Hundred men for that duty, and also the order to Col: Hinds placing them under his command. For information, from what regts. this Detachment was made and also for the name of the Officer who was detailed for the command of it, I must refer them to Genl. Thomas, His Adj: Genl and Insp: Genl.

The disgraceful act alluded to as reported, was, that when Col: Hinds was approaching the British Battery on that night, at the head of his dismounted Dragoons armed with musketts and Bayonets, supported by the Kentucky detachment, as fire was opened from a British Barge, by a cannonade at which the Kentuckians precipitately fled and left him with his dismounted men to storm the Battery. Should the Editors wish it, they shall have Col: Hinds full report of this affair in due season.

As the Editors have expressed their intentions when they publish a new Edition of the History of the War in the West to advise the author to correct some of its errors, to assist them in this praise worthy design, you will forward them a copy of the report of Genl. Morgan's Brigade Major of the strength of Col: Davis's command on the 11th and 12th of Jany. taken from the report of Col. Davis's own adjutant which will show his force on those two days, the 3rd and 4th after the battle. You will forward them a copy from the journal of Major H. Tatam Topo: Engineer setting forth the length of my line of defence, a copy of the report of Major Harris Topo. Engineer to Gen. Carrolls Division and also a copy

of Gen. Carrolls letter to me on the same subject dated the 20th June 1815, accompanied with a copy of Major Lewis Dellahuntys letter of the same date. This proves that Genl. Carrolls Division occupied about 350 yards.

The Editors cannot suppose that I will enter into a discussion of this subject with them. They Know that the forgery published in their paper under the declaration of my name and the extracts published from the History of the War in the West, brought me forward, the falsehood of which being now completely exposed by the documents before the public. They may comment upon them at pleasure, But an impartial public by comparing these reports Journals and Letters with the Letter of Genl. Adair to Governor Shelby, dated New Orleans 10th April 1815 will be enabled to judge correctly of the facts. You will therefore comply with the above request

I am very respectfully Sir Yrs. etc. etc. etc.

Captain James C. Wilkins to Jackson.[1]

New Orleans, May 13, 1817.

Dear Sir, I have the Honor of Recv your letter of the 29 ulto, which had been transmitted to me at this place.

On the morning of the 8th January the Company I commanded were ordered to the Right Bank of the River, to Reinforce Genl. Morgan's position which had been forced by the Enemy. After we had effected a landing, and during our progress to Scene of action, we encountered our Troops, flying in Squad, and evidently laboring under the greatest Panic. Whether the Troops were a part of the Kentucky Division, I am unable to Speak with positiveness, yet I am certain they were so denominated in Camp. After I had Reported the arrival of the Corps to Genl. Morgan, and While a portion was working to organize the army broken and dispirited by Recent defeat, I heard Col Davis answer Genl. Morgan, that his Command were Dispursed, and that he was not able to mustre more than twenty or thirty Men, at that Moment. During our March to join Genl. Morgan, we met officers Riding with great Speed in pursuit of the flying Soldiers and Striving without Success to Rally and bring them back to the position which had been taken up by Genl. Morgan.

I should Regret, if any thing I may have stated, Would be misconstrued into an opinion, derogatory of the Military character of the State of Kentucky. I have always contended that their was no Difference in Militias, when Commanded by officers, who profess the difficult Talent, of inspiring them with Zeal and Confidences.

With High Respect

Your obd. servt.

[1] Wilkins signed himself "Late Cap. Natchez Vol. Rifle Corps". Appended to his letter is the following certificate, signed by Nich. C. Hall: "I was a member of the Natchez Vol: Rifle Corps, commanded by J. C. Wilkins, and was a witness to the flight of our Troops on the right Bank of the River, on the morning of the Eighth January 1815, and altho' I have no personal knowledge that they were of the Kentucky line, yet it was so reported and believed in Camp."

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, May 20th, 1817.

D'r Genl. This will be handed you by Major Thos. L. Butler who leaves me tomorrow morning to unite with you, prepared for the woods, chainmen markers and flag bearer. I trust you will be enabled to bring the hundred Townships into markett this next fall. I have just learned that all Major Freemans surveyors has left him being unable to get provisions, hence I infer that none of his District east of the Tombigby will be in markett shortly.

Return J. Meigs to Jackson.

Cherokee Agency, May 24, 1817.

. . . . With respect to the exchange of lands, there are a number of the best characters who have decidedly expressed their minds in favor it: But some overbearing characters still retaining their ancient barbarous habits and customs, have had recourse to threatening those who hold sentiments in favor of the views of the Government; especially when the disposition of lands is in question. Toochalee, Colonel R. Brown, and others who have, and still are in favor of an exchange of land, are under some restraint on that account. It is undoubtedly a very interesting object to the Cherokee nation. It is in my opinion the only measure within their power to preserve and perpetuate their existence, I mean their existence as a Distinct Community, nation, or tribe. The progress, the overflowing population of our Country has already surrounded these people, and the pressure on their Country here on all sides is incessant; and will eventually circumscribe the limits of the Cherokee nation within narrow bounds, they must either become industrious Citizens and be incorporated with some one, or with several of the adjoining states, or remove to a Country *where* they can retain their ancient customs, so dear to them, that they cannot give them up in exchange for regular society.

If they could be made to view their past, and their present State, and future national prospects: they would embrace the present opportunity to acquire a Country where they might perpetuate their Identity as a Distinct people. If, say, one half of these people are disposed seriously to become civilized, let them have distinct property here; become citizens, that themselves and property may be protected by our laws: but let the other half who still cherish their ancient customs and habits remove to the Arkansas river where they will live well, by a very small portion of labour, and where to the remotest time, there will be an opening to the West and Northwest. The domestic manufacture of Cloth may be as well carried on there as here, and is now done there by the women the same as is done here at this time. The government will afford the same aid to the emigrants as is done here. . . . .

At the approaching conference there will be a very great assemblage of people red and white. liquor will be plenty, there will be disorders

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

unless restrained by the presence of a few troops—a few regular troops in Uniform will do more than a host of others, to preserve respect on such an Occasion; besides there are a great number of Intruders on the Indian lands who have returned since Lieut. Houston was in this part of the Country.

I have the honor to be

PRESIDENT MONROE TO JACKSON.

BALTIMORE, June 2, 1817.

Dear Sir. I am so far on my tour, to the northward, and westward,[1] in which, it would give me great pleasure, if in concluding it, I could, so far, extend it, as to pass by, your residence. I fear, it will be impossible for me, to accomplish this object. It must then be reservd for a future occasion.

I have intended to write you fully on the subject of your last,[2] and should have done it, had I not felt a peculiar interest in regard to it, and been so engagd, in other concerns, preparatory to my departure, that it was impossible for me to do it. I hope to have leisure to morrow, in the steam boat, in which I pass, hence to Frenchtown. I have all the papers, with me relating to it.

affairs are unsettled with Spain, and by recent intelligence from England, it appears that the British govt., is equipping two large Squadrons for the Spanish provinces, with a view, as it is professd, to accomodate the differences between the parties. It is inferr'd that that govt. has enterd into an agreement with Spain, in consideration of a commercial monopoly, to aid her to reduce the Colonies, or that she intends after getting the favor there, to dictate such conditions, as best suit her interest, to either, or both the parties. It seems probable, that this movment, of the British govt., may produce very serious consequences, among which, war, with other powers, may reasonably be presumed. It is certainly, a measure, fraught, with importance to the U States. In my next, Should I, in the interim, hear anything more on the subject I will inform you of it. . . . .

[*Appended to this letter is the following "note" by Jackson:*]

Note Major Long was one of the Topographical engineers of my Division, The Sec of war having given me information of the hostile disposition of the northwestern Indians, and directed my attention to prepare for an Indian war in that section of country, and none of the Topographical engineers having reported to me, from their appointment under the act of congress organising the Genl Staff—I requested the Sec of war to

[1] Leaving Washington May 31, President Monroe made this summer a long tour, embracing Philadelphia, New York City, all the New England states, New York state, Buffalo to Detroit, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. *A Narrative of a Tour of Observation*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1818).

[2] This seems to have been about Jackson's order of Apr. 22, 1817, called forth by the Long incident. Monroe took upon himself the office of peacemaker. It was a long time before he found a formula which he thought satisfactory to all. See Monroe to Jackson, Aug. 4 and Oct. 5, 1817, *post*.

order my Topographical engineers to my Division to report to me for duty that through them I might obtain a Topographical knowledge of the country I was to operate in. Major Long was ordered to report to [me] for duty—did so, and was ordered to report to Genl Smith who was specially instructed by me on the subject of the duty to be assingned to major Long. Long was ordered on this duty specially instructed by Genl S. and ordered to report to him, and the Genl to me every three months. Major Long entered on this duty, deserted the service, and the first information from him was a report thro the news papers that he was at New York, by the orders of the Sec of War. When the sec of war was requested to order him to repair to my division on his doing so he produced this and an extract of 2nd of July 1817. This produced my order directing no officer in my Division to obay any order unless coming thro my adjutant Genls. office. See correspondence on this subject with the war Department and Genl Smith.

Commodore Daniel T. Patterson to Jackson.

New Orleans, June 19, 1817.

My dear Sir. I have perused with lively feelings, the correspondence between you and the Editors of the Lexington Reporter, as published in that Paper.

The imposition attempted to be practised on the Public by the Genl Order which appeared in that Paper, and attributed to you, you have most ably exposed, to minds open to conviction, and which I felt well assured, from my knowledge of you, never came from your Pen, or was sanctioned by you; and while I deeply deplore the recent agitation of a circumstance which I hoped had been buried in oblivion forever, I beg leave to express to you, my gratification at the handsome and honorable manner you have vindicated my character and conduct, from the odium attempted to be cast upon it by the General Order alluded to. It is to me a source of extreme regret, to find so determined, and illiberally hostile spirit cherished against both you and myself, in the State of Kentucky, as is evinced in those publications, and that you have been obliged from the publication of the Genl Order above mentioned, to appear before the public in a Newspaper controversy, which I am well aware must be extremely repugnant to your feelings. The erroneous statement, in the History of the late War in the West, as quoted in the Reporter, has led them to an Act of injustice to me, in asserting that my Guns were not turned in time: they were turned in time to protect the extreme right of Genl Morgans line; but I was effectually prevented using them, by the presence of our own Men, from the right, before the Muzzles of my Guns, for to have injured the Enemy, I must have fired thro' them: the Order was given to fire a 24 pr, loaded with Grape and Cannister, but which was countermanded, because more of our own Men would have been destroyed than of the Enemy; these are facts which can be supported if 'twere necessary, by many Witnesses; the truth I have asserted, from it I will never depart, be the consequences what they may.

It became my duty to account to my Dept the events of the ever memorable 8th Jany 1815, and in doing so, the causes which compelled me to abandon my Batteries; and had I seen the flight of the Detachment of Louisianna Militia, sent in advance, I should have reported it also, as a primary cause of the loss of my Battery; but in my report I confined myself to that alone, which passed under my own observation. Not the smallest allowance is made for the overthrow of my sanguine hopes of Signal Victory, and severe Mortification at finding myself obliged, thro the misconduct of others over whom I had no Controul, to abandon my Batteries, which I had laboured day and night, in Sunshine, rain and Cold, and under every difficulty, to erect, and which you have done me the honor to say to the world, so materially aided your lines on the left Bank, in every Attack made on them, and tended essentially to the final expulsion of the Enemy from our Soil. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Cherokee Agency, June 21, 1817.

Yesterday was the day appointed, for the meeting none but the chiefs and delegation from Arkansaw attended. Those expressed great anxiety for an exchange of territory, and I have no doubt will be joined by all the nations of this country, if not overawed by a few white men and half breeds, who have and are still fattening on the annuities of the nation, and the labour of the poor Indian.

Genl Meryweather is with me, we unite perfectly in our ideas, and we hope, will be able to counteract the influence of the whites and half breeds, named and I have no doubt but we will obtain half if not all the territory here, for lands on the arkansas, I shall write you again shortly, when I will be able to form a better Judgt' on this subject.

My Dear Sir since we parted I have thought very much on the subject of the company intended to be formed, the result of my reflections are, that your interest, clearly points to your shackling yourself with no companies, but to make contracts with individuals, for the entering of their land, let individuals therefore combine, and give you certain interests, for your knowledge and labour. This you can do by obligating with each to attend to their contract in rotation, or in certain sections of country which they may respectively choose, which can be understood, on the engagement. The more I think on the subject, the clearer this course appears to be the proper one for you. you know my opinion. I beg leave again to remind you of it, that is, that you have a family, you have suffered privations and exposures, that will in the end effect your constitution, therefore it is a duty you owe your family and yourself to provide for them, whilst you have health, and I would enter into no company unless, where the terms would promise a compensation and equivalent for my knowledge and service equal to those that might be obtained from individuals. . . . .

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

To Colonel Robert Butler.

Cherokee Agency, June 21, 1817.

D'r Colo. I reached this place on the 18th having got to Highwassee Garrison on the 17th where I learned that Colo. Meiggs had notified the chiefs to meet here believing public good would result from the change.

Yesterday being the day appointed, none but the chiefs and delegation from the arkansaw attended,[1] These appear verry solicitous for an exchange, in fact I believe every native of the nation left to themselves, would freely make this election. But they appear to be overawed by the council of some whitemen and half breeds, who have been and are fattening upon the annuities, the labours, and folly of the native Indian, and who believe, that their income would be destroyed by the removal of the Indians. These that I have named are like some of our bawling politicians, who loudly exclaim we are the friends of the people, but who, when the[y] obtain their views care no more for the happiness or wellfare of the people than the Devil does—but each procure influence through the same channell and for the same base purpose, *self agrandisement.*

Genl Meryweather is with me, and it becomes our duty to endeavour to counteract this policy and clearly explain, the true interests of the natives and I am of the opinion, that at least one half of the nation will relinquish their right here and go to the Arkansaw, perhaps the whole with very few exceptions, for as soon as the native says he will go, few of the whitemen or half breeds can live under civilized laws, and will follow. . . . .

U. S. Commissioners to the Cherokee Committee.[1]

"Cher[ok]ee council house in open council" July 4, 1817.

Finding that our Talk has not been understood we give the following explanation—

first all who choose to go to the arkansaw freely to make their cho[i]ce—Those who choose to remain to do so, Those who stay and choose to become citizens of the u states shall have a reservation, as proposed those who choose to stay, and do not want to become citizens of the u states, to remain as they now are. The promise of the President to the

[1] When the three commissioners met at the Cherokee Agency, June 20, only representatives of the Arkansas Cherokees were there. It was ten days before enough of the eastern chieftains could be assembled to begin business. Then Jackson, speaking for the commissioners, presented their demands. In 1809, he said, the Cherokees had agreed to exchange lands in the East for lands to which they would go in Arkansas. Under this agreement a large number had migrated, estimated now at about 3700. No lands had been surrendered by the nation to offset the lands ceded to the portion of the nation, and he demanded that the compensatory cession be made. To those Indians who elected to stay in the East he could give no other promise than that they should be content with a square mile of land for each head of a family and with citizenship. As early as this Jackson had formed his opposition to allowing an Indian tribal government to exist with immunity within the bounds of a state in the Union. For his demands see his talk with the Cherokees, June 28, 1817, Jackson MSS., and Rachael Caroline Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*, p. 30, n. 20.

[1] In Jackson's handwriting. Signed by Jackson, Joseph McMinn, and David Meriwether, as commissioners.

arkansaw, must be fulfilled, we are bound to do so, If the chiefs of this nation will point out the proportionate part for the arkansaw, where it is most convenient to this nation we will receive it, on all subjects we wish to explain what is not understood, and will at all times explain when asked. We recommend again a friendly intercourse between you and your Brothers on the arkansaw.

U. S. Commissioners to Secretary Graham.[1]

Cherokee Agency, July 8, 1817.

Sir. We have this moment concluded a treaty with the cherokees East of the mississippi, and with the chiefs and Deputation from the cherokees from the Arkansaw, upon the broad basis of Justice to all, founded on the application made by the deputation from the upper and lower towns of the cherokee nation in the autum of 1808 to the P. of the u states and his promise made to them on the 9th day of January 1809.[2]

In effecting this treaty, we have overcome every dificulty, that the intrigue of base and designing white men could throw in our way, who profess much friendship to the Indians; and half breeds, who by intrigue and corruption have got into the council of this nation and have turned out the old chiefs. These aided by some whitemen, who profess much friendship for this nation, and who, have been fattening on the pay of the Indian for his military services, agrandizing themselves from the annuities, and hard earnings of the poor, and who if they could now obtain large reservations and iron works, would sell the whole nation or make hewers of wood and drawers of water for them. Had the nation been left to the council of its old chiefs, we would have had but little trouble to have explained to them, their real interests, and on what their happiness and their national existance depended.

There cannot be (except in England) as corrupt and Despotic goverment as now exists in this nation. They are ruled by a committee of thirteen members, the greater part young quarterroon whitemen, all under the influence and direction of Colo. G. Morgan, who was opposed to our views and that of the Goverment—he has lately taken to wife a native of this nation, and he declares, he does not wish to live under the laws of our country, that he prefers cherokee Goverment.

At the commencement of the conferrence Tuchelee, a virtuous and independant man, first chief of this nation, was a member of this council of 13, on the 28th day of June was our first meeting in conferrence of the whole nation, Tuchelee, was one of the deputation from the lower Towns, who went on in the fall 1808. McIntosh and Major John Walker was two of the Deputation who went on from the upper towns in the same year and in company with Tuchelee, accompanied with Colo. Meiggs. McIntosh and Walker being called on in council, denied that they went on in that year for any other purpose but to see their father the President

[1] War Dept. files. Also in Jackson MSS. Correspondence in reference to this treaty is in *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs*, II. 140-147.

[2] Jefferson, *Works* (Memorial ed.), XVI. 455-460.

before he went out of office, that they had no powers from their Towns, that they beleived such talks was made, to the President, but not by their consent. When you compare this with the statement of Colo. Meiggs, on the Journal to which we refer you, you will discover how variant it is with this statement. We called on Tuchelee who before the whole council, declared he went on with full powers from the lower Towns to ask for what he did—the talk he said was made to the President his father, and the answer read, was the answer received from his father the P. of the u, states. for this independant declaration of truth, he was broke and turned out of the council, and a young half breed Richard Ruly put into his place. McIntosh and walker who had told a falshood, and so declared by Colo. Meiggs in open council was retained.

When we first addressed the chiefs and warriors in full council, we placed a copy of the adress into the hands of Charles Hicks a chief of this nation and formerly linguister and another in the hands of mr wilson a native and Clerk to the committee of thirteen, with a request in presence of the assemblage, that they would collect the chiefs and warriors in small parties, and read and explain it to them, then assemble them in council and invite the chiefs and Deputation from the arkansaw cherokees to attend, and erange with them in friendship, the whole business that they were called on to settle, all which was promised to be done by mr Hicks and wilson.[3] Two days afterwards we were informed by some of the chiefs, that this had not been done, that they had never heard it. The Deputation from arkansaw told us they had never been invited to any of their councils. From information recd. from private sources that could be relied on, and which we had a right to believe induced us to think that the committee under the management of Colo. Morgan intending to conceal from the nation our adress as much as possible and to afford them no explanation thereof, but construing it to them in terms that it did not, nor was not intended to convay thereby to sour the minds of the ignorant, inflame the nation by false impressions, and to induce them to break up in confusion without doing any thing as they had done before,

We had taken strong ground, we clearly saw that this alone could effect any thing, and we were now determined to counteract if Possible, this base design, in covert secure Justice to the Arkansaw cherokees, who had went to that country firmly relying on the Justice and on the promise of mr Jefferson then P. made on the 9th of January 1809, and if Possible lay the ground work of the happiness of both parties and the perpetuation of the cherokees nation by colonising them on the arkansaw, and here we beg leave to refer you to the answer of the Deputation from the arkansaw to our adress here with forwarded. We wrote a letter to mr Hicks to inform us whether he had read and explained our adress as he had promised and if he had, how, when and where, and whether the Deputation from the arkansaw cherokees had been invited to their council

[3] Jackson and his colleagues do not mention a full statement, signed by sixty-seven Cherokee chieftains, dated July 2, 1817, in which the side of the eastern Cherokees is fully set forth. It is essential to a fair understanding of the whole matter. See *Am. St. Papers, Ind. Aff.*, II. 142.

as proposed etc to which letter we beg leave to refer you [4]—to this letter we recd no answer from mr Hicks—the next day we received the impertinant letter from the committee herewith forwarded marked A to which we refer [5]—on the receipt of this insolant answer we immediately summoned all the chiefs and warriors to meet us the next day in council at 9 oclock, we expected if we could get a full council present, we could unfold this wicked attempt at deception that would make it recoil on the head of the committee and its advisers.

The council met us on the 4th. our expectations were reallised, we opened the conferrence with a short but energetic talk. we then read over our first adress and expained it section by section and on the points pretended not to be understood we gave them written explanations, the murmurs of approbation began to be heard. Just as we were closing, the sec of the committee mr wilson, handed in their answer which is herewith forwarded marked C to which we refer containing seventy two signatures—we took it up, informed the chiefs and warriors that it had been handed us by the committee as the full answer of this nation to our adress, we called upon them to hear and understand it as it was read, that it gave their father the P. the lye, it gave us the lye, and we wanted

[4] This letter, July 2, 1817, is as follows:

"*Sir* You will please communicate to the chiefs and Warriors of this Nation, that the Delegation from the Arkansas have made known to us that they have never been invited to your council, as was promised the other day. It has also been stated that our address to the nation has not been read and explained to them; copies of which were given you and your interpreter for that purpose: this was requested by us to the end that each individual might hear and fully understand the object of the present meeting. We are charged by our Father, the President to speak to the hearing and understanding of the whole nation; and if our talk has not been read and explained by you and your interpreters, we wish to be informed, that we may reassemble the nation, and have it read again, and again, until we are satisfied that it is well understood by them; for we are charged by our Father the President, to do nothing in secret, nothing, without first making it understood by all.

"The Arkansas Chiefs and Delegation do expect to be invited to your council, before you meet to give us your answer: this is the way Brothers ought to act—this is what will lead to a continuation of that friendship which aught to exist between the two parts of the Nation. We expect you to let us know as soon as convenient, how, when, and in what way our address has been explained to your people, to the end that we may know how to act. We are etc."

[5] This letter, July 3, 1817, is as follows:

"*Gentlemen,* "Your letter of last evening addressed to Mr. Chas. Hicks was received by the committee who are the duly authorized body to receive communications of a public nature: That it is inconsistent with the dignity of the nation to meet in council or hold conferrences with a character at once uniting all the base qualities of the human heart. Mr. Chisholms General character is too generally known to admit of vindication: independent of this he is a white man who we conceive has no right to make regulations relative to the internal [*sic.*] police of our nation. We do not hesitate to meet the bona fide chiefs from Arkansas and talk with them relative to the situation of both parties: We ask only justice, and this we have a right to demand.

"As it respects the promulgation of your talk, it is universally understood, there is not an Indian present but what perfectly understands it, even the women have become histerical and the nation in general begin to have forebodings of distress which must await them provided the term contained in it is forced upon us.

"Gentlemen, We have no wish to withold from the nation the purport of your intentions, in fact should it not it is our anxious wish to have it done; it is of too much importance to be thought of silghtly and when a whole nation is interested it ought to be universally known. We have again to repeat that we anxiously wish a conferrence with the Arkansas duly elected chiefs. By order of the committee, With great consideration of respect we are Gentlemen"

to know how many of the chiefs was prepared to do this, to listen well, as we intended taking the voice of every chief one by one—we read it—we had heard they had turned Tuchelee out of the council, broke him as chief, still, from threats, and chicanery they had obtained his signature, we had confidence in his integrity, we called on him first, to give his answer, he said he did not know what it contained when he signed it he would not give the President the lye, or us. When he went on in 1808 he had full power from his nation to do what he did, he went on to ask his father the President for an exchange of and, on the arkansaw for his land here, the answer read was not his answer he wished the arkansaws Justice and every one to have a free choice to go or stay—

the next we called was the old Glass, he said he did not know when he signed what it was when he signed it, what was read was not his answer, he would not give his father the President the lye or us, he wished all a free choic[e] to go over the mississippi or stay as they pleased—we proceeded as you will see from the Journals to which we refer you untill we compleatly exposed this base attempt of fraud and deception, and untill it was acknowledged by all that Justice was due the cherokees on the arkansaw, and they agreed asked to reconsider the subject and invite their arkansaw brother to their councils, we then adjourned, before which we recommended to them to be friendly one with another, every one had his choice, the poor as well as the rich, the fool as well as the wiseman, to choose freely, every man should be protected in his choice, and if they did not agree, we would treat with the arkansaws, and such other chiefs of this nation who had determined to remove, and all that intended to remove to come and Enroll themselves, about one thousand souls made known their intention and many will be off before the ratification of the treaty, we have directed Colo Meiggs to furnish the Boats and supplies trusting that their situation is such that it will meet the approbation of our Goverment, when the census is taken We believe a large majority of the cherokees will be found on the arkansaw, and enrolled for that county.

The cession of land obtained is not important, but the Principle Established leads to great importance, it gives us this country, it makes those who are prepared here for civill life happy it drives from the coverts of the mountain both the red and white thief, the moment the laws are extended over this country—the security of all is laid by this treaty, and national existance to the cherokees on the arkansaw, a security that a fair proportion of the country here will be surrender for an equal proportion on the west of the m.[6] and a Just division of the anuities, which may be beneficial to the poor that has been for a long time witheld from them, by this corrupt created tyranny of thirteen who fatten on corruption.

From what has been stated you can form a faint idea of the corruption that rules here—it flows from a few corrupt whitemen, and half breeds, who by undue means has got into the council of this nation. There are

[6] Mississippi.

more virtue in the native indian than in these whitemen and half breed, the laws of the u states must be extended to this country, the safety of the honest here and in our neighboring states and counties require it, Those who are honest and prepared for civil life, has now the offer of citizenship on Just terms, those not prepared for civil life will go to the arkansaw, the extension of the law will make all go who are afraid of good goverment.

The annuity does no good to the poor, many have told us that they have not recd. any of it for many years we believe that it has been very unjustly applied to the payment of individual claims, due to merchants—how can the claim of one man in Justice be converted to the payment of another debt, without his consent—a law ought to be passed directing that the proportion due each man ought to be paid to each individual, without this Justice will never be done the poor, the anuity will be allways applied by this self created tyranny, that is wielded by corruption to bad and unjust purposes. after we came here we found Colo. Earl now member of congress [7] had an old claim of several thousand dollers for goods sold individuals of the nation which he wanted to have an order of this council to be paid out of the anuity, It appeared, when these accounts were raised, the individual alone was trusted—not the nation, Justice forbade that the poor Indian who never had got any benefit from the goods Bot. should have his part of the anuity stoped to pay a debt for which he was not sponser—we interfered, the debt was not assumed. The goverment by special law ought to provide some security for the poor Indian in this particular

we have obtained a cession from the nation for the reserves of Double head and others on the north Bank of the Tennessee. in the treaty of 1806—we were obliged to give the sum of [*blank*] dollers for it—we did not stipulate in the treaty the consideration to be paid—we found it would open a door to hundred applications—we have drew for the amount which we hope will be honoured and paid—we have been compelled to advance a little money to the arkansaw delegation for expences, the[y] have recd. nothing for some years their expences being asked, we thought it reasonable—we have drew for it, an account of the whole is forwarded, with the drafts with the necessary letters of advice—we hope our conduct may in all things meet the approbation of the Goverment—we are etc etc.[8]

on the 30th of June was the day on which in council McIntosh and walker denied, and Tuchelee, confessed the talk of mr Jefferson was true. This was when we convened the chiefs and warriors in council to hear the answer of the arkansaws to our adress, and not at our first meeting. Doctor B. will rectify this, and attend to it in our letter to sec of war.

[7] Elias Earle, M. C. from South Carolina 1805-1807, 1811-1815, 1817-1819.

[8] What follows, from this point to the end, seems to be a note or postscript. "Dr. B" was probably Dr. James C. Bronaugh, surgeon in the United States army, who attended the treaty makers. He became a favorite with Jackson and remained close to his person until the expiration of Jackson's governorship of Florida, in 1821. He remained in Florida, where he soon fell a victim to the climate.

U. S. Commissioners to Secretary Graham.[1]

Cherokee Agency, July 9, 1817.

Sir. In our communication of yesterday we advised you that we had concluded a treaty with the Indians here, to procure the consent of the reservees for whose benefit the reservations were made on the north bank of the Tennessee by the treaty of 1806, and who it appeared had not sold their rights to other individuals we had to promise by a private article that we would pay to Individuals of this nation the sum of four thousand two hundred and Twenty five dollars, to the following persons, and bind ourselves to pay the money or draw Drafts for the same before they would give their consent that the chiefs should cede the national right to the same Viz—To Bird Double three hundred To Else and Susan two hundred and fifty each To charles Hicks and Major John Walker agent for all other minors interested the sum of three thousand four hundred and Twenty five dollars—which will more fully appear by our memorandom given which is herewith enclosed, with the recepts of the Persons endorsed thereon, for the whole sum by major Walker and Colo R J Meiggs who was authorised to receive the same. we were compelled to promise to John D chisolm the sum of one thousand dollars To stop his mouth and attain his consent we have drew a Bill in favour of Colo. Meiggs for this sum—without this we could not have got the national relinquishment. In the course of this conferrence we were oblige to promise the chiefs from the arkansaw, one hundred dollars each for their expences here—and to three other influential chiefs, the sum of one hundred dollars in presents, this sum amounting to six hundred dollars we obtained from Colo. Meiggs, and has drew a Bill in favour of him for the same—all which Bills we hope will be duly honoured and paid we are respectfully

yr mo. ob. serv.

Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson.

Camp Montgomery, July 10, 1817.

General, I have the honor to lay before you a letter (inclosure no. 1) which I the day before yesterday received from the Chattahoochie, purporting to be the answer of the Seminola chief, *Chapp,a,chi,mic,o,* of Mickasukee, the Major Dinkins' proposition to attend a conference for the purpose of securing the murderers of our citizens. The chief, as was to be expected, appears to have taken the advice of the man who calls himself A. Arbuthnot,[1] whose letter I transmitted to you in the begining of april last, as the handwriting of the two appears to be the same.

[1] In Jackson's handwriting.

[1] The following power of attorney to Arbuthnot is among the Jackson MSS.: "A toutes Ceus qui appartiendra, Scai, Que nous les Chefs de la Nation Creek, qui ont signé le present pouvoir, Ayant plein foi et Confiance en Alexr. Arbuthnott de la Nouvelle Providence, qui ayant connaiscance de tous nos Talks, et etant pleinment informé de tous notres intentions et soihates, Par le present, lui le dite Alexander Arbuthnott, constitue et autorise, d'agire pour Nous Comme notre *Attorney* ou Agent, dans tous les affaires qui Concerne la Nation Creek, d'ecrire telles papiers ou lettres qui lui paraitroient pour notres service ou celle de notre Nation. Donner a Okolokne

This British agent then, it seems, may be considered as the prime director on the part of the seminola Indians in the adjustment of our affairs! and will I doubt not, deal out *words of peace and friendship* in abundance, and thereby endeavor to put off the dreaded hour of just retribution. But

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Sound le 17 Juin 1817." The original is given, in English, in *Am. St. Papers, For. Rel.*, IV. 589.

Arbuthnot was misguided by zeal, mixed, no doubt, with a sense of business advantage. He shared Col. Edward Nicholls's idea that the Creeks were mistreated; and he held that by the treaty of Ghent their lands, ceded in the treaty of Fort Jackson, should be restored to them. He held out hope to them that the King of England would see that justice was done to them. By taking their part in this general way he encouraged their discontent and made them more daring in opposition to the whites. He sent various letters to Colonel Hawkins protesting in behalf of the Indians. Perhaps his most inept action was the following letter "to the officer commanding at Fort Gaines", Mar. 3, 1817, in which he became the champion of Peter McQueen, one of the most hated of the hostiles:

"*Sir* I am desired by Peter M'Queen an unfortunate Indian Chief who was some years since obliged to fly from his Town of Tucky Batché on the Tallaposhatché River, to claim of your friendship, the delivery of a Negro Man named Joe (taken away from him since the Peace) which he states to be in fort Gaines: When McQueen left Tucky Batche, his property was considerable both in negroes and cattle; of the former, Ten grown Negroes were taken by a half breed man named Barney, nine of which he learns were sold, and one a Girl, is still in possession of said Barney: Twenty able negroes were taken by a Chief named Colonel, *or* Auchi Hatcho, who acts also as an Interpreter; and as he never had possession of any of those persons property, nor ever did the man injury to his knowledge; he claims a farther proof of your friendship, that you will use your influence in procuring those Negroes for him; and, should they be given up by the persons holding them, there is one faithful Negroe among them, named Charle who will bring them to him at Okolokne River,

"The American head men and officers that were accustomed to live near him, can testify to his civility and good fellowship with them, and there are none of them, he is convinced that would not serve him, if in their power; As he owes nothing, nor ever took any persons property, *none* have a right to retain his, and he hopes that through your influence, those persons now holding his Negroes, will be induced to give them up. While I am thus advocating the cause of one unfortunate Individual allow me to claim an extension of your philanthrophy to all the Indians within your circle, by your representing to them the folly of their quarrels, and that they ought to live quietly and peacably with each other.

"The lower Creeks seem to wish to live peacably and quietly and in good friendship with the others; but there are some designing and evil minded persons, self Interested; who are endeavouring to create quarrels and make disturbance between the lower and upper Creek Indians contrary to their happiness, their interest and welfare; Such people belong to *no* nation and ought not to be countenanced by any Government

"The Head Chiefs request I will enquire of you, why American settlers are descending the Chattahouchy driving the poor Indian from his habitation and taking possession of his home and cultivated fields: Without authority I can claim nothing of you, but a humane and philanthrophic principle guiding me, I hope the same will influence you; and if such is really the case; and that the line marked out by the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, respecting *the Indian Nations* has been infringed upon by any of the subjects of the latter; that You will represent to them their improper Conduct, and prevent its continuance.

"I hold in my possession a letter received from the Governor of New providence addressed to him by His Britanic Majestys Chief Secretary of State, informing him of the Orders given to the British Ambassador at Washington, to watch over the Interests of the Indian Nations, and see that their Rights are faithfully attended to and protected agreeable to the Treaty of Peace made between the British and Americans. I am in hopes that ere this there is arrived at Newprovidence, a person from Great Britain, with authority to act as Agent for the Indian nations, and if so, it will devolve to him to see that the boundary lines, as marked out by the Treaty, are not infringed upon I hope you will not think these observations, *made by desire of the Chiefs*, any improper interference, And requesting the favor of An Answer . . . .

"P. S. McQueen states that the ofspring of the Negroes when he left Tucky Batche were Seven of those taken by Barney and Nine of those taken by Auchi Hatcho and he supposes they have increased."

should I receive from Major Dinkins no satisfactory assurance of a determination on the part of the chiefs to comply with the demand you have authorised me to make, I shall then try the effect of force. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

[N. P.], July 13, 1817.

D'r Genl. I reached here this morning to breakfast with a hope to find you at home, in this I was disappointed, but hearing from Mrs Coffee, that you intended visitting Nashville before you return to your Surveying District, I flatter myself with the pleasure of seeing you shortly.

We were detained in council with the cherokees 17 days, before we concluded a treaty, which was signed on the 8th instant, we obtained a cession of the lands adjoining Georgia, and west to the chatihouche river etc etc, and a small part north of the Tennessee, a little more in all, than two millions. This of itself would be unimportant, was it not for the principle established by the treaty, which will give us the whole country in less than two years, a few of its provisions, are first that the census is to be taken next June by commissioners appointed by the u states accompanied by a commission from the cherokees east of the M. and one from those settled on the arkansaw. Those on the arkansaw, those who are going there, and those who when the enumeration is taken, declare there intention of removing there, are to be considered as the numbers on the arkansaw, and the cherokee nation has agreed to cede to the U states, the proportion of land agreeable to their numbers, compared with the whole number of the nation, and the whole quantity of land owned by the cherokees east of the M. and the u states bind themselves to convey to the cherokees on the arkansaw acre for acre so to be ceded, including the quantity ceded by the nation by the late treaty. This at once secures half the whole country, as at least half is there and enrolled to go there, in short Sir my opinion is that but few will remain, none except those prepared for agricultural persuits, civil life, and a government of laws. There are but few in comparison prepared for this, or at least will make a choice of a government of laws.

We have stipulated, to furnish all with transportation and provisions who choose to go, we have further stipulated to give every poor man in the nation who chooses to go, a rifle gun, amunition, a blanket, and a brass kettle or in lieu of the latter a Beaver trap. This is to be in full of there improvements and will induce hundreds to go. Those who stay and choose to come under the laws of the u states, will be laid off for each head of family 640 acres to include his improvement in the center. To those who remove and have improvements that add real vallue to the land, the possessor is to receive the vallue of his improvement to be assessed by a commissioner of the u states. from the features here stated you will easily discover, the permanent happiness of the cherokee nation, and those who wish to become citizens of the u states law and also, on the extinguishment of the name of the cherokee nation east of the M. and its perpetuation

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

on the arkansaw, in short the happiness of the cherokees, and the connection of the state of georgia and the state of Tennessee, at a short day, and the country that has long been, and now is a harbour of thieves, who has long preyed upon the honest industry of all, become a peacefull abode for the honest citizen protected by our laws.

This is the outlines of what we have done, and rest assured it was not done without considerable labour and address. we had to counteract the machinations of a corrupt and designing few, wielded by the concils of Colo Gideon Morgan, under the rose, who at one time produced an answer to us signed by seventy two of there principle chiefs, with the intention of giving us that answer as the answer of the whole nation, and breaking up as they had done the year before without doing anything. we believing that this was not the sentiments of the nation but a trick under the management of Morgan and others, took it up in full council had it read and explained, to them, when we called on each chief one by one unroobed, the rascally imposition, and before we rose they asked permission to reconsider there answer. This lead to the treaty which is signed by all in open council. we had to take stronger ground than was taken by the commissioners last year, and convince them we intended to keep it or we would have effected nothing. a farther explanation when we meet. expecting to see you shortly and before you go out, I shall not touch any other subject. It is raining, I do not expect you to day, I am anxious to be at home for sundry reasons, therefore encounter the inclement day, with my best wishes adieu

To Secretary Graham.[1]

Nashville, July 22, 1817.

Sir, on my return from Hiwassee to this place, I had the honor to receive your note of the 6th of June enclosing a copy of a letter of the same date, to the marshal, for the District of West Tennessee.

From the various treaties, and acts of Congress regulating intercourse with the Indians, I clearly understand, that the United States have stipulated to prevent intrusions, by its citizens or trespasses by driving their stock on their lands. Experience has proven that it is useless to remove themselves or stock therefrom, without prosecution for the infraction of the law: The experiment made last fall shewed the inutility of the bare destruction of improvements, and removal of stock; The Intruders returned within a few days after the soldiers had retired, drove back their stock and recommenced their plan of robbery. From the tenor of the treaties and acts of Congress, I have always believed that, where cattle were found Trespassing on the Indian lands, and this trespass by the owner driving his stock thereon, the cattle were liable, and ought to be seized, (damage feasant) delivered over to the civil authority, and made answerable for the damage; It is the only way to put an end to the villianies practised within the Indian boundaries. Under these impressions I ordered Capt. Houston [2] to seize and deliver all intruders over to the Civil Au-

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] Sam. Houston. He served with distinction under Jackson in the Creek War.

thority, and their stock into the hands of the Marshal, and if he refused to receive them to note it before evidence and let them go: The Marshal in one instance received, and being perishable property, sold them at public sale, this, on legal principles, I have no doubt can be justified, but with his duty I have nothing to do; my orders still are, to take all persons and stock, found trespassing on the Indian Territory, and deliver them over to the civil authority for prosecution. If the military is not aided by the civil authority, in executing the laws and treaties, it will be useless to harrass the former in pursuit of trespassers and their stock; all of the troops on the military peace establishment (without horsemen) could not carry into effect the treaties with the Cherokees and prevent intrusions; the late procedure has had more beneficial effects than all other measures that had been previously adopted; and I am convinced that none else will have the desired effect.

On this subject I shall expect your full instructions, and until I receive them shall continue to pursue the mode previously adopted.

I am Sir

To Brigadier-General John Adair.[1]

Nashville, July 23, 1817.

Gen. John Adair,

Sir—On my return to this place from Hiwassee, whither my duties called me nearly two months since, I was presented with the Lexington Reporter containing your letter addressed from Natchez to its editors dated 6th May 1817.

The surprise you profess to feel, at reading my letter of the 11th April, cannot be real for it is well known you left Kentucky after the 28th of February, when the publication appeared, which drew from me that communication a publication which contained a forgery under the sanction of my name, and which was given to the world, for the purpose of tarnishing the reputation of two brave officers (Patterson and Morgan) whose conduct during the campaign below New Orleans, merited and received my entire approbation—A publication containing, too, an extract from the "History of the late war in the western country", which held me up to the world as having been dragooned by you into "a dry, reluctant sentence of justification" towards the fugitives on the right bank of the Mississippi. Your having seen this previously to your leaving Kentucky, with a knowledge of its falsity, should have allayed your surprise, while a just magnanimity, corresponding with the high respect, and exalted sense of my worth, professed to be felt and expressed by you in your letter to Colonel Anderson, from the Greenville springs, of the 28th August 1815, should have induced you, to have given so base a production, a prompt and positive contradiction the instant it appeared. Having omitted to do this you had no right to calculate on my silence:—Nay sir, your having left the country without doing it, too evidently manifested a continuation of that deception and misrepresentation which is

[1] From the *Knoxville Register*, Sept. 4, 1817.

discoverable in your letter to me of the 20th March, and to Governor Shelby of the 10th of April 1815.

It is you, General, who appear to write to the Editors in a passion, and this passion does not arise from an expression of mine but from an error in the Editors; whether it be accident or design, is for you and themselves to decide; they have published it correctly in a note in the same paper and corrected it, in a subsequent one:—it is a subject on which I feel no concern. On this, as on similar occasions, when any become irritated with me, on false promises or information, and make loud complaints thro' public prints of acts never done, I regard it not, such passions always subside without injury.

You ask through the Reporter an explanation of my allusion to the "Spanish Dish". It will not be given: my letter speaks for itself. It is plain and without innuendo. You are charged by the Historian with having furnished the forgery commented on, you can read it coolly, and draw your own conclusions. This is my only explanation.

I am astonished at your impudence, to speak of *fighting battles over again.* You well know sir, that your misrepresentations and falsehoods, combined with those of your colleague, and the Editors of a newspaper, have been disturbing the tranquility of the public mind, by endeavoring to cast a stigma on the well earned fame of brave meritorious officers and seeking to convince the world, that men were heroes who ingloriously fled before the enemy.

For the purpose of forestalling public opinion, you have expressed a fear that I will not do you justice. This is only deception, for you know me better. As far as I know it you shall have the truth. The evidence will be your verbal and written reports, your acknowledgements; and the official statements and certifictes of correct and honorable men. The truth shall be told. Where you deserve praise, it will be bestowed and where you have willfully and knowingly misrepresented, it will be as freely commented on, and yourself exposed.

Your letter to me of the 20th March 1815, must have been written upon a supposition that my love of popular applause could not withstand the desire of ingratiating myself with those, comparitively, few Kentuckians who had tarnished their reputation or my vanity, your flattering enconiums. (I believe I may say that I have always enjoyed the good opinion of the virtuous and brave Kentuckians, and I hope I ever shall.) In my answer however, you found your mistake, and met with a reply that negatived your overgrown numbers on the left bank; while my disbelief respecting the borrowed arms on the 7th from the corps of exempts was strongly, though silently marked.

I did suppose that after that answer, you would have had more prudence than to have given publicity to statements, convinced as you must have been, that there were many who knew them to be incorrect, particularly those in your letter to Governor Shelby. You must have acted from an apprehension that I would either be kept in ignorance of, or not notice them. At least, you considered the end in view justified the risk and that your coming forward as champion would ensure your popularity, and

seat you in the Governmental chair of Kentucky, or the senate of the United States. Your letter to Colonel Anderson of the 28th of August was evidently written to be shown to me, believing that my silence would be thereby secured. I annex it here, together with one from Col. Anderson to Major Reid, my aid-de-camp, that a clue may be afforded by which to develope your conduct.[2]

From these letter[s] it appears that you were much my friend—that you were endeavoring to search for the author of the falsehoods, with the *manifest* design of having everything corrected, that no blame should be attached to me, if blame were anywhere, it was with yourself and Col. Butler, who failed to report to me. How far this accords with your letters to Governor Shelby and the Editors of the Reporter, an impartial public will determine.

[2] The letter from Adair to Col. Anderson follows:

"GREENVILLE SPRINGS, August 28, 1815.

"Your packet by Mr Norvell has just come to hand. Since I last wrote you I have not seen or heard from Mr S. M'Kee. He has not yet resigned. I lately had a visit from a very intelligent gentleman from the Northeast; and although he managed somewhat in the yankee style I have no doubt his object was to find out whether General Jackson would be supported in the west, if brought forward as a candidate for the presidency. I gave it as my opinion that he would be supported in Louisiana, and Tennessee, and Kentucky, by a little exertion he would get all the votes but two and that I was not certain they would be against him. (I mean the district represented by Mr Clay and Col. Johnson) He assured me there was a strong disposition in many of the North-Eastern states to run him, if they could be assured he would be supported in the west. He was extremely anxious that I should go to the Federal city this winter as a member if possible, but if that cannot be, he wished me to spend the month of January there as a private gentleman. I would write to the General on the subject, but am induced to believe (from questions that have been asked me by different gentlemen from Tennessee that the General has from some cause, some misrepresentation of my conduct, become offended with me. It cannot be on account of my letter to him in New Orleans. He well knows, or ought to have known, that one object with me in writing that letter, and not the least, was to put it in his power to do away at once, a strong and growing irritation among the Kentucky troops, occasioned solely by the return of his official letter, as published in the newspapers although that letter was founded on the best authority the General had when he wrote it, yet certainly when he was in possession of more correct information, it was his duty to correct any errors he might have been led into from the official report of others as to the number of the Kentuck troops, who fought on the east side of the river. I have not a doubt the General was not well informed. This was not his fault. If in the hurry of the times, there was any one to blame the fault would seem to be between Col. Butler and my————. If the Colonel will examine his orderly book, he will find the detail for the guard on the 8th, 9th, 10th, etc. was from my command 71 rank and file, from Gen. Carroll 92 or thereabouts. I now write from memory, making my command 950, and his about 1200 fit for duty. This at present is of little importance. I would be sorry, however, that the General would be misled by the idle tales of others, who are, most probably, not more his friends than mine.

"Should you have an opportunity I wish you could know his sentiments on the subject of becoming a candidate for President. The sooner perhaps the better. I am afraid Mr Crawford will not do—you already know my sentiments on this subject."

Extract of a letter from Col. Anderson to Major Reid: "Harrodsburg, Oct. 17th, 1815. Conformably to promise, I have transmitted to General Jackson the publication made at the instance of Major Helm. It is the same which was spoken of in Nashville, and of which he was totally ignorant. How this fellow Helm (who by the bye is a very trifling lying man) will be able to account for this very extraordinary conduct, no one can tell. He furnished the documents as they are published, to the editor of the Palladium. I made strict inquiry of him to this point. General Adair tells me he wrote to General Thomas on the subject, and his reply was that he knew nothing about such publications as Major Helm had made; so Helm cannot shield himself under his authority."

One word on that part of your letter to Colonel Anderson in relation to the comparative numbers detailed for duty from Gen. carroll's division, and the Kentucky detachment under your command. Of the troops immediately on the lines, one half, or one third as occasion seemed to require, were night and day under arms. There was likewise, from these, a detail for guard and fatigue duty. Your detachment was not on the lines, and with the guard, had but an occasional fatigue duty to perform;—justice therefore required that a larger detail, in proportion to their respective aggregates, should be made from your detachment, than from those of the lines. The order was given accordingly, which sufficiently accounts for the augmented number of your detail.

I will now take into consideration your letter to Governor Shelby with such parts of your[s] to me as may relate to the same subject. You observe in your letter to Governor Shelby:—" General Jackson in his answer to my letter, seems still to think our numbers on the east bank, in the battle, did not exceed 550 men, and this opinion is founded on our morning report of the 12th which made our number 959."

I ask sir, in what part of my answer does it appear that my opinion was founded on that report? It was founded on your verbal report, when you arrived at Head Quarters with your detachment, your verbal reports, until the battle of the 8th, the opinion of my Adjutant General, my aid-de-camp, Major Reid, General Carroll, Maj. Dillahunty, and upon the express declaration of Major Thomas L. Butler, that no arms were procured from the corps of exempts until after the battle of the 8th, as well as your report of the 12th, which showed that after the arms brought with you, those taken from the enemy and those transferred from General Carroll's division, your whole number on the 12th amounted to but 959. These reasons combined with many others that might be added, induced me to state to you in my answer, " thus sir, although the kentucky force in the action of that day has been stated at 550, I am induced to think, from the best means I has of judging, that it was even less." Was this seeming to think? Was this resting my opinion alone on that report? But sir, that report alone is conclusive that on the 8th you had not, on my line, more than 550. In your letter to me of the 20th of March, you say, " Your (my) report is strictly true so far as it relates to the arrival of the Kentucky troops and to the situation on your lines on the 5th and 6th of January, not more than 550 of them being armed until the —th," Now sir, unless you can make it appear that on the evening of the 7th between 6 and [700] of the Kentuckians were armed ———and marched to my lines it follows that the statement in your letter to Governor Shelby, where you say, " I am even well assured that we had in the battle on the east bank, officers and men nearly 1200 " must be incorrect. You have never dared to assert that you reported to me on the evening of the 7th, or at any other time, until the troops were disbanded, that you had received any augmentation of force on the evening of the 7th and surely 6 or 700 men marching into my camp would have been noticed and spoken of nay more, if it had been the fact, and that too, on the eve of an expected battle, you, being with me on that night, would have eagerly reported this pleas-

ing intelligence, at the time you reported the march of the 400 Kentuckians under the command of Col. Davis, to reinforce General Morgan, agreeably to order. Let us see in what manner you accounted for this augmentation in your command. You proceed thus—"On the 7th I received from the corps of exempts in the city, between 4 and 500 muskets and bayonets, on a loan for three days. With this timely supply of arms, we were enabled to bring on the lines, on the morning of the 8th fully 1000 men." Let us contrast this with the statement of my aid-de-camp, Major Thomas L. Butler, a correct and honorable Kentuckian, who, on the 23d of December 1814, was left in command of the city of New Orleans, and the corps of exempts, amounted to between three hundred and three hundred and fifty men, in whom every confidence was placed, having at stake their families and firesides. He states positively that this corps reported to him daily, and that you obtained no arms from them until after the battle of the 8th of January, with his knowledge. Thus sir, is the falsehood in your statement evident. Was it thus, sir, that your misrepresentations were made to appease the growing irritation of the Kentuckians, as you have expressed yourself in your letter to Col. Anderson?

It was my knowledge of this fact, that (in my answer to your letter) induced me to pass over this part of your statement with silent contempt. Previously to this sir, I had confidence in you; but the moment I read that letter, it vanished. It was my belief of the falsehood of that statement that induced me to put the question to your friends, the Editors of the Reporter, "why, if you had obtained those arms from New Orleans, you did not place them in the hands of Col. Davis's command? I now repeat the question, why was this not done? And why was not the fact of your having borrowed those arms reported to me? If you borrowed them from the exempt corps, to whom the defence of the city of New Orleans was entrusted, without my knowledge, or that of the officer commanding, it will be difficult for you to justify yourself for this omission. Not only the whole city, but the whole country might have been lost by so unprecedented and unmilitary act. After the battle of the 8th, the city thereby being placed in safety I determined to make an attempt to cut off the communication of the enemy with their shipping. I then directed Major Butler to procure from the corps of exempts, in the city their arms, etc. and to place them in the hands of General Coffee's brigade and the Kentuckians:—This he states was done—100 being delivered to Genl. Coffee, the balance, about 230, was delivered to your command. You cannot have forgotten, sir, my sending for and consulting with you and Gen. Coffee on this subject When I asked what confidence you had in your troops, to aid in this enterprise, you replied that your command was undisciplined and insubordinate, the officers for the most part, inexperienced that they would fight behind their breastworks, but that no confidence could be placed in them, if brought into the open plain, and opposed to veteran troops.

To return to your letter to Governor Shelby, you state that "between the morning of the 1st and 12th no additional strength had been placed under my command three or four companies from Gen. Thomas's camp

had been armed with guns taken, and placed on the right of our line near the river, as I understand, to reinforce that part defended by the regular troops; but these companies were not under my command, nor included in *any morning report from me"*. Let me ask you sir, if not under my command, under whose command were they? By my orders you were invested with the command of all the Kentucky troops (Gen. Thomas being sick and unfit for duty). All orders issued to them went thro' you, and your Adjutant General's office. This, sir, is another willful misrepresentation. Why on the receipt of my letter of 2d of April in answer to yours of the 20th of March, did you not, with that boldness that truth always inspires, say to me (for we were then both on the same spot) that your numbers were greater than I had admitted in my answer that the troops on the right of the line were not either reported by you, or under my command—that I had said nothing of the men armed with those *secretly* borrowed muskets from the corps of exempts and that you were ready to prove this from the reports and testimony of the officers? Why, I ask, was this course not pursued? I answer, that you knew you were where all the proofs were at hand, and your false statements could, in a moment, be detected, and refuted and the only mode left to obtain your popular views, was to write to your Governor, calculating that the misrepresentations which your letter contained would never be exposed. In this you have been mistaken and the report of your Assistant Adjutant General of the 13th of January blasts your character as a man of veracity forever.

The report of the 12th of January is in your own handwriting. On that day Col. Davis, with his detachment, recrossed the river and is included in your report of the 15th of Jan. which is hereto annexed [3] What say you now sir? Were those men not under your command and reported by you? I doubt whether your friends, the Editors, of the Reporter, will be able to find an excuse for you in this barefaced falsehood.

This exposure at once shows, why your letter to Gov. Shelby was not published in full, before it appeared in the Reporter of the 2d of last

[3] This foot-note is by Jackson, as are others attached to this letter:

"A Detachment Report of the Kentucky Militia, under command of Brig. Gen. Adair, Command'g January 16, 1815.

	Fit for duty.	Sick.	On duty.	Deserted.	On furlough.	
Privates	1145	229	21	8	5	1408
Corporals	69	15				84
Sergeants	80	12				92
Ensigns	17	5				22
Lieutenants	19	3				22
Captains	Captains	4				22
Majors	3	1				4
Lieut. Col's						
						1656

"Captain Peacock's and Capt. Terrills companies, with one hundred and six men, including officers and non-commissioned officers stationed on the extreme right in the rear of the batteries, are included in the above report.

"John A. Meaux, Ass't A. G.

"A true copy. Robert Butler, A. G."

May [4] and also why the Editors of that paper published my answer to you, in the mutilated manner it did.

It is well known I had every disposition to be silent if I could have remained so without injustice to others. I had every thing prepared for a full exposure of those wicked falsehoods, that were agitated ostensibly by Helms in 1815 when his letter to me was received, and when your letter to Col. Anderson was shewn. I had reason to hope that the falsehoods had been contracdicted, justice done, and the unpleasant scenes forgotten in the recollection of the achievements of meritorious officers and soldiers. I was then silent: but finding those falsehoods and slanders reiterated, justice towards brave and meritorious men urged me forward. But to proceed sir, you say in your letter to Governor Shelby "I am even well assured that we had in the battle, on the east bank, officers and men, nearly 1200; for a number of men when the order was issued on the 7th to deliver the arms from the 13th to the 15th Regiment and from Major Crenshaw's battallion to Major Harrison's, did not obey the order, but believing we were to be attacked, concealed their arms and volunteered on the lines with their friends; those men were not reported". What! your men not obey orders, General, and no punishment inflicted upon them? A fine military example truly; and well accounts for the insubordination of your command. And how did it happen sir, that these men were not reported, when you knew the fact. I must confess it is to me unaccountable, considering that you were ordered on the 5th of January to detail all the Kentuckians, who had arms fit for service and all those for whom arms could be procured to assume the command—march them to my line of defence—encamp them in the rear of Gen'l Carroll's division and in the event of an alarm or attack, to cover and support him.[5] That those men who were armed, and fit for service in the field, should have been permitted to loiter in the camp of General Thomas and my orders disbeyed and this within your knowledge, after you had reported it had been complied with, and that your covering detachment was about 500 strong is, indeed, strange. Were you preparing, if defeat and disaster happened, to state your command below its real strength, but if victory resulted, to swell it far above? And was this the reason we could get no written report from you. Your conduct throughout would induce this opinion.

Let us return to your letter to Governor Shelby:—"I have obtained" you say "from Col. Latour, the chief engineer, a draft which will show the extent of our lines, and the space occupied by each corps. Our whole line was between 10 and 11000 yards long. The regular troops and part of the militia from Louisiana occupied —— yards on the right. General Carroll's division, 1269 strong, occupied 800 yards in the center, and General Coffee, about 700 strong the remainder on the left." If Colonel Latour furnished such a plan of the lines he knew it to be incorrect. It was your duty to know the length of Gen. Carroll's line you were ordered

[4] If it was ever published before in full, it was not seen by me.

[5] On the 5.. January, General Adair received ——— which was the only arms furnished him until after the battle of the ———.

to cover, and support him. You are too good a judge of distance to mistake 350 yards, the actual space occupied by Gen. Carroll's command for 800. But this falsehood was necessary to give currency to another which you had in view—to impose on the world a belief of Gen. Carroll's occupying a space of 800 yards that you might assume the ground you have taken, when you say "the Kentucky detachment was marched to the breastwork in two lines in close order, occupying the rear of the Tennessee troops, an extent of *not more* than 400 yards, with their center in front of the enemy's colum." This was to enforce the idea of your having in action 1200 men, as 400 yards, at close order in two lines gives room for 1200. You acknowledge then that you did not occupy more than half the distance that Genl Carroll did. Lt. Gadsden, my aid-de-camp, who lately measured the line by my orders accompanied by Doctor Kerr, Hospital Surgeon in the army, and who was on the line during the seige, makes its whole length 1537⅔ yards—575⅔ yards on the right of the line was occupied by Col. Ross's command; his aggregate about 1327 men 350 yards in the centre by Gen. Carroll, with 1227 privates, his aggregate being 1414. The residue 613 yards by Gen'l Coffee's brigade, 692 privates, aggregate 804. This sir, is the correct length of my line, and the distance occupied by the troops. You therefore, from your own admission, only occupied 175 yards, which at close order in two lines would give about 505 men; and this I always believed was fully the amount of your numbers on the line in the battle of the 8th January; though to do you ample justice they were given in my official report at 550.

I will now present you with Major Dillahunty's statements, not for your information but for the public's. You well know the facts stated to be true. "On the morning of the 8th the Kentucky detachment marched in line to the works, their right covering Gen'l Carroll's division, their left extending about one third of the length of his (Gen. Carroll) line. They remained in that situation until just before the action commenced when they inclined to the left so far that their right was just above the battery under the direction of Col. Perry leaving about 25 or 30 scattered along between the battery and the right of the Tennesseeans, a distance of upwards of 50 yards. He is convinced that their numbers did not exceed 450 or 500 at most."

I will now turn my attention to your remarks on the conduct of the troops on the west bank of the Mississippi. I have always believed, and so stated to you at Orleans, that the Court of Enquiry placed those troops on ground, *at least, as high* as they deserved. In all your communications you call my attention to the evidence before the Court of Enquiry That evidence was carefully examined. From the good private character of Col. Davis as given to me by my aid-de-camp, Major Thomas L. Butler, I was gratified that the court acquitted him of any conduct deserving censure. There are many men of good private character, who are not qualified to command, especially raw and untrained troops such as yours were. But however I might be pleased with the acquittal of Col. Davis, still I saw falsehoods in the testimony, and which of my own knowledge I pronounce such. It was stated in the evidence and reiterated

to me in your letter of the 20th of March, that Col Davis' detachment after h[a]ving retreated to and formed on Gen'l Morgan ——— received the ———— of the enemy, and fired from *three to seven rounds*. You know, sir, very well, that when the enemy advanced on the right bank of the river, the parapet of my line being crowded with officers and soldiers, I ordered that they should take off their hats, and give our troops on the right bank three cheers. Whilst in the act of ——— I saw the right of Gen. Morgan's line precipitately give way. That was ———— —ll drilled soldiers ——— —ort of loading and firing, could not have discharged the piece three times before the ———— —ny paces, retiring with the utmost precipitancy. I therefore knew the statement to be false and every person who witnessed this distressing scene knew it also. I have and always will endeavor to reward the brave with my approbation but no influence however extensive, no irritation however strong shall ever cause me to deviate from what I believe to be correct to do an act of injustice to brave men by approbating the coward who deserts in the hour of danger. If such conduct towards the deserving can be termed a prejudice I glory to possess it. ———present a correct idea ———— the confusion ————name——. I hereto annex ———— ——ed— the account given —Capt Wilkins commanding the Natchez volunteers company, also the note of Nicholas C. Hall and the statement of Washington Jackson and refer you to Mr John Metcalf, living at Paris, Kentucky. They are all gentlemen of as high standing for probity and honor as any in society, all members of that corps. Mr. Metcalf perhaps knows many of the deserters and can speak positively on that subject.[6]

This was not the only falsehood that appeared in the evidence given before the court of Enquiry. It was stated in the evidence that Col. Davis's detachment amounted to only 200 men. I saw this also reiterated in your letter of the 20th of March. I saw it stated on Morgan's line at 170. No report, or evidence to support this ever came before me and from the report of Genl Morgan, but one man of Col. Davis's command was wounded, none of the Kentuckians were taken prisoners on that day, as I ever understood. Col. Davis' report (verbal) as communicated to

[6] On this point Jackson introduces as a supporting statement the letter of Capt. J. C. Wilkins, printed on p. 294, n. 1, *ante*, and the following:

"I was a member of the Natchez Vol. Rifle corps commanded by Capt. J. C. Wilkins, and was a witness to the flight of our troops, on the right bank of the river, on the morning of the 8th January 1815; and although I have no personal knowledge that they were of the Kentuck line, yet it was so reported and believed in camp.

"(signed) NICH'L C. HALL,"

"If General Jackson should want any information respecting the Kentucky militia on the west side of the Mississippi, on the morning of the 8th of January 1815, I would refer him to the following gentlemen.

"At Natchez.

"James C. Wilkins, then capt. Natchez volunteer rifle company, Anthony Campbell, then Lieutenant in do. N. C. Hall, merchant in New Orleans, then in the above company. George Banks Natchez, then in said company.

"They could certify of meeting the Militia in squads; on the forenoon of the 8th running off mostly without arms, and that after getting to Gen. Morgan's lines, where we had retreated to, Col. Davis of the Kentucky Militia, could not muster more than twenty or thirty men, it then being necessary to ascertain the force on the ground.

"(signed) W. JACKSON."

me by Gen. Morgan, made his strength, when he reached him, to be about 260. His own official report on the 11th stated them at 271, and his official report on the 12th at 314. Taking all these things into consideration, I could not but believe that the evidence on this point before the court was incorrect. You know sir, that the statements of hundreds warranted this belief—and you know Captain Wilkin's company was composed of gentlemen of the first respectability; some of them Kentuckians, who would therefore scarcely be supposed to have feelings of hostility towards those troops. And likewise you know, that I had no inclination to do anything but justice to all, agreeably to the evidence of truth, and its convictions on my mind. You had no reason to suppose I had any feelings which could prompt me to do injustice to any portion of the troops under my command. You ought not therefore to have suffered the prejudices of the Kentuckians to warp your judgement. You should not have permitted the tide of their local feelings to carry you beyond the reach of truth and justice. You ought to have suffered the thing to die, particularly as you knew and have so expressed yourself that if there was blame imputable to any it could not possibly attach itself to me.

A few more remarks on your letter to the Editors of the Reporter and I have done. You say I am unwiling to dismiss the Kentuckians without a "side wipe", alluding to the affair under Col. Hinds on the Bayou Bienvenue, and thus proceed: "The General cannot have forgotten the conversation that took place between him and myself, the next day on that subject. If he has I will again assure him that Major Johnson who commanded the Kentuckians on that detachment, was extremely anxious that a strict investigation and scrutiny, should be had into his conduct." I can assure you sir, I have not forgotten it, and there are others also who remember it; as well as the conversation with Colonel Harrison, your Inspector General, who admitted that the report that Col. Hinds made to me of the flight of the Kentucky detachment at the firing of the carronade, *was true*, adding that the troopers had set the example. I replied it was incorrect, except as it might relate to two or three of them, who, as I understood, were afterwards expelled from the corps. But I can assure you, that in all our conversation that day, Major Johnson's name was not mentioned, as is recollected by myself or staff, nor is he reported by Col. Hinds as commanding the detachment. A copy of Col. Hinds official report is in the hands of the Editors of the Reporter. They requested it, and my Adjutant General sent it to them by mail. It is really unfortunate that you have not kept a better record of our details, and reports, as your recollection appears to be bad, and your assertions unfortunate.

Having been unavoidably drawn before the public, I will take a final leave of this disagreeable subject by remarking that a good [exc]use does not require that sophistry to obtain its reward, which has been resorted to by yourself and the Editors of the Reporter. Merit will always meet its due.

I am, sir, yours etc. etc.

P. S. Having understood that you were in town this morning I requested Dr Bronaugh of my staff, to wait on you and state that the fore-

going letter was preparing and that it was my wish you should remain in town until this evening, when a copy would be furnished. I learned on the return of the Doctor that your engagements were such as to prevent a compliance. I regretted this the more as the whole of the documents upon which the statements are founded are in my office and my Adj General's office. Your not having remained agreeably to my wish determined me to give it immediate publicity. Upon mature reflection, I have concluded to send it directly to yourself, that you may have time before publication, to adopt such measures as you may deem correct, I shall await the necessary time for its acknowledgement.

President Monroe to Jackson.

Sacket's Harbor, August 4, 1817.

private and confidential

My dear Sir, I intended to have written you long before this on a subject, noticd in a letter just after I left Washington, but so continual has been my movement since, and laborious my duties, contrary to my expectation, that I have not been able to do it. I had deferrd it therefore, untill in the prosecution of my journey, I should come near you, if I could not see you. I shall still write you fully on that subject, as soon as in my power. I am just about to embark, on board a vessel for Niagara, where I hope to arrive in a few days.

The conduct of McGregor,[1] supposed to menace the tranquility of the Southern States has inducd the gentlemen of the admn. to take a measure, in my absence for the public security which has made it necessary to order an officer, near the place, to perform a prompt service. Of this a copy has I understand been sent to you.

From your statment and that given me by the dept of war, it appears that a misunderstanding existed on your part, as to a matter of fact, which might have led to a different course on your part, had you been correctly informed. The principle is clear, that every order from the dept. of war, to whomever directed, must be obeyed. I cannot think that you are of a different opinion, and it is on you, that I rely for the most decisive support of the govt. My wish is that things remain as they are, till we communicate further and fully on this subject, for you may be well satisfied, that it [is] one of my strongest wishes, to support your honor and fame. I write you this in great haste, being just about to embark, and surrounded with a vast crowd

with great respect and the most sincere regard yours

[*Indorsement, in Jackson's handwriting*:] This to be filed, and the further explanation waited for, when it is to be fully answered. A. J.

[1] Gregor McGregor, an adventurer, took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's River, in 1817, and announced his intention of driving the Spaniards from the two Floridas. The place soon became a nest for buccaneers and smugglers and American forces seized it. Jackson had orders to support them, if necessary.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Nashville, August 4, 1817.

. . . . I am happy mr Kirkman, supplied your wants, *he is thus instructed by me*, and my Dear young friend, do not hesitate, in applying to him for any necessary funds. I wish you to oeconomise but I repeat again, my wish is that you should draw a true distinction, between oeconomy and parsimony, the latter, I wish you to shun as much, as I would the greatest extravagance. I will feel my ample reward in all advances for your benefit, in your future good conduct, and future greatness—by persuing that proper line of conduct, that has attended your youthfull walks, by a continuation of that application, that has been your constant companion—you must, nay, will, become a great, good, and usefull member of society. This my son will be an ample reward to me—did you and Edward only know the anxious hours I have for your future wellfare—It would operate as a stimulant, to you both, to continue, to the end, that noble course, you have began. my confidence is great, that both of you would part with life sooner than do an act, that would tarnish your reputations. I wish you to live in the harmony of brothers, and merit by your good conduct the friendship of your fellow students, and by your attention to your duty, and obedience to your superiors, the Esteem and good opinion of all. . . . .

To President Monroe.[1]

Head Quarters, Division of the South,
Nashville, August 12, 1817.

Dear Sir I had the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from you some time since, in which you mention the receipt of my several letters, and your intention to notice them in due time.

A late order from the Dept. of War to Major General Ripley, a copy of which with the answer is herewith enclosed renders it necessary that I should now know the light in which you have viewed the remarks I submitted to your consideration on the 4th of March last, respecting the right assumed bv the Secy. of War to interfere with the interior economy of my command without my knowledge.

A referrence to that communication supercedes the necessity of again entering into the details of the subject, and I barely enclose a copy of a letter written to the Actg Secy of War on the 26th Feby last, which not being noticed induced the impression that he intended, right or wrong to enforce a rule of conduct that I, as a military man could not submit to, I therefore on the 22d of April issued a Division Order (a copy of which is also enclosed) forbidding the obedience of any order from the War Dept except coming through the proper channel; this has given rise to the proper disobedience of Major Genl Ripley to the Order from the Dept of War above alluded to, for which I hold myself responsible.

[1] Library of Congress, Jackson-Donelson Correspondence. The "Edward" mentioned was Edward G. W. Butler, son of Maj. Edward Butler, who, dying in 1803, left Jackson guardian of his children.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

I will call your attention to my letter dated 21st of Nov. 1814, from Mobile on the subject of an order from the Adjt. and Inspr. General's office of the 1st Octr. 1814 ordering Col. Sparks and the officers of the 2d Regt. on the recruiting service: this order was received by the Col. during my absence at Pensacola, and whilst his Regt. was charged with the defence of Fort Bowyer and Mobile; and had it not been for his proper disobedience the most serious consequences might have resulted and the safety of the whole country been jeopardized.

In the view I took of this subject on the 4th March, I have flattered myself you would coincide, and had hoped to have received your answer before a recurrence of a similar infringement of military rule rendered it necessary for me again to call your attention thereto. None are infallible in their opinions, but it is never the less necessary that all should act agreeably to their convictions of right; my convictions in favor of the course I have pursued, are strong, and, should it become necessary, will willingly meet a fair investigation before a military tribunal. The good of the service, and a just regard for the dignity of the commission I hold alone actuates me; and however different your view of the subject may be from mine, your previous conduct towards me induces a confident feeling that you will not ascribe my motives improperly.

My wishes for retirement have already been made known to you, but under existing circumstances my duty to the officers of my division forbid it until this subject is fairly understood.

With sentiments of unfeigned regard and respect

I have the honor to be Yo. Mo. Obt. hu. St.

[*Indorsed by Monroe:*] Augt 12, 1817. Gen. Jackson. refers to his letter to me of March 4th and to the Secy of War of Feby 26 and an order of 22 of April forbidding Gen Ripley to obey the Dept of War

He refers also to the rect. of a letter from me, in which I promise to notice his several letters in due time. The one I presume, I wrote him, on the Chesapeake;

Refers to his letter of Novr 21, 1814, on an order, from adjt. L Inspector Genl to Col Sparks, and the officers of the 2d regt. to recruit. This order was recd. by the Col: while was at Pensacola who disobeyed, and saved the country.

He hoped that his letter of March 4th [*blank*]

Thought himself right and was willing to be tried wished to retire, and wo'd when this point was settled.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, August 12, 1817.

I have waited for two weeks to hear from Genl Adair in answer to my letter. as yet I have heard nothing. he passed through Nashville, he arived late in the evening, on the morning hearing he had arived, I requested Doctor Brunaugh, to wait upon and inform him I was preparing an answer

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

to him, to his letter to the Editors of the Reporter, with a request that he would wait a few hours for it to be copied, he replied his business was so pressing he could not stay. he immediately left town, I sent the letter by mail, as yet I have heard nothing from him, and unless I do today, I shall give it to the publick, in the next Clarion, you will find it pretty tough.

In my letter to him, I have stated Major Butlers statement to me, that no arms were obtained from the exempt corps, to his knowledge untill after the battle of the 8th of January and that this corps reported to him daily. I have expected the Major here for some days, hearing by Mr Donelson that he has embarked again on surveying, I have wrote him by Mr Donelson, requesting him to send me his statement in writing, least it may be wanted. If Major Butler is not coming in shortly will you obtain it for me and send it by a safe hand, or bring it when you come in. . . . .

To Secretary Graham.[1]

Nashville, August 19, 1817.

. . . . I am happy to find that the treaty lately concluded at Hiwassee has met your approbation. The opposition anticipated in the Senate, on the ground that it has not met with the unbiassed sanction of a majority of that portion of the nation east of the Mississippi, must vanish when it is known that, with the exception of the Path Killer who was too sick to attend, it is signed by every Principal Chief in the nation, and also by the Council of thirteen, chosen by the nation to regulate their concerns. The opposition, farther anticipated by you, on the ground " that no right to any portion of the Cherokee lands had accrued to the U. S. in consequence of the transaction which took place in 1809 " can be answered. The moment the Cherokees took possession under the promise made them by the President in 1809, the right to a proportionate part, (agreeably to their numbers) of the lands they had left, accrued to the United States. The priviledge asked for by the Indians was an exchange of lands, and it was under that consideration that the President made the agreement, and the act of their emigrating and settling on the arkansas, was, on their part, the execution thereof; and the later treaty is merely a gaurunty that those who remain on this side of the Mississippi will carry into effect the agreement made with the President in 1809 with good faith. . . . .

Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson.

Camp Montgomery, M. T., August 25, 1817.

General, Having received several communications from persons settled upon the public land in the tract of country acquired by the Treaty of Fort Jackson, containing general accusations against the Indians—that they had killed cattle and hogs, stolen corn etc, from the settlers—and requesting the interposition of Military force; I have uniformly refered

[1] War Dept. files.

them to the civil authority: because I have in no case during the present year been informed of any thing like an *assemblage* of *force* among the Indians in this quarter of the Territory. Nor could I see any reason why persons who had obtruded themselves upon the public land, contrary to law, should be allowed military protection against the petty offences of which they complained: especially as it did not appear that the civil authority had been opposed; nor even resorted to by the complainants. . . . .[1]

Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson.

Camp Montgomery, August 31, 1817.

General, I regret to be under the necessity of permitting the express, with my letters for the Tennessee mail, to St. Stephens, to depart, without being able to report to you the execution of your Order of the 22nd of april last. But I am still without a word from the Seminola Indians, in reply to my demand for the delivery of the murderers. This silence could not but be construed into a resolution of non compliance, on the part of the chiefs, were I assured that the demand had been faithfully communicated to them; but of this there is some ground to doubt.[1]

[1] For the early stage of the Indian troubles leading to the Seminole War, see Bassett's *Jackson,* I. 240, a brief statement, and *Am. St. Papers, Indian Affairs,* II. 154-162, in which many letters are published on the subject. As early as Apr. 6, Gaines asked Jackson for permission to proceed against the Seminoles. These Indians lived on Okolokne Sound, at the mouth of the Appalachicola. They were Creeks and had received among themselves the large number of hostiles who had fled before Jackson in 1814 and refused to join in the treaty of Fort Jackson, in August, 1814. The hostiles in this group were popularly known as "Red Sticks", because they were believed to have painted their war clubs red. May 10 Gaines sent to them, by Major Dinkins, a demand for the surrender of the Indians who had murdered some white settlers. The demand was refused and ten Indian towns sent their defiance. Ten red men had been killed, they said, and only seven whites. The Americans, therefore, owed them a settlement, rather than the Indians the whites. Major Twiggs, commanding at Fort Scott, just north of the Florida line on the Appalachicola, writing to Gaines on Aug. 11, 1817, summed up the situation as follows: "I have not heard a word from the Seminolas that can be relied on; but in my opinion they never will give up a murderer to the whites. In fact the chief of the Fowl town near this who is very frequently among the Seminolas told me eight days ago that the Flint river was the line between us and I must not cut another stick of timber on the opposite side from this, the land was his and he was directed by the Powers above to protect and defend it and he should do so and I would see that talking could not frighten *him* since which I have not seen one of his town. The Indians on the east of the Flint will in my opinion in the event of a movement on that side of the river commence hostilities. It is possible I may be mistaken but I shall think so till the contrary is proved".

[1] The expected reply of the Seminoles was received by Major Twiggs at Fort Scott two weeks later and, by him, sent to Brigadier-General Gaines. It was dated Sept. 11, 1817, and was as follows:

"To the Commanding Officer at Fort Scott on Flint River, *Dear sir* Since the last war after you sent word wee must quit the war wee the red people has come over on this side the White people has carried all the red peoples cattle off, after the War I sent to all my people to let white people alone and stay on this side the river and they did so, but the white people still continues to carry off their cattle, Barnads Son was hear and I enquired of him what was to be done, and he said wee must goe to the head man of the white people and complain I did so and there was no white head man and there, nor no law in this case, the white first began and there is nothing said about that but great complaint made about what the Indians does, this is now three years since the white people killed three Indians, since that they have killed three other Indians and took their horses and what they had, and this last summer they killed three more, and very lately they killed one more, wee sent word to the white people that these murders were done, and the answer was that they were people that was Outlaws and we ought to goe and kill

The Mickasukee chief refused to meet in council, but promised to attend to any communication that should be sent to him. This promise, I have no doubt was dictated by the British agent, that the communication should pass through his lands, and be changed or mutilated to suit his own sinister designs. To counteract the effects of this scheme of treachery, and make the deluded Indians sensible of the danger to which this pretended friend and agent is about to lead them, I am satisfied that, it is absolutely necessary to appear *in force* near them. I should indeed have pursued this course some time past, if it had been practicable to procure sufficient transport. . . . .

To President Monroe.[1]

Nashville, September 2, 1817.

D'r Sir Yours of the 4th Ult was received on yesterday, and I shall await the further communication, referred to, with patience.

Permit me to assure you that I will continue to support the Government in all respects when the orders of the War Dept. do not, in my opinion, go to infringe all law and strike at the very root of subordination and the discipline of the Army.

Should it, ultimately, be found that my opinion of subordination and legal authority, as exercised by the Dept. of War, does not coincide with yours, be assured that on my part it will be viewed as an honest difference of opinion, and in my retirement, will, with that zeal for your welfare and the public good, as heretofore, continue to lend my feeble aid to the administration of the Government under your Presidency.

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them, the White people killed our people first the Indians then took satisfaction, there is yet three men that they red people has never taken Satisfaction for, You have wrote that there was houses burnt but wee know of no such thing being done, the truth in such cases ought to be told but this appears otherwise, On that side of the river the white people has killed five Indians but there is nothing said about that, and all that the Indians have done is brought up, all the mischief the white people has done ought to be told to their head man when there is any thing done you write to us but never writes to your head man what the white people does, When the red people sends talk or writes they always send the truth, You have sent to us for your horses, and wee sent all wee could find but there was some dead it appears that all the mischief is laid on this town but all they mischief that has been done by this town is two horses One of them is dead and the other was sent back, the cattle that wee are accused of taking was cattle that the white people took from us, our Youngmen went and brought them back with the same marks and brands, there was some of our Young men out hunting and they were killed others went to take satisfaction, and the kettle of one of the men that was killed was found in the house where the women and two children were killed, and they supposed it had been her husband whoe had killed the Indians, and took their satisfaction there, we are accused of killing up Americans and so on, but since the word was sent to us that peace was made, wee stay steady at home and medles with no person You have sent to us respecting the black people on the sauwanny River, wee have nothing to doe with them, they were put there by the English, and to them you ought apply for any thing about them, wee doe not wish our Country disolated by an enemy passing through it for the Concerns of other people, the Indians has Slaves there also a great many of them, when wee have and apportunity wee shall apply to the English for them but we cannot get them now Sir I conclude by subscribeing myself your humble servt. etc. this is what wee have to say at present

"N. B. there is ten towns has red this letter and this is the answer."

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

When your promised communication reaches me I will give it my best attention; in the mean time this subject shall remain, as you have desired, until I have the pleasure, either of seeing or hearing from you.

Accept my best wishes for your health and happiness, and believe me to be with great Respect

Yo. Mo. Obt. St.

To Brigadier-General Winfield Scott.

Nashville, September 8, 1817.

Sir, With that candor due the character you have sustained as a soldier and a man of honor, and with the frankness of the latter, I address you. Inclosed is a copy of an anonymous letter, post-marked 'New York, 14th August, 1817', together with a publication taken from the *Columbian,* which accompanied the letter.[1] I have not permitted myself for a moment to believe that the conduct ascribed to you is correct. Candor, however, induces me to lay them before you, that you may have it in your power to say how far they may be incorrectly stated. If my order has been the subject of your animadversion, it is believed you will at once admit it and the extent to which you have gone.

I am, sir, respectfully,

Your most obedient servant

President Monroe to Jackson.

Albemarle near Milton, September 27, 1817.

Dear Sir, I have just reached home, from my late tour, much fatigued, as you will readily concieve, and requiring some days rest, before I can separate myself so much from my private concerns, as to attend to other business. Your case shall receive my earliest attention, and in the spirit mentioned in my last, for be assur'd, that I take a deep interest, in whatever concerns your interest or honor. I hoped that I should have been able to write you, on my route, from some point in Ohio, but I had as little leisure there, as in the other parts of my journey. Indeed it requird the utmost efforts of which my mind and body were capable, to meet the calls that were made on me daily, so that it became indispensably necessary for me to postpone that subject to the present time. You shall hear from me soon.

with great respect and sincere regard I am dear Sir yours

[1] A writer calling himself "A Querist" had published in the New York *Columbian* an article charging that Jackson issued his order concerning Major Long in order to protect one of his favorites. An anonymous writer sent this to Jackson with a letter saying that General Scott was supposed to have written the article signed "A Querist" and warning Jackson to beware of the intrigues of a military clique, with which he associated General Scott. The letters that followed were not creditable to either officer. Jackson's letter of Sept. 8 does not appear in his manuscripts. Parton (*Jackson,* II. 377) publishes it, and also Mansfield (*Life of General Winfield Scott,* p. 170). In 1824 the whole correspondence was published by Jackson's political opponents in pamphlet form.

Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson.

Camp Montgomery, A. T., October 1, 1817.

(Duplicate)

General, I have the honor to lay before you a letter[1] which I have received from the Chiefs of ten of the Seminnola towns, in reply to my demand for the delivery of the murderers of our Citizens.

By this communication it appears that instead of a compliance, the Chiefs have set up a claim against us for the lives of three Indians, for whom they allege they have not yet taken satisfaction. They charge us with having killed ten of their Warriors, and allowing a balance of three to be due them, they consequently admit, that they have killed seven of our citizens. They acknowledge the murder of a woman (Mrs. Garret) and her two children but justify the act upon the ground that the Warriors who committed this outrage had lost friends, had entered our Settlements to take satisfaction, found at the house of Garret a kettle belonging to the Indians that had been killed, and therefore "Supposing the murder had been committed by the husband of the woman", killed her and her children.

I am convinced that nothing but the application of force, will be sufficient to ensure a permanent adjustment of this affair I shall therefore put the First Brigade in motion for Fort Scott as soon as I can possibly obtain transportation, and I trust that I shall at least by the 20th or 25th reach that place. . . . .

Brigadier-General Winfield Scott to Jackson.[1]

New York, October 4, 1817.

Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th ultimo, together with the two papers therein enclosed.

[1] Gaines proceeded with his design of concentrating a force at Fort Scott to overawe the Seminoles. The War Department gave its approval. The Fowltown Indians were on land acquired by the government by the treaty of Fort Jackson. They stood their ground and challenged Gaines to cross to their side of the river. He naturally felt that to acquiesce would be to recognize their claim; but he made no effort to induce the Fowltown Indians to change their minds. In fact, his actions would seem to indicate that he wished the Indians to precipitate war. He continued to concentrate troops at Fort Scott to the number of 800. A flying rumor said that the Indians were placing their women and children in Pensacola, a place of safety, while the men went to war. The story was soon contradicted, but it had served to waken again the suspicion against Spain. Another exaggerated rumor, forwarded by Major Twiggs, was that an Indian council, attended by 2700 persons, had decided to go to war if the whites crossed the Flint River. Such, indeed, was the decision of the Indians of Fowltown; but they were an insignificant number and rumor had magnified the importance of their threat. Gaines met it by ordering Major Twiggs to attack Fowltown.

[1] Parton (*Jackson,* II. 377), who seems to have no more of this letter than the extracts in Mansfield's *Life of Scott,* p. 171, tells the reader that Scott's reply was "candid, courteous, and explicit". He overlooked the fact that it was condescending and contentious. However, it did not justify Jackson's blustering reply of Dec. 3, 1817. Before accepting the idea that Jackson's side of the controversy was discreditable, we should remember that duels in general grew out of distorted egoism and that little can be said to show that one is better than another. Compare the Decatur-Barron correspondence in *Niles' Register,* Apr. 8, 1820, pp. 98-107. Jackson undoubtedly wrote his letters to Scott with a duel in mind. The letter given here is in the Jackson MSS.

I am not the author of the miserable and unmeaning article copied from " The Columbian ", and (not being a reader of that Gazette) should probably never have heard of it, but for the copy you have sent me. And whilst on the subject of *writing* and *publishing*, it may save time, to say, at once, that, with the exception of *the substance* of two articles which appeared in " The Enquirer ", last fall, and a journal kept whilst a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, I have not written, nor caused any other to write a single line for any Gazette whatever, since the commencement of the late war.

Conversing with some two or three private gentlemen, about as many times, on the subject of the Division Order, dated at Nashville, April the 22nd, 1817, it is true, that I gave it as my opinion, that that paper was, as it respected the future, mutinous in its character and tendency; and, as it respected the past, a reprimand of the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the U. States; for altho' the latter be not expressly named, it is a principle well understood, that the War Department, without, at least, his *supposed* sanction, cannot give a valid command to an ensign.

I have thus, sir, frankly answered the queries addressed to me, and which were suggested to you by the letter of your anonymous correspondent; but on a question so important, as that which you have raised with the War Department, or in other words with the President of the U. States; and in which I find myself incidentally involved, I must take leave to illustrate my meaning a little; in doing which I shall employ almost the precise language which was used on the occasions above alluded to.

Take any three officers. Let A be the common superior, B the intermediate commander and C the common junior. A wishes to make an order which shall affect C. The good of the service, etiquette and courtesy, require, no doubt, that the order should pass thro' B, or, if expedition and the dispersed situation of the parties make it necessary to send the order direct to C (of which necessity A is the judge)—the good of the service, etiquette and courtesy require, with as little doubt, that A notify B thereof, as soon as practicable. Such notice, of itself, has always been held, as sufficient, under the circumstances last stated. But we will suppose that A sends the order direct to C, and neglects to notify B thereof; and such appears to be the precise case alluded to in the order before cited. Has B no redress against this irregularity? He may, unquestionably remonstrate with A, in a respectful manner, and if remonstrance fail, and there be a higher military authority than A, B may appeal to it for redress. Now, in the case under consideration, there existed no such higher authority; the War Department, or in other words, *the President*; being the common superior (A), and the general of division the intermediate commander (B). A private and respecful remonstrance, therefore, appears to have been the only mode of redress which circumstances admitted of. An appeal to the army or the public, before or after such remonstrance, seems to have been a greater irregularity than the measure complained of; to reprobate that measure, publicly, as the Division

Order does, was to mount still higher in the scale of indecorum; but when the order goes so far as to prohibit to all officers in the division an obedience to the commands of the President of the U. States, unless received thro' division Head Quarters it appears to me, that nothing but mutiny and defiance can be understood or intended.

There is another view of this subject which must have escaped you, as I am persuaded there is not a man in America less disposed to shift responsibility from himself, to a weaker party, than yourself. Suppose the War Department, by order of the President, sends instructions direct to the commanding officer, perhaps, a captain, at Natchitoches (a post within your division) to attack the body of Spanish royalists nearest to that frontier. If the Captain obeys, you arrest him; but if in compliance with your probibition he sets the commands of the President at naught, he would find himself in direct conflict with the highest military authority under the Constitution, and thus would have to maintain against that " fearful odds " the dangerous position laid down in your order. Surely this consequence could not have been foreseen by you when you penned that order.

I must pray you to beleive, sir, that I have expressed my opinions on this great question, without the least hostility to yourself, personally, and without any view of making my court in another quarter, as is insinuated by your anonymous correspondent. I have nothing to fear or hope, from either party. It is not likely that the Executive will be offended at the opinion, that *it* has committed an irregularity in the transmission of one of its orders; and, as to yourself, altho' I cheerfully admit that you are my *superior*, I deny that you are my *commanding* officer, within the meaning of the 6th article of the rules and articles of war. Even if I belonged to your division, I should not hesitate to repeat to you all that I have said, at any time, on your subject, if a proper occasion offered; and, what is more, I should expect your approbation; as, in my humble judgment, refutation is impossible. As you do not adopt the imputations contained in the anonymous letter, a copy of which you enclosed me, I shall not degrade myself by any further notice of it.

I have just shown the article from " The Columbian " to some military gentlemen of this place, from whom I learn, that it was probably intended to be applied to a case which has recently occurred at West Point. The writer is supposed to proceed upon a report (which is nevertheless beleived to be erroneous) that Brig. General Swift had orders from the War Department, more than a twelve month since, to remove Captain Patridge from the Military Academy,[2] and that he suppressed those orders, etc. The author is beleived to be a young man of the army, and was at the time of publication in this city, but not under my com-

[2] Capt. Alden Partridge was a professor in the Military Academy at West Point from 1813 to 1816 and its superintendent for a part of 1817; afterward he founded the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy at Norwich, Vt. (now Norwich University), and various other such schools.

mand, and with whom I have never had the smallest intimacy. I forbear to mention his name, because it is only known by conjecture.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

[*Indorsement:*] Recd. by J. M. G.[3] on the 22d Oct 1817 and delivered by him to Major Genl. Jackson 1st. Decr. 1817 he having been absent until that time, the answer enclosed by J. M. G. to Mr. Thos. R. Mercier (of N York) on the 5th. Decr.

President Monroe to Jackson.

Albemarle near Milton, Va., October 5, 1817.

Dear Sir. I will now communicate to you, without reserve, my sentiments, on a subject of great national importance, in which you are particularly interested. I need not mention that this is a painful office for me to enter on; among the most painful that could have occurrd; for united as we have been on principle, and connected in operations, in which you renderd the most important services to your country, and acquird for yourself an imperishable fame, nothing could be more distressing to me, than that a difference of opinion should have arisen between us, on a point, involving such serious consequences, and on which it is my indispensible duty to decide. In performing this duty, my own feelings, will be a sufficient guard, against my saying any thing, to wound yours, intentionally. An honest difference of opinion daily takes place between the best friends, and that, that, which you entertain in this instance, is founded in the most upright motives, I sincerely believe.

In expressing my sentiments on this subject, it is necessary to advert only, to the real point in issue. The causes leading to it are known to us both and need not be here recited. Your order of the 22d of april makes the issue, by prohibiting obedience to any order from the dept. of war, by the officers of your division, or by any officer who had reported and been assignd to duty in it, which did not pass thro' you its commander. This order involves the naked principle, of the power of the Executive, over the officers of the army, in such cases, for the department of war cannot be separated from the President. It is instituted to convey his orders to the army, and to perform other services under him. The orders of the dept are therefore the orders of the President. To this point therefore, I shall confine my remarks in the first instance. Whether it is expedient to give orders, to an officer, performing service, in a division directly, and not through its commander, in any case, and if in any, under what circumstances, is a different question to which I will next attend.

According to my view of the subject, no officer of the army, can rightfully disobey, an order from the President. By the constitution of the UStates the Executive is a Coordinate branch of the Government, and vested with all the Executive power, delegated by the people, to the government. He is also made Commander in chief of the army and navy and of the militia when called into the service of the UStates. By virtue

[3] J. M. Glassell was Jackson's secretary at this time.

of these powers the President nominates, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoints, all the officers of the army and navy, and has power to remove them, when in his judgment, there shall be good cause for it. He has the control of the public force; directs its operations in war and positions in peace; assigns commanders to the divisions, prescribes the extent of their respective commands, and designates the troops they are to command. In short, he is vested with the power, and made responsible, according to the constitution and laws of the UStates, for the wise direction and government of the military and naval force of the nation both in war and peace. Under these circumstances I cannot perceive on what ground an order from the ch: Majistrate, within the limitation stated, can be disobeyd.

If the question is examind on military principles, it appears to me, that all those principles require a short and prompt obedience to the orders of the Chief Majistrate. I do not think that any officer of either of our divisions, would disobey an order from its commander, given, directly, in person, or thro' an aid, or in writing, for the reason that it did not pass thro' the immediate commander of the post. I am satisfied that he ought not to disobey it, because on sound military principles, every thing appertaining to the government of the division, under the control of the Executive, emanates from the commander of the district. By the arrangment of the Executive, the commander of a district and division, is commander in chief thereof, and knows no superior within that limit, except the President. The Commander of another district and division, tho' of superior rank has nothing to do with him, nor ought his orders to be obeyd. In peace when the force is dispersed, and the corps are cantoned at a distance from each other, as is now the case, greater authority necessarily devolves on the commander of each post, than he would have, if the whole division were assembled together, under the immediate command, of the commander of the division; nevertheless, he is, for all military purposes, supposd to be always present, every where, and his orders, even in the most minute detail, should he think proper to give them, must be obeyd.

Whatever may be said of the right of a commander of a district and division, to command within his district and division, applies with full force to the President as Commander in chief of the army. In that character, he is present every where, and no officer, can, in my judgment, rightfully disobey his order, provided it be conveyd to him, thro the dept of war, or other proper channel. In another view, the argument, is still more conclusive. The Executive power of the nation is vested in the President. If any officer of the army, can disobey his order, for the reason assignd, or for any such reason, the Government is suspended, and put aside, than which I confidently believe nothing is more remote from your views.

The commander of a district, is, it is true, charg'd with its defense, and has duties to perform connected with it, which it is highly important that he should execute, in due time; but still he is no further responsible, than for the faithful application of the means committed to him for the purpose, by the Executive. The whole means provided by law, for the

defense of the union, are committed to the Executive, who is held responsible, for a proper application and direction thereof, on that great scale. He must therefore be the judge how those means are to be applied, and have full power to apply them, to such objects, and in such quarters, as he may find expedient. He must also be the judge, of the expediency, of augmenting the force, in one quarter, and diminishing it, in another, and of transferring officers, from one to another station. Emergencies may occur, requiring prompt agency, for which, in the vast extent of our country, the opportunity might be lost, and the calamity inevitable if the Executive could not apply the force nearest at hand, but must send the order, circuitously, through the commander of the district.

As to the policy of exercising the power to the full extent of the right, of giving orders, invariably, to officers in any division, without passing them thro' the commander of the division, I am far from advocating it. In general, I think that the practice, should be otherwise, and be deviated from, in cases, of urgency only, of which, the dept. should be the judge. The reasons which you urge, have in this view, great weight, but yet I cannot think, considering the nature and extent of our districts, the whole union being divided into two only, and the remotest parts of each five, or 600. miles from the center, the Head Quarters of its commander, the maritime frontier liable to attack by a naval force from the ocean, and the Inland frontier, by savages, combind with foreign powers, with other possible causes of occasional disturbance, at each extreme, and in the intermediate spaces, that it would be safe to adopt it, as an invariable rule. As a general rule, I think that it would be proper, and that in all cases, when departed from, the commander of the district should be promptly advisd of it, and a copy of the order sent to him.

These being my opinions, formed on great consideration, and in conformity to which I must act I hope to hear from you soon on the subject, and shall be much gratified should you concur with me in them.

I have read with great interest the observations containd in your letters, and particularly in that of the 4th of march last, on several very important subjects. Your report with that of Lt Gadsden respecting the fortifications necessary for the defense of Louisiana, will be duly considerd. Your reasons for promoting the rapid settlement of the Alabama country, the establishment of a foundry on the Tennessee river, near the Muscle Shoals, and for the extinguishment of the title of the chickasaws, on the Eastern bank of the Mississippi, have great weight. The view which you have taken of the Indian title to lands is new but very deserving of attention. The hunter or savage state, requires, a greater extent of territory to sustain it, than is compatible with the progress and just claims of civilized life, and must yield to it. Nothing is more certain, than, if the Indian tribes do not abandon that state, and become civilized, that they will decline, and become extinct. The hunter state, tho maintain'd by warlike spirits, presents but a feeble resistance to the more dense, compact, and powerful population of civilized man. Within our limits, where the Indian title is not extinguished, our title is good, against European powers only, and it is by treaties with the lat-

ter, that our limits are formed. It has been customary to purchase the title of the Indian tribes, for a valuable consideration, tho' in general that of each tribe, has been vague and undefind. A compulsory process seems to be necessary, to break their habits, and to civilize them, and there is much cause to believe, that it must be resorted to, to preserve them. On these, and every other subject, mentiond, in your letters, I shall avail myself of the light shed on them by your experience and judgment, on every proper occasion, and I shall always be happy to promote your wishes respecting individuals when circumstances will permit it.

I need not state that it is my earnest desire that you remain in the service of your country. Our affairs are not settled, and nothing is more uncertain than the time, we shall be permitted to enjoy our present tranquility and peace. The Spanish government has injur'd us, and shews no disposition to repair the injury; while, the revolutionary struggle, in the colonies, continues, to which, from a variety of important considerations, we cannot be indifferent. Should we be involved in another war, I have no doubt, that it will decide the fate of our free government, and of the independance of Spanish America. I should therefore much lament your retirement.

with great respect and esteem I am dear Sir yr very obt servant

To President Monroe.

Private.

Nashville, October 22, 1817.

Dear Sir. I have received your friendly letter of the 27th Ult. and your letter of the 5th instt. They both reached me by this days mail. I have given them, as attentive a perusal, as my situation would permit, being on the eve of my departure to see my friend and Nephew Major Hutchings, who is very ill and despaired of near Huntsville, and has requested me to take to him his little and only Son about six years old. Under these circumstances, I have to request the indulgence of a few days, until my return to answer your letter of the 5th instt. However I must remark, that I can never abandon principle, be the personal consequences what they may. The causes which gave rise to my order of the 22nd April, being the improper interference of the Department of War, with a Topographical Engineer of my Division, after he had reported, and was ordered on duty by me, in open violation of the regulations of the Army of the U. States, page 91. which defines his duty, and makes him subordinate to the directions of the Commanding General—and also the act of the 24th April 1816, organizing the Genl. Staff—which I trust viewing your Constitutional duty " to see the Laws faithfully executed " in connection with your duty as Commander in Chief of the " Army and Navy " you cannot justify. These being remonstrated against by me to the sec of war, and fifty four days have'g elapsed without receiving an answer, and being an interference, that my duty as a commander of a Division compelled me to resist, these I say being withdrawn, as they were the basis of my order, I shall have no hesitation in withdrawing my Genl. order—and that rules and regulations m[a]y thereafter be

adopted, which may tend to harmonize the Army and keep up subordination. I am induced from the conciliatory features of your letter to make these remarks—and that you may have the causes which gave rise to my order again before you, I enclose you a copy of my letter to the Act'g Secy. of War of the 14th of Jany. with the extracts of the Orders and instructions given by the Secy. of War to Majr. Long.

I would barely remark, that cases of necessity, creates their own rule, and where they really exist, forms an exception from the Genl. rule—altho' not expressed always implied—hence I have never complained of any order being issued in cases of necessity, when I was immediately advised thereof—nor is it a source of real complaint.

I shall await your answer to this letter, before I forward mine to your's of the 5th instt. Should the accomodation proposed not meet your wishes, you will please return this enclosed to me.

I am etc etc.

Colonel José Masot[1] to Jackson.

Pensacola, November 3, 1817.

To Major Wm. Peacock have been delivered the two mulattoes belonging to him called Jerry and Joe who had fled to this place. And the Governor of Pensacola feels highly gratified in having it in his power to attend to the recommendation[2] of his Excellency Major Genl. Jackson; And as to the other officers of this post, they will always feel much pleasure in being useful, in any manner in their power, to the Citizens of the United States.

Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson.

Fort Scott, November 21, 1817.

General, The first Brigade arrived at this place on the 19th instant. I had previously sent an Indian runner to notify the foul-town[1] Chief E,ne,le,maut,ley of my arrival, and, with a view to ascertain whether his hostile temper had abated, requested him to visit me—he replied that he had already sent to the Commanding officer here, all he had to say, and that he would not come.

He had warned Major Twiggs not to cross, or cut a stick of wood on the East side of Flint river, alleging [that that land] was his, that he was directed by the powers [*mut.*] . . . . to protect and defend it and should do so. This [*mut.*] . . . . fered to, and his town having continued to [*mut.*] . . . . the last war, having participated as the [*mut.*] . . . . assist in the predatory war carried on for [*mut.*] . . . .

[1] Acting commandant at Pensacola; commissioned as commandant Mar. 6, 1818.

[2] "to comply with the wishes of, or to oblige, Major genl Jackson". [Translator's note.]

[1] The attack on Fowltown precipitated Jackson's war on the Seminoles. The Indians of this town were noted for hostility toward the Americans. *Cf.* Col. Benjamin Hawkins to General McIntosh, Nov. 26, 1814, and to Jackson, May 5, 1815; George Perman to Lieut. R. M. Sands, Feb. 24, 1817; and Maj. D. E. Twiggs to Brigadier-General Gaines, Aug. 11, 1817.

against the Georgia frontier, I yesterday detached 650 men (supposed to be about the strength of the town) under the Command of Major Twiggs, with orders to bring to me the Chief and warriors and in the event of resistance to treat them as Enemies.[2] The detachment arrived at the town early this morning and were instantly fired upon, but without effect. The fire [was] briskly returned by the detachment, and the Indians first to fly with the loss of four warriors slain, and as there is reason to believe many more wounded.

It is with deep regret I have to add that a woman was accidentally shot with some warriors in the act of forcing their way through our line formed for the purpose of arresting their flight. The unfortunate woman had a blanket fastened round her (as many of the warriors have) which amidst the smoke in which they were enveloped, rendered it impossible as I am assured by the officers present, to distinguish her from the warriors. Among the articles found in the house [*mut.*] . . . . was a British uniform coat (scarlet) [*mut.*] . . . . gold Epaulettes, and a certificate si[gned] [*mut.*]. Captain of Marines, "Robert White, in [*mut.*] . . . . Nichols", stating that the chief "had a[lways been a true] and faithfull friend to the British [soldiers.] Major Twiggs reports that the officers and the detachment, generally, performed their duty with zeal and propriety.

The reports of friendly Indians concur in est[i]mating the number of hostile warriors including the red sticks and seminolas at more than two thousand, besides the blacks amounting to near four hundred men and increasing by runaways from Georgia. They have been promised, as several Indians inform me, assistance from the British at new Providence—this promise though made by Woodbine, is relied on by most of the seminola Indians. I have not a doubt but they will sue for peace as soon as they find their hopes of british aid to be without foundation.

[2] Gaines's order to Major Twiggs, Nov. 20, 1817, is as follows:

"The hostile character and conduct of the Indians of the fowl Town, settled within our own limits, rendering it absolutely necessary, that they should be removed, you will proceed to the town with the detachment assigned you, and remove them. You will arrest and bring the chiefs and Warriors to this place, but should they oppose you, or attempt to escape, you will in that event treat them as ennemies. Your men are to be strictly prohibited, in any event, from firing upon, or otherwise injuring women and children. You will return to this place with your command, as soon as practicable. Should you receive satisfactory information that any considerable number of the neighbouring Indians have joined those of fowl Town, you will in that event, immediately return to this place without making any further attempt to execute the first above written order."

Major Twiggs reported to General Gaines, Nov. 21, 1817, as follows: "I have with my command a few hours since returned from the hostile fowl Town, situated upon the United States land and distant about sixteen miles, having executed so much of your order of the 20th as was practicable. Having marched all the night of the 20th I reached the town before day-light on the morning of the 21st and posted the troops in order of Battle, intending silently to surround it and without blood-shed bring to you the Chiefs and Warriors, but they fled from the Companies of Major Montgomery and Captain Birch on my right and fired upon my left under Captains Allison and Bee, when they were fired on in return; discovering my superiority of force they fled to a neighbouring swamp; I remained in possession of the town until sunrise and without destroying it or their provisions I marched my command back to Head Quarters, bringing with me only a few head of Horses and Cattle. I had not a man killed or wounded and the Indians but few as they received but one round and fled."

John Rhea[1] to Jackson.

Washington, November 27, 1817.

Dear General, On last Saturday I came here, and since then have seen a copy of the instructions to Major Stephen H Long, the officer sent to Praire du Chien to execute the duties of Engineer. The letter of instructions, dated, War Department 18th June [*blank*] signed, Wm. H. Crawford and addressed to Major Stephen H Long. Top Engineer N York Major Long, by said instructions, is required, immediately after being supplyed with the necessary instruments and books, to proceed to Praire du Chiene on the Mississippi and report himself to General Smith and under his directions to execute the duties of Engineer in the planing and constructing of such fortifications on that frontier as the public service shall require. He is instructed to report himself, when that service is completed to the War Department for orders. He is instructed, on his tour to Praire du Chien and especially on his return, to examine or rather view, with a view to topographical purposes, the country thro' which he may pass, and is informed that as dispatch on his outward journey is indispensible but few observations of this nature will be expected, but that on his return every thing that rilates to this branch of Science must be carefully attended to and reported to the War Department. He is also instructed to make a detailed report of his proceedings, exhibiting the number extent and plans of the different fortifications by him constructed, the situation and face of the country on which they are erected together with every circumstance, which can be interesting in a military point of view, of the surrounding country. The letter of instructions contains some more particulars relating to the purchase of instruments and books and to extra pay of the soldiers employed for constructing said Works. The above written contains the substance of the instructions to major Long so far as they rilate to his going and returning from Prairie du chien.

The Object inducing me to inquire and write to you respecting this business is, that a difference of opinion, if there be any, may be done away and your mind be at rest on this subject. And in order thereto, I beg leave to observe, that the letter of instructions that directs major Long to proceed to Prairie du chien to execute certain duties there, also requires him, when that service is performed, to report himself to the War Department for orders. His return is particularly adverted to; He is required carefully to view the country and report to the War Department every circumstance with a view to topographical purposes. The Mission of Major Long to Prairie du Chien appears, not only to have been, to perform and execute duties of an engineer there, but particularly to examine and view the country, when going and returning. The Major must, by his instructions, have considered himself under orders to return as soon as his duties of Engineering at Praire du chien were completed without waiting further orders for his return. Whether you were informed immediately of the movements of Major Long or recieved a copy

[1] M. C. from Tennessee 1803-1815, 1817-1823.

of his instructions from the War Office, I know not, but be that as it may, Major Long was ordered to report himself to General Smith of your division and under his directions to execute certain duties.

The Mission of Major Long was for purposes not requiring his long continuance at Prairie du Chien. Without any command at Prairie du Chien except for merely purposes requiring a temporary continuance, his return from thence in consequence of his instructions was an act of duty. this case is not similar to the withdrawing from within your command and without your knowledge, the commanding officer of a post. Being but little acquaint[ed] with Military rules I will forbear to observe further in this case, only noticing that, so far as I can learn, and my knowledge is from the highest and best authority, I do believe, that, by the Mission of Major Long no disrespect was intended towards you; I therefore hope and trust that your mind will be at rest and ease respecting that business.

I am now to inform you that with the President himself, I had the honor of having the conversation respecting you. He did me the honor of putting into my hands a copy of the instructions to Major Long above alluded to, and said I might send a copy to you. that I have not done but a copy is in my possession of that which the President put in my hands. I firmly believe the President entertains and has for you undiminished every degree of friendship he ever had. His confidence in you remains unimpaired, of this, in my humble opinion, you may rest assured; If I thought otherwise I would write so to you. Cease, I beg you, to trouble yourself respecting the Mission or rather return of Major Long. The President is your friend and I think the full knowledge of that will content you. He has lately wrote to you. And now as heretofore I request and entreat you to abandon every idea of resigning or retiring—this is no time for you to retire from the service of our country. You have done greatly—more may yet remain for you to do. I well know that if you did retire, and afterwards any thing requiring your exertion did arise, you would regret that you have retired—the President is opposed to your retiring from the service of our Country, and I can inform you that Mr. W——H. C———— is also opposed to your retiring.

I have wrote to you a long letter—if any thing expressed in it be otherwise than agreeable to you, excuse me for it, for this letter is dictated by friendship towards you, of which I trust you have no doubt. to have a letter from you will give me great pleasure. Accept my sincere wishes for your health and happiness. I am Dear General

Please to acknowledge receipt of this letter

President Monroe to Jackson.

private Washington, December 2, 1817.

Dear Sir, I have the pleasure to inclose you a copy of my message to Congress, which was communicated to day.

I expected to have receiv'd a letter from you before this, or at least I inferr'd it, from your last of the 22d of Octr. I suspect from what

Mr Rhea states, that you never saw, the order of the dept. of war, under which Major Long went to St. Louis, and acted on the Mississippi. It was under that order, that he return'd. None other, was, as I am assurd, ever given him untill after his return. I merely suggest this for your information, not meaning to enter further into the subject.

My earnest desire is, to terminate this unpleasant affair, in the most honorable manner for you, that it may be possible, consistent, with principles, which it is my duty to maintain, and are explaind in my last, to you. The mode, which, suggests itself, is, for the Secretary of War, Mr Calhoun, lately appointed, and who is daily expected here, to digest a system of regulations, by my order, to be observd, in communicating the orders of the President, to the commanders of divisions, or any persons under them, at a distance from their Hd. Qrs. A few rules, will be sufficient for the purpose, and in them, the principle may be laid down, that, as a general rule, the order should go to the Commander of the division, and that in all cases, when deviated from, a copy should be sent at the same time, to him. This will, I presume, terminate the affair, with perfect delicacy to you. No mention will be made of the affair, but it may be understood, that the case was held in view, and with sentiments of delicacy, and regard, for you. If on seing what is done, you are satisfied, nothing more need be said on the subject, unless indeed you may be disposed to intimate it. I shall do for you, what I should wish, to have done, for myself, in such a case. I need not add, my most earnest wish, that you may remain in the public service, at least as long as I do.

with great respect and sincere regard yours

Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines to Jackson.

Fort Scott, Ga., December 2, 1817.

General, It is my painful duty to report to you an affair of a more serious and disastrous character than has heretofore occurred upon this frontier; and which leaves no doubt of the deep hostility of the Indians, or the necessity of prompt and efficient measures on our part.

A large party of Seminola Indians on the 30th Ultimo formed an ambuscade on the Appalachicola river a mile below the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochie, attacked one of our boats ascending near the shore, and killed, wounded and took the greater part of the detachment consisting of forty men commanded by Lieut. R. W. Scott of the 7th Infantry; there were also on board killed or taken Seven women the wives of Soldiers. Six men of the detachment only escaped, four of whom were wounded. They report that the strength of the current at the point of attack had oblidged the Lieutenant to keep his boat near the shore; that the Indians had formed along the Bank of the River and were not discovered until their fire commenced, in the first volley of which Lieut. Scott and his most valuable men fell. . . . .[1]

[1] After the attack on Fowltown, Nov. 21, 1817, Gaines ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Arbuckle, with 300 men, to reconnoitre in the vicinity of that place. The Indians were discovered in a swamp and sixty of them came out and attacked the white troops, with the loss of six or eight killed and many more wounded. The whites lost but one killed and two wounded. It was in retaliation for these attacks that the savages attacked Lieutenant Scott's party Nov. 30. See Gaines to Jackson, Nov. 26, 1817, Jackson MSS.

To Brigadier-General Winfield Scott.[1]

Nashville, December 3, 1817.

Sir: I have been absent from this place a considerable time, rendering the last friendly office I could to a particular friend, whose eyes I closed on the 20th ultimo. Owing to this your letter of the 4th of October was not received until the 1st instant.

Upon the receipt of the anonymous communication made me from New York I hastened to lay it before you. That course was suggested to me by the respect I felt for you as a man and a *soldier,* and that you might have it in your power to answer how far you had been guilty of so base and inexcusable conduct. Independent of the services you have rendered your country, the circumstance of your wearing the badge and insignia of a soldier led me to the conclusion that I was addressing a gentleman. With these feelings you were written to, and had an idea been for a moment entertained that you could have descended from the high and dignified character of a major general of the United States, and used language so *opprobrious and insolent* as you have done, rest assured I should have viewed you as rather *too contemptible to have held any converse with you* on the subject. If you have lived in the world thus long in entire ignorance of the *obligations and duties which honor impose,* you are indeed past the time of learning; and surely he must be ignorant who seems so little under their influence.

Pray, sir, does your recollection serve in what school of philosophy you were taught, that, to a letter inquiring into the nature of a supposed injury, and clothed in language decorous and unquestionable, an answer should be given couched in *pompous insolence and bullying expression?* I had hoped that what was charged on you by my anonymous correspondent was unfounded. I had hoped so from a belief that General Scott was a *soldier and gentleman.* But when I see those statements doubly confirmed by his own words, it becomes a matter of inquiry how far a man of honorable feelings can reconcile them to himself, or longer set up a claim to that character. Are you ignorant, sir, that had my order, at which your refined judgment is so extremely touched, been made the subject of inquiry, you might, from your standing, not your character, have been constituted one of my judges? How very proper, then, was it, thus situated, and without a knowledge of any of the attendant circumstances, for you to have prejudged the whole matter. This, at different times, and in the circle of your friends, you could do, and yet had I been arraigned, and you detailed as one of my judges, with the *designs of an assassin* lurking under a fair exterior, you would have approached the holy sanctuary of justice. Is conduct like this congenial with that high sense of dignity which should be seated in a soldier's bosom? Is it due from a brother officer *to assail in the dark the reputation of another, and stab him in a moment when he cannot expect it*? I might insult an

[1] Parton's *Jackson,* II. 378.

honorable man by questions such as these, but shall not expect they will harrow up one who must be dead to all those feelings which are the true characteristics of a gentleman.

In terms, polite as I was capable of noting, I asked you if my informant had stated truly? If you were the author of the publication and remarks charged against you, and to what extent? A reference to your letter without any comment of mine, will inform you how far you have pursued a similar course; *how little of the gentleman and how much of the hectoring bully you have manifested.* If nothing else would the epaulets which grace your shoulders should have dictated to you a different course, and have admonished you that, however small may have been your respect for another, respect for yourself should have taught you the necessity of replying, at least mildly, to the inquiries I suggested, and more especially should you have done this, when your own convictions must have fixed you as *guilty of the abominable crime of detraction—of slandering, and behind his back, a brother officer.* But not content with answering to what was proposed, your overweening vanity has led you to make an offering of your advice. Believe me, sir, it is not in my power to render you my thanks. I think too highly of myself to suppose that I stand at all in need of your admonitions, and too lightly of you to appreciate them as useful. For good advice I am always thankful, but never fail to spurn it when I know it to flow from an incompetent *or corrupt source. The breast where base and guilty passions dwell* is not the place to look for virtue, or any thing that leads to virtue. My notions, sir, are not those now taught in modern schools and in fashionable high life. They were imbibed in ancient days, and hitherto have and yet bear me to the conclusion, that he who can wantonly outrage the feelings of another, who, without cause, can extend injury where none is done, is capable of any crime, however detestable in its nature, and will not fail to commit it whenever it may be imposed by necessity.

I shall not stoop, sir, to a justification of my order before you, or to notice the weakness and absurdities of your tinsel rhetoric. It may be quite conclusive with yourself, and I have no disposition to attempt convincing you that your ingenuity is not as profound as you have imagined it. To my government, whenever it may please, I hold myself liable to answer, and to produce the reasons which prompted me to the course I took; and to the *intermeddling pimps and spies of the War Department,* who are in the garb of gentlemen, I hold myself responsible for any grievance they may labor under on my account, with which you have my permission to number yourself. For what I have said I offer no apology. You have deserved it all and more, were it necessary to say more. I will barely remark, in conclusion, that if you feel yourself aggrieved at what is here said, any communication from you will reach me safely at this place.

I have the honor to be, verry respectfully,

Your obedient servant

To the Secretary of War (John C. Calhoun).[1]

Nashville, December 16, 1817.

Sir, I have the honor to enclose you copies of two letters from General Gaines, delivered me yesterday by express.

I am in hopes that this check to the Savages, may incline them to peace; should it not, and their hostility continue, the protection of our citizens will require that the Wolf be struck in his den; for, rest assured, if ever the Indians find out that the territorial boundery of Spain is to be a sanctuary, their murders will be multiplied to a degree that our citizens on the southern frontier cannot bear. Spain is bound by treaties to keep the Indians, within her territory, at peace with us, having failed to do this, necessity will justify the measure, after giving her due notice, to follow the marauders, and punish them in their retreat. The War Hatchet having been raised, unless the Indians sue for peace, your frontier cannot be protected without entering their country: from long experience this result has been fully established. I enclose you a copy of Capt. Willis' report etc. etc. . . . .

To President Monroe.

Private

Nashville, December 20, 1817.

Dear Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 2nd instant, with your message to congress enclosed, for which accept my thanks.

The pro[s]perous state of our country, and particularly our finance, so near the close of our expensive war, must be a source of great gratification to every true american, and profitting from experience, will enable the executive government, with the aid of Congress to place the whole country in a state of defense, which will command respect and Justice from all nations, and thereby perpetuate the blessings of peace.

I have read with great attention your letter; the plan proposed fully meets my approbation; for I see in it that magnanimity of conduct only to be met with in great and good minds; and also System that will produce subordination and harmony, without which an army cannot be benficial or effective. Whenever an officer is responsible for the defense of a country or place, his means never ought to be taken from him or directed without his knowledge.

I had determined to retire from service, the moment I could with propriety and honor. But I have concluded since the receipt of your letter not to resign until I have the pleasure of seeing you and until you make the Southern tour, you contemplated next Spring and in which I intend doing myself the pleasure to accompany you. It is my wish to retire from

[1] War Dept. files. Refers to the attack on Fowltown. A copy of Gaines to Jackson, Nov. 21, 1817, is filed with this letter. Jackson's hopes were not realized. For Fowltown the Seminoles took a signal revenge, as is shown in the preceding letter. This blow made the war an actuality. For the documents on the Seminole War, see *Am. St. Papers, Milit. Affairs,* I. 681 to 769. Calhoun entered upon the duties of his office as Secretary of War on Dec. 10, 1817, though commissioned on Oct. 8.

public life, for I am advancing to that age that makes retirement advisable, but as long as I can be really serviceable to my country, and there remains any prospect of my services being wanted I will not retire, more particularly, as it is your wish that I should not. I am sir with great respect and sincere friendship

Yr mo. ob. serv.

JOHN RHEA TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 24, 1817.

Dear General, After reading your letter of the fifth instant, which I received yesterday, I wrote a long letter designing to send it to you, but expecting that you have before this day received, or that you will soon receive my last letter from this City to you, I will refer you to it, and more particularly so, as it contains an explanation, relative to the Mission of Majr Long to Praire Du Chiene, that I expect will be satisfactory to you. in this letter I will observe, that being fully informed by the best authority respecting that case I believe that by the Mission and return of Major Long no intention was entertained to offer any thing derogatory to your command and authority as Major General of the southern division. I hope you have abandoned the design of resigning your commission or retiring from your command. The President is opposed to your retiring, and you know it, will you then retire against his consent, who is your friend? You intimate that it will gratify your enemies, and you intimate that you will not gratify them, will you then retire and give them cause for exultation? I trust you will continue. from the best authority I have reason to believe, that Mr. C[1] is opposed to your retiring. Let me request you to beleive with great caution, and hardly then, all statements made by anonymous writers, an enemy to effect purposes may under mask of friendship, write such letters, and stumbling blocks are often thrown between friends to accomplish designs. This letter remaining unsealed, now on 25th December. I have understood that you will take no more Notice of Writting, by those you believe hostile to you—if so it meets, and no doubt will meet the approbation of all your friends, as will [*sic*] as mine. notice them not, and determine to, your mind will be at rest. I am anxious to have your answer to my last letter. I do most sensibly condole with you on the departure of Majr Hutchins, he had my esteem.

That you may be well and happy is the earnest wish of

SECRETARY CALHOUN TO JACKSON.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 26, 1817.

Sir, You will repair, with as little delay as practicable, to Fort Scott and assume the immediate command of the Forces in that section of the Southern Division.

The increasing display of hostile intentions, by the Seminole Indians, may render it necessary to concentrate all the contiguous and disposable

[1] Calhoun.

force of your Division, upon that quarter. The regular force now there, is about Eight hundred Strong; and one thousand militia of the State of Georgia are called into Service. General Gaines estimates the Strength of the Indians at two Thousand seven hundred. Should you be of opinion that our numbers are too Small to beat the Enemy, you will call on the Executives of adjacent States for such an additional militia force as you may deem requisite.

General Gaines had been orderred early in last month to repair to Amelia Island.[1] It is presumed that he has, therefore, relinquished the command at Fort Scott. Subsequent orders have been given to General Gaines,[2] (copies of which will be furnished you) advising him that you would be directed to take command, and directing him to reassume, should he deem the public interest to require it, the command at Fort Scott, until you Should arrive there. If, however, the General should have progressed to Florida before these subsequent orders may have reached him, he was instructed to penetrate to the Seminole Towns, through the Floridas, provided, the Strength of his command, at Amelia, would justify his engaging in offensive operations.

With this view you may be prepared to concentrate your forces and to adopt the necessary measures to terminate a conflict which it has ever been the desire of the President, from considerations of humanity, to avoid; but which is now made necessary by their Settled hostilities.

With great respect I have the honor to be,

[*Indorsement:*] from Secy. of War ordering Genl. J. to proceed to Fort Scott and assume the command at that place 26th Decr. 1817
Recd. 11th Jany. 1818
Ansd. 12th Jany. 1818

[1] Gaines was ordered, Nov. 12, 1817, to take command of forces at Amelia Island and break up the band assembled there under McGregor, the filibuster.

[2] These orders, Dec. 26, 1817, are as follows:

". . . . Before this will reach you, it is hoped, that the views of the President, in relation to the settlement on Amelia island, will have been effected. Should that be the case, it is his wish, that you should immediately repair to fort Scott, and resume the command, 'till general Jackson's arrival, to whom orders have, this day, been sent to command there; or, if you should think the force under your command sufficient, and other circumstances will admit, to penetrate through Florida, and co-operate in the attack on the Seminoles. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the topography of the country between Amelia and their towns, to say whether it is practicable, or what would be the best route; but it is not improbable, that some advantage might be taken of the St. John's river, to effect the object. Should it be practicable, it is probable efficient aid might be given to the attack on them, as the attention of their warriors must be wholly directed towards fort Scott. Should you think it practicable and advisable to co-operate with the force under your command, you will leave a sufficient number at Amelia island to retain the possession of that place".

For an understanding of the events that were to follow it is necessary also to read the following order from Calhoun to Gaines, Dec. 16, 1817: "On the receipt of this letter should the Seminole Indians still refuse to make reparation for their outrages and depredations on the citizens of the United States, it is the wish of the President that you consider yourself at liberty to march across the Florida line, and to attack them within its limits, should it be found necessary, unless they shelter themselves under a Spanish fort. In the last event, you will immediately notify this department."

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

War Department, December 29, 1817.

Sir, The enclosed general orders have issued from this department. Unconnected with the cause, which originally occasioned them, I have been influenced in framing them wholly by regard to the publick interest. I am aware, the subject is delicate and important; but I trust, that in practice no inconvenience under their present form, will be experienced. The general rule is, that all orders in the first instance will issue to commanders of division; and this rule to be deviated from only when the publick interest may require it. The correctness of the rule itself cannot be doubted. Order, dicipline and responsibility all concur in establishing it. But that there are exceptions to the rule, is to my mind not less clear. The very principles on which it is established, point out the exceptions. Why maintain order dicipline and responsibility, but to give to the movements of the army promptitude and success? When, then, they can only be had by deviating from the established rule, the exception becomes the rule. That such cases must occur, a mere referance to the great extent of the divisions furnishes incontestible proof. I will not press the subject farther; for I perceive by looking over the correspondence with the President, the orders accord substantially with your view in relation to this subject. You insist on the rule, that orders ought to issue to the commanders of division, as they are responsible. This rule is the basis of the orders which have been adopted. You admit that necessity may cause exceptions to it; and it is the only cause of exception recognized by the orders; for I presume, when we speak of necessity in this case, we only mean a due regard to the publick inter[e]st. If then we are agreed in our mode of viewing this subject in the abstract, we shall find little inconvenience in practice. For, on my part, standing, as I do, in relation to the army, it is my duty and will be my pride, to consult on all occasions, with due regard to higher obligations to the publick, its inter[e]st and honor. Permit me to say that to you individually, I participate in those feelings of respect, which any lover of his country has towards you. In any effort to add greater perfection to our military establishment, I must mainly rely for support on your weight of character and information. I cannot therefore conclude, without expressing the wish, that our country may long continue to be benefited by your military services.

With sentiment of esteem I am etc

[*Indorsement:*] from Secy. of War enclosing Genl. order of 29th Decr. 1817[1]

[*Jackson's handwriting:*] adopting the principles I contended for, and on which my famed Genl. order was predicated.

[1] The General Order, signed by Calhoun for the President, was as follows: "As a general rule, all orders will issue, in the first instance, to the commanders of division. In cases where the nature of the duty to be performed, and the public interest may require it, orders will issue directly to officers commanding departments, posts, or detachments, and to any officer attached to the division; but in such cases, a copy of the orders will be transmitted to General of division, for his information."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, January 2, 1818.

Sir, Your letter of the 3d Ult. was handed to me about the 22d and has not been read—I might almost say thought of, since. These circumstances will show that it is my wish to reply to you dispassionately.

I regret that I cannot accept the challenge that you offer me. Perhaps, I may be restrained from wishing to level a pistol at the breast of a fellow being, in private combat, by a sense of religion; but lest this motive should excite the ridicule of gentlemen of *liberal* habits of thinking and acting, I beg leave, to add, that I decline the honor of *your* invitation from *patriotic scruples*. My ambition is not that of Erastostratus.[1] I should think it would be easy for you to console yourself under this refusal, by the application of a few epithets, as coward, etc, to the object of your resentment, and, I here promise to leave you, until the next war to persuade yourself of their truth.

Your famous order bears date the 22d April, 1817. At intervals of three and four months thereafter—that is, when it had been officially published to the troops of your Division, and printed in almost every paper in the union, as if to chalenge discussion, I found myself in company where it was the subject of conversation. Not being under your command, I was as free to give my opinion on this *public act* as any body else; for, I presume, you will not assert, that where an officer is not expressly restrained by the military code, he has not all the rights of any other citizen. For this fair expression of opinion, on a principle as universal as the profession of Arms, and which opinion I, afterwards, at your instance, state to you in all its detail, you are pleased to charge me with having slandered you behind your *back!*—an accusation which I consider the more amusing as I never had the honor of being in your *presence* in all my life. I can assure you, sir, that nothing but my great respect for your superior age and services, prevents me from indulging, also, in a little bitter pleasantry on this point.

It seems that you are under the further impression, that if you had been brought to trial for publishing that order (an idea that I never heard any other suggest) and *I* appointed one of your judges, that, assassin-like, I should have approached the holy sanctuary of justice, etc. Such is, I think, your language. Now, like you, without believing one word of it, it would be as easy for me, manually, to retort all this abuse, as it was for you to originate it; but I must inform you, that however much I may desire to emulate certain portions of your history, I am not at all inclined to follow the pernicious example that your letter furnishes.

You complain of harshness on my part. My letter to which yours is a reply, is, doubtlessly, somewhat bold in its character; but believing that in an affair with you, it was only necessary to have *right* on one's side, in order to obtain *approbation*, I had no other care in its composition, than to avoid every thing personally offensive, as far as the truth and a fair discussion of the subject would permit; and I still rest persuaded

[1] Or Herostratus; "The aspiring youth that fired the Ephesian dome".

that the *fact* corresponds with my intention. It is true, that I spoke of you, and treated you, as a *man* without the petty qualifications of common usage; because, in addressing *you*, I then considered them as so many diminutives; but I now begin to apprehend that universal success and applause have somewhat spoiled you, and, that I shall, ultimately, be oblidged to fall into the common-place habit observed in respect to common-place people, and consider you as nothing more than a *gentleman*.

Permit me to request—I think I have a right to demand, a sight of the *original* anonymous letter which has given rise to this discussion. If I mistake not, your correspondent is a greater personage than you, perhaps, imagine—nay so high, that he has once essayed "to sit himself above the highest" in our american sphere. The letter shall be returned as soon as the *hand* is compared with that of a certain agent of the personage alluded to.

I cannot close this letter without expressing a belief, that on the return of your wonted magnanimity, I shall be requested to burn the one which has elicited it, by way of apology for the injury it does me. Accordingly it has been seen, as yet, by but one individual (of my staff) and shall be held in reserve, until a certain time has elapsed, attending that just expectation. In the mean time, I shall have the honor to remain, sir,

Very Respy.,

I certify that the foregoing is a correct copy from the original which I received from the post office myself in the absence of General Jackson.
J. M. Glassell A. D. Camp

To President Monroe.[1]

Head Quarters Southern Division
Nashville, January 6, 1818.

Confidential.

Sir. A few days since I received a Letter from the Secy. of War of the 17th Ult. with enclosures. Your order of the 16th Ult. through him to Brevet Majr. Genl. Gaines to enter the Territory of Spain and chastise the Ruthless Savages who have been depredating on the property and lives of our citizens, will meet, not only the approbation of your country but the approbation of Heaven: Will you however permit me to suggest the catastrophe that might ensue by Genl. Gaine's compliance with the last clause of your order: Suppose the case that the Indians are beaten, they take refuge either in Pensacola or St. Augustine, which open their gates to them; to profit by his victory General Gaines pursues the fugitives, and has to halt before the Garrison until he can communicate with his Government; in the mean time the Militia grow restless, and he is left to defend himself by the regulars: The enemy, with the aid of their

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS. Signed by Jackson, but the body of the letter is in the handwriting of a clerk.

Spanish friends, and Woodbines British Partizens, or, if you please, with Aury's force,[2] attacks him, what may not be the result? defeat and massacre: Permit me to remark, that the arms of the United States must be carried to any point within the limites of East Florida, where an Enemy is permitted and protected or disgrace attends.

The Executive Government have ordered (and, as I conceive, very properly) Amelia Island to be taken possession of; this order ought to be carried into execution at all hazards, and, simultaneously, the whole of East Florida seized and held as an indemnity for the outrages of Spain upon the property of our Citizens; This done, it puts all opposition down, secures to our Citizens a compleat indemnity, and saves us from a war with Great Britain, or some of the Continental Powers combined with Spain; this can be done without implicating the Government; let it be signified to me through any channel, (say Mr. J. Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished.

The order being given for the possession of Amelia Island it ought to be executed, or our enemies, internal and external will use it to the disadvantage of our Government. If our troops enter the Territory of Spain in pursuit of our Indian Enemy all opposition that they meet with must be put down or we will be involved in danger and disgrace.

I have the honor to be very Respy.

Yo. Mo. Obt. St.

[*Indorsed by Monroe:*] Jany 6, 1818 He objects to last clause in Genl. Gaines's instructions, not to attack Spanish posts.

Proposes an understanding thro' Mr Rhea. I was sick, when I recd. it, and did not read it, till after rect. of letters by Mr Hambly, expld. in my letter to him of Decr 21.[3] Hearing afterwards, that an understanding was imputed to me, I asked Mr Rhea, if any thing had ever pass'd between him and me. He declard that he had never heard of the subject before.

I knew the suggestion to be false, but having not read the letter, and it being possible, that Mr Rhea might have been written to, and have spoken to me by distant allusion, to the object, to which I might have innocently given, from a desire to acquire Florida, a reply, from which he might have inferred, a sanction, not contemplated, I was glad to find, that nothing of the kind, had occurred.[4]

[2] Louis Aury, insurrectionist and filibuster at Cartagena, Galveston, and Matagorda, had seized on Amelia Island early in October, 1817, and was now holding it, nominally under Mexican authority. He was compelled to surrender it to United States forces on Dec. 23, but his evacuation was not known to Jackson when this letter was written.

[3] 1818; see p. 404, *post*.

[4] This indorsement was evidently written after the controversy over the Rhea letter broke in 1830; and it is probable that Monroe's indorsements on Jackson's letters of Aug. 12, 1817, Jan. 6, and 21, and June 2, 1818, were written at the same time.

A copy of this letter is in the Jackson MSS., and in its margin is written, " Mr. J. Rhea's letter in answer is burnt this 12th of April 1818". The date here mentioned is probably a slip. On Apr. 12, 1818, Jackson met the Seminoles in an engagement near Econfinnah or Natural Bridge in Florida.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, January 12, 1818.

Sir. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your order of the 26th Ulto, which reached me last night; its contents are duly noted, and will be promptly attended to.

I have received no late advices from General Gaines, although I have for some time expected the return of the express sent to him on the 24th of November last. Taking into view the strength of the Seminoles and their adherents as reported to you by General Gaines, and the aggregate of his strength, regulars and Militia amounting to but 1800 men, which cannot possibly afford a like number of effectives; Considering likewise that the greater portion of his forces are drafted militia from Georgia who may apply for their discharge at the expiration of three months from the time they were first mustered and who may be disposed to claim this right and abandon the campaign about the time I could reach Fort Scot; I have deemed it both prudent and advisable to call from the West end of the state of Tennessee for one Thousand Volunteer mounted Gun men to serve during the campaign. With this force, in conjunction with the Regular Troops, I can act promptly and with the smiles of heaven successfully, against any Force that can be concentrated by the Seminoles and their auxiliaries. Viewing however the lives of our citisens as too precious to be risqued in a contest with Savages, with the odds of two to one, unless where real necessity demands the exposure, I have therefore written to the Governor of Georgia to continue in the field, The one Thousand men required by General Gaines.

The result of the appeal I have made to the patriotism of those brave men, in West Tennessee who have so often followed me to the field of danger will be known by the 19th instant and I hope to leave this for Fort Scott on the 22d; of my movements and success in raising the mounted volunteers you shall be advised.

It may appear to the Government on the full view that mounted men are the most expensive; but when we consider the rapidity of their movements; The amount of quartermasters expenditures for packhorses, baggage waggons and other means of transport indispensable to footmen, in this instance saved; mounted Gun men, as auxiliaries in such a campaign as the one contemplated will be found to save both blood and treasure to the United States. The Volunteers that have been invited to the field are of tried materials and such as can be relied on in the day of danger and trial.

With respect

[P. S.] I feel myself much at loss for correct Topographical information of the country occupied by the Seminole Indians, and particularly of that portion which may possibly become the seat of War. Should there be any maps, plans, or charts of the section of country alluded to, in the secret bureau of the War Dept. you will oblige me by having a copy transmitted to Fort Scott as early as practicable A. J.

[1] War Dept. files.

John Rhea to Jackson.[1]

Washington, January 12, 1818.

Dear General, I receved your letter of the 20th last month. I am glad that the Message came to you and that you are pleased with it. in my opinion it is an elegant and grand state paper and at any time will command attention. it manifests a great knowledge of the affairs of the U States.

I expected you would receive the letter you allude to, and it gives me pleasure to know you have it, for I was certain it would be satisfactory to you. You see by it the sentiments of the President respecting you are the same. as to me, I wish I could do you any good. I have also received your letter of the 22d last month, and read it carefully. I am gratifyed indeed that the plan of the President is satisfactory to you. I am confident that he intended it to be so. You have given me great pleasure in saying you will not resign before you see him. I will enquire when he intends taking his southern journey and the rout and will write to you, and probably about other things—at present will write no more relative to things mentioned in your letter of the 22d above mentioned. another letter from me you do not say whether you received it—it is the last I wrote to you. I expect you to write with every wish for your happiness

sincerely yours

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, January 14, 1818.

. . . . I am ordered forthwith to repair to Ft Scott assume command, concentrate the forces, and call on the adjacent states for such auxiliary forces as may be necessary to give peace and security to our Southern frontier. I have made an appeal to your Vollunteer Brigade through the officers that commanded the Reg't for one thousand mounted gunmen, and flatter myself, that twelve hundred will be found ready. the first question asked me was if you would command, I answered I could not say, but supposed from your official situation you could not go, but that I knew you would if you could. The officers are to meet me next Monday the 19th instant at Nashville, to report to me whether two Reg'ts can be raised, at which time and place, I have great solicitude to meet you, not that I expect you can go, or that I could ask you under existing circumstances to go, notwithstanding nothing could be more pleasing than to have you with me, but I do know under existing circum-

[1] In the editor's *Life of Jackson,* I. 249, n. 1, is a suggested explanation of the disagreement between Jackson and Monroe with regard to the so-called "Johnny Rhea" letter. It is there suggested that Jackson, getting a letter from Rhea containing indefinite expressions of approval with reference to the Long order, understood them as the hints he had asked for, through Rhea, with respect of the invasion of Florida. This letter, not accessible when the *Life* was written, is additional evidence that the explanation suggested may be the true means of reconciling the opposite assertions of two honest men. See the preface to the present volume.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

stances it would be too great a sacrifice of interest for you to leave your official duties. But I want to see you there on private business, and that your presence may inspire them with their former patriotism. If I can get 1200 mounted gunmen from Tennessee with my regular force, If the Georgians should mutiny, I can put it down, and drive into the Gulf all the Indians and adherents be them, who they may. . . . .

To President Monroe.[1]

Nashville, January 21, 1818 10 oclock P. M.

Dear Sir. Having been constantly engaged, in raising and organizing a detachment of Vollunteer Mounted gunmen, to march, to aid in putting down the hostility of the Seminoles, has, untill now, prevented me the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your Esteemed favour of the 28th ult.

The order referred to from the Sec of War, is to hand, to my answer to him, I beg leave to refer you to, which will shew my full approbation of that order.

For the want of time I must beg leave to refer you to my letters of yesterday and today to Mr Calhoun which will inform you of the measures I have persued, and the plan I have adopted, at once to crush the hostility of the Seminoles, and there adherents. Time will only permit me to state, that I made the appeal to the Patriotism by expresses on the 13th instant not wishing anything to appear in the papers, of our assemblage or movement untill I could reach and strike the enemy, and relieve the regulars and frontier. On the 19th my old companions in arms, met me, and has given me assurances, that they, at the head of two regts on the 31st Inst. will rendezvous at Fayettevill well equip[ped] for six months Tour, if not sooner discharged. I have charged my Inspector Genl. with the march and direction of these regts, to the frontier of Georgia, where I will meet them. I am off early in the morning for Ft Scott. I have been compelled to authorize Colo. Hayne to draw on the Government for such supplies as may be needed over and above the scanty means it was in my power to place in his hands being only the sum of $3600. I cannot forebear to name the conduct of the Nashville Bank, who has been fostered and fed by the Deposits of the Government, and myself, and contrast it with the conduct of the Branch bank of the State. This sudden call on the contractors agent, found him unprepared, with funds to purchase the supplies. I told him [to] apply to the Banks and note on his notes for discount the object, he would be accommodated. He did so, the Branch Bank freely gave the accomodation,—not being discount day, called an extra meeting of the Board, and accommodated all the officers, who wanted, for six months. The Nashville Bank, threw out his note for $1500, and mine for $4000, that was intended to increase the funds in the hands of Colo. Hayne, and specifically explained to the President of the Bank, that it was only wanted for sixty days untill the Govern-

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

ment could make arrangements to meet the expence. As soon as I found it not discounted, I directed Colo Butler to call on them for the amount of his check intended for the Chikesaws, which they directors was not apprised of, he did so, they required time to answer to 3 oclock, at 3 they Cashier said he would pay the check. I had it counted, a dray ready to remove it, and deposit it in the Branch Bank, but on reflection, and recollecting how liberal and Patriotic it had been under other directors, and an injury might accrue to the Bank and some worthy stock holders, after punishing their feelings a while, I directed Colo Butler to make a deposit of it in the Nashville Bank to the credit of the Treasury of the U States, which is done and the facts stated with a hope that you will take into consideration, the Patriotism of the Branch Bank and order your deposits there. I hold it is true, in the Nashville Bank, the only Bank stock I own. Therefore it cannot be presumed, that I am actuated from interest. But the fact is, that Justice from the Government requires, that the liberality of the Branch Bank on the present occasion ought to be noticed by the Government.

On the execution of your order I move tomorrow early, and permit me to remark, that mortals cannot command success, they can only endeavour to deserve it, and as soon as the Tennessee detachment reaches me on the confines of Georgia, with the smiles of heaven I trust, I shall soon give peace and safety to that frontier. It will afford me great gratification to learn that the plan I have adopted in raising and marching this Detachment of Tennessee Mounted gunmen meets your approbation, in doing it, I have consulted as I believe the honour, safety and oeconomy of the U States, and I hope the result will shew it, as soon as I reach my point of destination, I shall again write you. With a Tender of my warmest wishes for your happiness, I am respectfully

Yr Mo. ob. Serv.

[*Indorsed by Monroe:*] Had recd. his order to take the command. Approves the order he had recd. from Secry of War.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Huntsville, January 27, 1818.

Sir. I arrived here last night on my journey to the Frontier of Georgia. In passing through Tennessee it gave me pleasure to discover that my appeal had not been ineffectual, and that Volunteers were flocking to the standard of their country, with that patriotic zeal which has uniformly characterised the citizens of that state. There is no doubt that Two full Regiments[2] will rendesvous and be mustered into service at Fayetteville by the 1st of February, and thrice that number might be assembled if called for. The only difficulty has been the want of arms, and repeated applications have been made to me for the loan of Government mus-

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] Governor McMinn to Capt. R. G. Dunlap, Feb. 22, 1818, said that Col. A. P. Hayne had raised 1200 men, most of them from Carroll's command at New Orleans, and marched them to Jackson's aid.

kets. The Arms which had been distributed to the militia for their services the last War have already disappeared; Many of them have been injured by neglect, but the greater portion have been sacrificed for a mere pittance, and carried from the state; possibly now in the hands of those very savages, who have been excited to war against us. This fact will prove the impolicy of relying in time of necessity upon such a distribution of arms. The only certain dependance, is upon well stored arsenals, judiciously located, from whence arms may be withdrawn in time of war, and on the return of peace be restored and repaired for future occasions.

These reflections have again recalled to my mind, what I have so repeatedly recommended; The necessity of a national Depot, with an Armory, Foundery, and every facility for fabricating of Weapons of War: being established on the south West and induced me to suggest it as a proper period for obtaining the necessary appropriations. The survey of the land on Shoal creek, reserved for this object was forwarded you some weeks since, and I hope that through your influence some progress may be made this session of Congress towards the accomplishment of an Establishment, important as intimately connected with the permanent defence of the south western Frontier of our country. If the Government is not disposed to incure the expense, or may be opposed to the erection of a national Foundery and armory, the benefits to be derived from such establishments may be obtained by an indirect mode. Individuals in this country are willing to organise a company, with adequate funds for the erection of a Foundery capable of casting every species of ordnance, and an armory for the fabrication of the various smaller weapons of War, if such an encouragement could be given by our Government as would justify the undertaking.

This has been suggested from understanding that a Foundery was commenced some time since by a company on the north river, under a promise that a certain proportion of the heavy ordnance for the army and navy should be cast by them. A similar offer to Individuals at the West would be gladly embraced; It would be expected however that Government would dispose of, or lease for a term of years the reservation of lands on Shoal creek. It may be observed however that what is profitable to Individuals, must be equally so to the nation, independant of the advantages of having a complete controul over the whole establishment. I can add nothing to what I have already written on this subject; I have only to hope that our Government may view it in the same important light, it has struck me and that an early opportunity will be embraced to form a permanent national Foundery and Armory adequate to the supply of our South Western states, with all the necessary implements of War without being dependent upon foreign, or atlantic work shops. The Individuals who have offered to make [the] establishment I speak of, would depend altogether on the lands now owned and reserved by Government in Shoal creek, and if not to be purchased or leased could not undertake the erecting of the necessary foundary workshops etc

With respect

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Huntsville, January 27, 1818.

D'r Genl. Having been ordered on distant service by the President of the u states, I cannot be at the sales, you know my wishes, to obtain a good settlement of land, with good water. should I not be back before the sales on the south side, the Bluff with the other tracts pointed out, you will purchase, in all things you and Mr James Jackson will act for me as tho I was present, and also for the estate of my deceased friend John Hutchings. If possible I wish to avoid competition with my friends, as my views are limitted, unless they should interfere with me, I wish no interference with them. My friend James Jackson will consult with you and furnish the funds necessary, I am yours respectfully

To John H. Eaton.

Jackson County, Ga., February 5, 1818.

D'r Major. I reached this last evening and rest to day to dry our baggage, and have our horses shoes repaired, at six in the morning, of tomorrow we will move for Ft Hawkins, I have heard nothing certain from the army, or of the late requisition from Georgia, or the safety of Major Mulenburgh.[1] In fact I have nothing worth communicating except the inclosed letter from Genl Scott, handed me by my aid Lt Glassell on the 30th ult.—it, from its novelty, and nondescript charector may afford you a little amusement and a little reflection to discover how many various feelings prevaded his mind whilst he was engaged in its composition. I shall treat it, as the Genl must have calculated on, when he wrote it—that is, with silent contempt. Should you have an opportunity shew it to my friends Genl Coffee and Mr James Jackson.

I inclose it for safe keeping—if any accident happens me that it may not be lost. I preserve a certified copy. Have the goodness to have the inclosed sent to Mrs. Jackson, and my affectionate respects delivered to Miss charlott and Miss Betsy. Write me to Ft. Hawkins, and accept assurances of my friendship and Esteem. Adieu.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Jackson County, Ga., February 5, 1818.

D'r Nephew, I have no doubt but you have been surprised at my silence in not answering your letter of the 12th of Decbr. last, but when you look at the date of my letter and the place where written your astonishmt. will cease. I had a hope that I should have been permitted to

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[1] Major Muhlenberg was proceeding up the Appalachicola River in November, 1817, with supplies for Fort Scott. Hearing that the banks of the river were infested with hostile Indians, General Gaines sent Lieutenant Scott to his aid. Scott left twenty men with Muhlenberg and took on a number of sick men and seven women to return to Fort Scott ahead of the supply ships. His party fell into an ambush and all but six men were killed. Muhlenberg sought shelter for some days under the banks of the river, but eventually reached Fort Scott in safety.

[1] Library of Congress, Jackson-Donelson Correspondence.

have retired from the army, without again having to forego, the fatigues and privations of a campaign in this inclement season in a wilderness. But an order from the President of the u states which reached me on the 12th of last month, to repair to Ft. Scott, assume the immediate command of the troops there, concentrate the forces, call for any necessary auxiliary aid from the ajoining states, to give peace and security to our Southern frontier, under this order I am now on my way to Ft Scott and expect to be Joined in a few days after my arival there with two Regts. of Volunteers from Tennessee. so soon as they arive, I hope with the blessing of heaven, that I shall soon bring the seminoles and their adherents to proper subjection, and teach them that their safety solely depends on their remaining at peace with the u states. Whether any other service than putting down the seminoles may detain me on the Southern frontier, time can only unfold. . . . .

To Mrs. Jackson.

Fort Hawkins, February 10, 1818.

My Love. I reached this place last evening, and tomorrow proceed to Hartford,[1] I have not heard from the Tennessee Troops, on them with the regulars I rely to put an end to the Indian war, the Georgia militia having returned home. Genl Gaines has made another requisition which is to rendezvous on the 15th Instant at Hartford, but from the spirit that prevails, and common rumor, I have little expectation of many of those drafts being got to the field. Georgia at present does not display much Patriotism. Tell my son pappa will expect him to be able to write him a letter before long and kiss him and little Andrew for me—[2] and accept my prayers for your health and happiness untill I return—present me affectionately to all friends and say to Colo. Hays Colo Butler enjoys good health. I am your affectionate Husband.

Brigadier-General John Coffee to Jackson.

Dittoes Landing, February 12, 1818.

Dear Genl, I have just had time this evening to leave the land sale, to ride to this place and spend one night with my old companions the officers of the Ten. Volunteers. . . . . The land sale has progressed, thus far very well, we are now in the last range of the first sale, the prices has surpassed, any ever known in the U.S. heretofore, the highest price given has been $78. per acre, several as high as 70, and many as high as 50 dollars—the common cotton land has been from 20 to 30 dollars. Christopher Hutchings has bought his fraction at $12. per acre, when we saw the prices giving for other lands it was thought to be a good bargain at that price. I have not as yet bot. any land for the estate J.H.[1] and should the land near Browns ferry go very high, we shall not purchase

[1] An extinct town of Georgia, then the county seat of Pulaski County, 40 miles below Macon.

[2] Meaning, apparently, the two nephews of Mrs. Jackson, Andrew Jackson, jr., the adopted son, and Andrew Jackson Donelson.

[1] John Hutchings. See vol. I., p. 84, note.

for it, but wait a further sale, I refer you to the letter of Mr. J. Jackson for the particulars of the land sales, will only remark, that the company that was forming when you passed here, have been very much Chagrined. they have been lashed through every sale when they bid for good land, and if they got it, it was at a very high price, the sharp shooters have cut them side and edge, and still have the means of keeping up the fire, the company has been formed of men from Virginia, Kentuckey, Georgia, and Madison County, not one Tennessean is in it, indeed the scheme when it was understood, was thought so illiberal, that we have joined forcees against it, and have been thereby able to defeat their plans, but it has caused the land to sell, 50 percent over its value, thus the government has been benefited, instead, of being injured as was contemplated by the company, indeed the company or some of its members, has admitted that J.J. has benefitted the Govt. half a million of dollars, by opposing them.

For your amusement I inclose you an advertisement for a town the Tennesseans bot. near the mouth of Lewistone. its thought that it will be a valuable place. We shall endeavour to purchase some good land on Cypress if we can but I cannot foresee what value will be placed on them lands. It would be very gratifying to me to get a line from you, when opportunity permits. I pray you to accept my best wishes for you.

Colonel George Gibson to Jackson.

New Orleans, February 12, 1818.

. . . . The news of Woodbine being in the Apalachicola with two Schooners is believed at Pensacola and this place. It was brought to Pensacola by one of Inerarities Runers and by a Mulatto of Hamblys who made his escape from the Indians. They both state that Woodbine arrived in the Apalachicola about the 20th Jany. and had with him 30 or 40 whites and some blacks and that he was at Negroe Fort. . . . .[1]

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Hartford, Ga., February 14, 1818.

. . . . Since my arrival in this State, various accusations on respectable authority have been made against General Mitchell the Agent for the Creek nation. It is alledged in the first instance that he has used his influence in preventing the Creek Indians from joining General Gaines; That he was induced to this act to assist himself and others in smuggling into this country a large number of African Negroes which they had purchased at Amelia Island;[2] That upwards of one hundred have been

[1] Jackson received this letter at Fort Gadsden, Mar. 23, 1818, three days before he left that place for St. Marks, in Florida. Woodbine was greatly disliked by the settlers on the southern border and the prospect of bagging him was very attractive to Jackson's army. When the net was drawn however it was found that the man taken was not Woodbine but Alexander Arbuthnot. Writing to Jackson the same day from New Orleans, Lieut.-Col. W. A. Trimble said that Woodbine with two schooners was in the Appalachicola with an armed force of whites, Indians, and negroes.

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] David B. Mitchell, ex-governor of Georgia, was found guilty in 1821.

carried to the Agency, part of which have been used by the officer of the Customs; but that a large number have by the Agents written pasport been carried to some point unknown. That thirty were transported from the Agency on the day the custom house officer arrived there, and I am this day informed that upwards of one hundred Affrican negroes, some time since, passed Mr Barnets on the Flint river bound to the Agency. The Creek Indians complain that the General has retained in his hands the greater part of the Eighty five thousand dollars, appropriated by Congress to indemnify the friendly part of the nation for the depredations committed on them by the Red Sticks. They further state that he has paid off the Indians for their military services in goods instead of in cash; That he has established a large store and Tavern within the nation and that he has taken into his possession all the Ferries at which the most extravagant tolls are exacted. Col Brearly has exhibited to me a copy of the pasport given by Genrl Mitchell as Agent and has stated to me the fact of having seen several of the affricans, mentioned above, in the possession of Genr. Mitchell and further confirmed the statement of thirty having been seen from the Agency the night of the arrival of Capt McIntosh the custom officer, but by whom seen is not ascertained.

I have thought it my duty to communicate these statements for the information of the Executive that such an order may be taken on the subject as comports with the character of our country and which justice to the Creek nation may demand. The Testimony of Col Brearly will throw great light on the subject if required.

with respect

To Colonel José Masot.[1]

Fort Gadsden, March 25, 1818.

Sir: I have ordered a supply of provisions to be sent from New Orleans, via Pensacola, to Fort Crawford, on the Conecuh. This route has been adopted as the most speedy one of provisioning one of my garrisons, which must be maintained during the present contest against our mutual enemies, the Seminole Indians; and I cannot but express a hope that no attempt will be made to interrupt the free passage of my transports to that post. I am not disposed to enter into any controversy with you on the right which our Government may claim to the free navigation of such watercourses as head within her limits but flow through the territory of His Catholic Majesty; preferring to leave those subjects to be settled by those legally authorized. But as it is necessary for me to make use of the Escambia river in passing up provisions to the garrison at Fort Crawford, I wish to be distinctly understood that any attempt to interrupt the passage of my transports cannot be received in any other light than as a hostile act on your part. I will not permit myself for a moment to believe that you would commit an act so contrary to the interests of

[1] *Am. St. Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV. 562. Also in the *National Intelligencer,* Oct. 29, 1827.

the King, your master. His Catholic Majesty, as well as the United States, are alike interested in chastising a savage foe, who have too long warred with impunity against his subjects as well as the citizens of the republic; and I feel persuaded that every aid which you can give to promote this object will be cheerfully tendered. I am, with sentiments of respect

Your obedient servant.

DON FRANCISCO CASO Y LUENGO TO JACKSON.[1]

ST. MARKS, April 7, 1818.

Dear Sir, Being made to understand altho' with difficulty the contents of the letter with which your Excellency honored me yesterday evening, which was delivered me by your Aid De Camp James Gadsden, I manifest to you the satisfaction the result of your expedition against Mickasuckey has given me, which could not be expected otherwise from the superior tallents, and active disposition of your Excellency, to which must be attributed the success, on which I return you my congratulations. My Chief the Governor of Pensicola had very good reasons for mentioning to your Captn. Gordon H Call (what you expressed in yours of yesterday) his fear the fate of this Fort, menaced by Indians and negroes for some months past, and particularly since they have been deceived in not obtaining powder and balls which they have repeatedly solicited, and which they had thought themselves entitled to from the continual practice of yearly supplies. This is a proof of how groundless is the report of the wife of the Chief Chenubbee, who stated that the Indians have been supplied with amunition from this Fort which has not been the case since I was advised to keep a strict and perfect neutrality; no one better than the bearer of this Wm. Hambley who has interpreted for me various times the solicitations of many Indian chiefs in this neighborhood, can testify; he can also explain to you any opinion which you may have formed on this subject, he can inform you of my often advising them to avoid their present destruction. This being now complete, and no motive remaining to fear an insult to this fort from these barbarians and negroes.

I beg of your Exellency leave to state to you. what difficulties I should involve myself in with my Government if I were to conform with what your Excellency proposes to Garrison this post with United States troops, without first receiving orders to that effect, which I shall immediately solicit, as soon as an opportunity offers, which I cannot doubt one moment would be refused as I know with what zeal he would wish to comply with the stipulated treaty with the United States. until such time I hope your Excellency will desist from your intention, and be firmly persuaded of the good fellowship and harmony which will reign betwen this garrison and whatever troops you may think proper or convenient to leave in this vicinity, who may assist me in the defence of this Fort, or any unforseen event. The sick your Excellency has sent in, are lodged in the royal hospital, and are supplied with every necessary which our present circum-

[1] Commandant of St. Marks. Translation.

stances will admit of. I hope Your Excellency may have further occasions whenever I may be enabled to shew the good will I have to serve you. I hope your Excy. will pardon my not answering yours as soon as desired for reasons which I suppose have been given you by your Aid De Camp, nor furnishing you with an English translation to this as there is no one in this Fort who is capable thereof, but the bearer of this Wm. Hambley, has promised to translate it for you in the best manner he is capable of

God preserve your Excell'y many years is the wish of your obt. Svt.

Don Francisco Caso y Luengo to Jackson.

St. Marks, April 7, 1818.

Dear Sir. I would insist in what I manifested to your Excellency in my letter of this morning, on your awaiting my orders from the Governor of Pensicola for the Delivery of this Fort under my command, if it was not, as well from your letter in answer to mine, as from the threats of your Aid De Camp and other officers appointed to negotiate on the subject, who without my permission introduced into the garrison a large body of troops, who immediately poss[ess]ed themselves of all the stores and posts, lowering the Spanish Colours and hoisting the American flag in their place, this direct violation on the territory of his Catholic Majesty obliges me to complain, and protest against the same. And I accordingly do protest; and beg of your Excellency without loss of time to be furnished with transportation for myself and Garrison to Pensicola, and beg that in the mean time the private property of any Spanish individual here, may be respected. In relation to the public property of his Catholic Majesty I have named a subordinate officer the commissary of the fort who with the three office[r]s whom you have proposed will make out an inventory thereof. I repeat to Your Excellency my prayers to God to preserve your Excellency many Years.

Your Mst. Obt. Servt

To Mrs. Jackson.

St. marks, April 8, 1818.

My Love. on the 1st of april I reached the mickasooky Towns, had a small affair with the Indians, in which we lost one man killed (Tucker) and four wounded all Tennesseens the latter out of danger, about 30 Indians killed, amonghst whom is the great war chief of this Town. we found in the micasookey Towns upwards of fifty fresh scalps from the infant to the aged matron, I reached this on the evening of the 6th entered the Town of St marks on yesterday, and I may fairly say, that the modern Sodom and Gomorrow are destroyed, These two places were the hot bed of the war. Capt McKeever who co[o]perated with me, was fortunate enough to capture on board his flotilla, the noted Francis the prophet, and Homollimicko, who visitted him from St marks as a British vessell the Capt having the British colours flying, they supposed him part of Woodbines Fleet from new providence coming to their aid, these

were hung this morning, I found in St marks the noted Scotch villain Arbuthnot who has not only excited but fomented a continuance of the war I hold him for trial. I leave this Tomorrow in hopes to be able in a short time, with the smiles of heaven to put an end to the war, we are all in good health, when I have more leisure I shall write you, kiss my Two sons [1] for me and accept of my prayers for your health and happiness untill I return

yr affectionate Husband

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Camp near St. Marks, April 8, 1818.

Sir. I wrote you from Fort Gadsden, communicating the embarrasments under which I had laboured previous to my arrival at that post; and my determination, being then in a situation to commence active operations, to penetrate immediately into the center of the Seminole Towns. My army marched on the 26 ulto, and on the 1st of april was reinforced by the friendly Creek warriors under Genrl McIntosh, and a detachment of Tennessee Volunteers commanded by col Elliott. On the same day a mile and a half in advance of the Mekasukian villages, a small party of hostile Indians were discovered, judiciously located on a point of land projecting into an extensive marshy pond; the position designated, as since understood, for the concentrating of the negro, and Indian forces to give us battle. They maintained for a short period a spirited attack from my advanced spy companies, but fled and dispersed in every direction upon coming in contact with my flank columns, and discovering a movement to encircle them. The pursuit was continued through the Mekasukian Towns untill night compelled me to encamp my army. The next day detatchments were sent out in every direction to reconnoitre the country; secure all supplies found; and reduce to ashes the villages. This duty was executed to my satisfaction; nearly Three hundred houses were consumed; and the greatest abundance of corn cattle etc brought in. Every indication of a hostile spirit was found in the habitations of the Chiefs; In the Council houses of Kenhajee's Town, The King of the Mekasukians, more than fifty fresh scalps were found, and in the center of the public square, the old red stick's standard, *A red Pole,* was erected, crowned with scalps, recognised by the hair, as torn from the heads of the unfortunate companions of Scott.

As I had reason to believe that a portion of the hostile Indians had fled to St Marks, I directed my march towards that fortress. As advised, I found that the Indians and negroes combined had demanded the surrender of that work; The spanish garrison was too weak to defend it, and there were circumstances reported, producing a strong conviction in my mind that if not instigated by the Spanish authorities, the Indians had received the means of carrying on the war from that quarter: Foreign agents who have been long practiseing their intrigues, and villanies in this country had free access into the Fort. St. Marks was necessary as a

[1] At this time Jackson was in the habit of calling the Indian boy, Lincoyer, his son.
[1] War Dept. files.

depot to ensure success to my operations. These considerations determined me to occupy it with an American force. An Inventory of the Spanish property, munitions of war etc has been taken and receipted for; Personal rights and private property has been respected, and The Commandant and garrison furnished with transportation to Pensacola. My correspondence with the Spanish Commandant, the evidences under which I acted, and a detailed account of my operations will be furnished you as early as practicable. Success depends upon the rapidity of my movements, and tomorrow I shall march for the Sewaney river, the destroying the establishments on which will, in my opinion, put a final close to this savage war. Capt McKever of the navy cruising at my request on this coast, has been fortunate enough in securing Francis or Hissis Hajo, The great prophet, and Homattlemico an old red stick. They visited his vessels under an impression they were English, from whom as they stated supplies of munitions of war and under late promises, were expected. Abuthnot, a scotch man and suspected as one of the Instigators of this savage war, was found in St. Marks, He is in confinement untill evidences of his guilt can be collected.

With respect

Colonel José Masot to Jackson.

Pensacola, April 15, 1818.

Sir, The letter of your excellency of the 25 of last month was delivered me, as also that of the 26th which serve as an answer to mine of the 16th of Feby. last. I now acknowledge to your Excy. the rect. of both, and answer to the first.

In the month of May of last year, induced by a spirit of conciliation, I permitted to pass up the Escambia to Ft. Crawford, a cargo of provisions, brought from the port of New Orleans by the schooner Mobiliana, guided by the same sentiments I made the same condecentions to Capt. Call, who proceeded up in the Schooner Italiana in January last. Still following these same sentiments of friendship I permitted Lt Eddy of the garrison of the aforesaid Fort, commissioned for the same purpose by His Commdt. Majr. Young, who was permitted to provide himself with 70 000 bbls of provisions. and as the cargo of the Schooner Italiana is not yet exported from this place, but is still here in depot, I cannot believe their can be any great necessity for the introduction of provisions as your Excy. requested. And as you mention provisions on the way, I inform you that they cannot pass up, as they usually have done. You will have to impose on some Spanish Mercha[n]t here, to receive the provisions, pay the duties and forward them up, upon which conditions they will be permitted to pass up as heretofore, but without, they cannot be permitted, and it is impossible for the Govt. of the U. States to believe or form the most distant idea that they have a right to forward provisions up to Ft. Crawford without paying the duties. I inform you of this, in order that you may provide the said Ft. by some other channel, as your excelly. has mentioned. It is not with me, that the U. S. should dispute the right of the navigation of the Escambia, nor is it my plan to point out

these things to your Excellency, as I am but a subordinate officer, and compelled to obey the Commands of a superior, officer, and until further orders from him, I am determined to be firm to what I have now stated. In the treaties existing between the U: States and Spain, in the treaty of friendship limiting the Navigation I do not see any thing mentioned of the aforesaid river, the U: States well know the sovereignty of My King and master over all these territories, rivers, coasts, and ports up to the 31st degree of latitude, but if your Excelly. discover any thing in the treaties, whereby you think you are entitled to the navigation of this riv[e]r, you must apply to another sourse, as I do not think myself capable, nor authorised to treat on these subjects.

God save your Excy. many years.

To Mrs. Jackson.

"Bowleggs Town Seewaney" April 20, 1818.

My love. My last has, I hope reached you, by which you have been informed I was then on my way to this place I reached it on the evening of the 16th having marched Twenty miles, the negroes and Indians made a faint resistance against my left column who was endeavouring to turn their right, whilst the right was attempting to cut them from the river, and my center moving quikly to the attack in front, the poor deluded wretches perceived the danger that threatened, precipitated themselves into the river, where they must have sufferred from the brisk fire of the indians. here we obtained a few cattle, and about three thousand bushels of corn, we marched from St marks on the 9th with 8 days provisions, and this was a providential supply, the truth is that we have been fed like the Iseralites of old in the wilderness.

The hand of heaven has been pointed against the exciters of this war, every principle villain has been either killed or taken, I am waiting for a report from Lt Gadsden who went on command yesterday, as soon as recd I take up the line of march to return to St Marks. I think I may say that the Indian war is at an end for the present, they enemy is scattered over the whole face of the Earth, and at least one half must starve and die with dissease. I am advised that there are a few red sticks west of the appelachecola, should this be true, I will have to disperse them, this done I shall commence my Journey home, I am allmost on foot, I almost dispair of getting my favourite old duke home. I have a present of a cow for you, if I can get her home, with which you will be pleased. I have no time to say more, kiss my two boys for me and present me affectionately to all friends and say to Rachel Butler that her Colo. is well May the gods bless you and sons with heal[t]h untill I return—adieu an affectionate adieu.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Bowleg's Town, Suwaney River, April 20, 1818.

Sir, My last communication, dated Camp before St Marks 8th Apl. and those to which it referred, advised you of my movements and oppera-

[1] War Dept. files.

tions up to that date, and, as I then advised you, I marched from that place on the morning of the 9th. On the evening of the 10th I was joined by the rear of the Tennessee Volunteers, also by the Indians under Genl. McIntosh, whom I had left at Mickasuky to scour the country around that place. Altho' the weather has been dry and pleasant, and the waters had subsided in a great degree, our march might be said to have been through water which kept the infantry wet to the middle, and the depth of the swamps added to the want of forrage occasioned the horses to give out daily in great numbers.

On the morning of the 12th near Econfinnah or natural bridge a party of Indians were discovered on the margin of a swamp and attack'd by Genl. McIntosh and about 50 Tennessee Volunteers, who routed them, killing 37 warriors and capturing six men and 97 Women and children, also recapturing a white woman who had been taken at the massacree of scott, the friendly Indians also took some horses and about 500 head of Cattle from the Enemy who proved to be McQueen's party. Upon the application of an old woman of the Prisoners I agreed that if McQueen was tied and carried to the commandant of St. Marks her people should be received in peace, carried to the upper tribes of the Creek nation and there provisioned until they could raise their own crops, she appeared much pleased with those terms, and I set her at liberty with written instructions to the commandant of St. Marks to that effect; Having received no farther intelligence from McQueen I am induced to believe the old woman has complied with her part of the obligation.[2]

From St Marks I marched with 8 days rations, those that joined me having but five, this was done under the expectation of reaching this place in that time founded upon the report of my faithfull Indian Guide, which I should have accomplished but for the poverty of my horses and the continued sheets of water through which we had to pass. On the morning of the 15th my scouts overtook a small party of Indians killing one man and capturing the residue consisting of one man and woman and two children, and on that evening I encamped, as my guide supposed, within 12 miles of Suwaney. I marched very early on the 16th under the hope of being able to encompass and attack the Indian and negro Towns by one O'clock P. M. but much to my regret, at 3 O clock, and after marching 16 miles we reached a remarkable pond which my guide recollected and reported to be distant six miles from the object of my march; here I should have halted for the night had not six mounted Indians, (supposed to be spies) who were discovered, have effected their escape, this determined me to attempt by a forced movement to prevent the removal of their effects and, if possible, themselves from crossing the river, for my rations being out it was all important to secure their supplies for the subsistence of my troops. Accordingly my lines of attack were instantly formed and put in motion, and about sunset my left flank column composed of the 2d Regt. of Ten. volunteers commanded by Col.

[2] Peter McQueen was one of the most persistent and capable of the hostile Creeks. He was captured in the operations on the Tallapoosa in April, 1814, but managed to escape. He had the good luck to elude Jackson again in 1818. See p. 306, n. 1, *ante*.

Williamson and a part of the friendly Indians under Col. Kanard having approached the left flank of the centre town and commenced their attack, caused me to quicken the pace of the centre composed of the regulars, Geo. militia, and my volunteer Kentucky and Tennessee Guards, in order to press the enemy in his centre whilst the right column composed of the 1st Regt. of Ten. Vol. under Col. Dyer and a part of the friendly Indians headed by Genl. McIntosh, who had preceeded me were endeavoring to turn his left and cut off his retreat to the river; they however, having been previously informed of our force, by a precipitate retreat soon crossed the river, where it is believed Col. Kanard with his Indians did him considerable injury. Nine negroes and two Indians were found dead and two negro men made prisoners on the 17th. Foraging parties were sent out who found a considerable quantity of corn and some cattle, on the 18th having obtained some small craft I ordered Genl. Gaines across the river with a strong detacht. and two days provision to pursue the enemy; the precipitancy of their flight was soon discovered by the great quantity of goods, corn etc. strewed through the swamps and convinced Genl. Gaines that pursuit was in vain; nine Indian and five negro prisoners were taken by our Indians; the evidence of the haste with which the enemy had fled induced the General to confine his reconoisance to search for cattle and horses, both of which were much wanted by the army. About 30 head of Cattle were procured, but from the reports accompanying Genl. Gaines, which in due time will be forwarded to you, and the disobedience of his orders by the Indians, not one pound was brought into camp.

As soon as time will permit, I shall forward you a detailed account of the various little affairs with the enemy, accompanied with reports of the commanding officers of detachments suffice it for the present to add that every officer and soldier under my command when danger appeared shewed a steady firmness which convinced me that in the event of a stubborn conflict they would have realized the best hopes of their country and General.

I believe I may say that the destruction of this place with the possession of St. Marks, having on the night of the 18th captured the late Lieut Ambrister of the British Marine Corps, and, as represented by Arbuthnot, successor to Woodbine will end the Indian War for the present, and should it be renewed, the position taken, which ought to be held, will enable a small party to put it down promptly.

I shall order or, take myself a reconnoisance west of the Appalachicola at Pensacola point, where I am informed, there are a few red sticks assembled, who are fed and supplied by the Governor of Pensacola. My health being impaired, as soon as this duty is performed, the positions taken, well garrisoned, and security given to the southern frontier (if the Government have not active employ for me) I shall return to Nashville to regain my health. The health of the troops is much impaired, and I have ordered the Georgia troops to Hartford, to be mustered, paid and discharged,[3] the General having communicated his wishes and that of his

[3] The fact that Jackson sent Glascock home at this time seems to indicate that he then had no intention to visit Pensacola. This letter shows that he considered the objects of the campaign accomplished and was anxious to get back to Nashville.

troops to be ordered directly there and reporting that they have a plenty of corn and Beef to subsist them to that point. I have written to the Governor of Georgia to obtain, from the state, the necessary funds to pay Genl. Glascock's Brigade when discharged, and that the Government will promptly refund it: I am compell'd to this mode to have them promptly paid, Mr. Hogan the Pay master of the 7th Inf. (for whom I recd. from Mr. Brent, an enclosure said to contain $.50,000) not having reached me.

From the information received from Ambrister and a Mr. Cook, who was captured with him, that A. Arbuthnots schooner was at the mouth of this river, preparing to sail for the Bay of Tamper, my A. D. Camp, Lt. Gadsden volunteered his services with a small detachment to descend the river and capture her; the importance of this vessel to transport my sick to St. Marks as well as to destroy the means used by the enemy, induced me to grant his request; he sailed yesterday and I expected to have heard from him this morning. I only await his report to take up the line of march on my return to St. Marks; The Georgia Brigade, by whom I send this, being about to march compells me to close it without the report of Lt Gadsden.

I have the honor to be

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Fort St. Marks, April 26, 1818

I wrote you from Bowlegs Town on the 2d Instn. On the night of the same day I received the expected dispatch from my aid de camp Lt. Gadsden, communicating the success of his expedition, and on the next day as soon as the sick of my army were dispatched down the Suwaney river to be conveyed in the captured Schooner to St Marks I took up the line of march for that Fort. I arrived at this place last evening performing a march of 107 miles in less than five days. Lt Gadsden had reached it a few hours before me. He communicates having found among the papers of Abuthnot, Ambrister and Cook letters, memorials etc. all pointing out the Instigators of this savage war and in some measure involving the British Government in the Agency. These will be forwarded you in a detailed report I purpose communicating to you as early as practicable.

The old Woman spoken of in my last communication to you, who had promised to use her influence in having McQueen Captured and delivered up, has not been heard of. From signs discovered on the opposite shore of the St Marks river I am induced to believe that that Indian party are still in this neighbourhood. A detatchment will be sent out to reconnoitre the country to receive them as Friends if disposed to surrender, or inflict merited chastisement if still hostile.

I shall leave this in 2 or 3 days for Fort Gadsden, and after making all necessary arrangements for the security of the positions occupied, and detatching a force to scour the country west of the appalachacola, I shall

[1] War Dept. files. The date is written Mar. 26, but the context shows it should be Apr. 26. Also, the previous letter referred to was written on the twentieth and not, as here stated, on the second.

proceed direct for Nashville. My presence in this country can be no longer necessary; The Indian Forces have been divided, and scattered. cut off from all communication with those unprincipled Agents of Foreign nations, who have deluded them to their ruin they have not the power, if the will remains, of again annoying our frontier [2]

I remain

To William Davenport.[1]

Ft. Gadsden, Appelachecola, May 4, 1818.

D'r Sir. I returned to this post on the evening of the 2d Instant having taken a good recognisance of all the Country Eastward as far as Suwoney [Suwany], Bowleggs and the Negroes Town, In which I killed, or took prisoner and hung the principle chiefs, and British agents who have excited Indian Hostilities against the U States amongst the latter is the noted A. Arbuthnot who acted in the character of Indian agent under great Britain, and Capt Ambrister late of the Colonial Marines, and successor to the notorious Woodbine, This added to the death of Hillis Hajo or Francis the prophet, He, Emollamico [Himollemico], and King hega [Kinghajah] and several other war chiefs, will as I believe put an end to Indian Hostilities in that quarter, should it not, being in possession of St. Marks, strongly Garrisoned, destruction can be carried into the remnant of their country on the first Intelligence of hostilities being renewed by the Indians and Negroes against the U. S. The Evidence which I have obtained in this tour and the papers found on board of arbuthnots schooner captured by Lt. Gadsden and a detachment from my guards, when exposed to publick View, will be read with much Interest by the american people and will shew, that the agents of Britain and the officers of Spain have all been concerned in exciting the Indians to war against the U. States.

I had recd. from Mrs. Jackson a letter of the 20th of March informing me of her illness, which situated as I was filled me with great anxiety and distress, yours, Sir came like a healing balsome to my feelings and anxiety, for her safety, and told me she had recovered, for which sir accept a tender of my thanks I had a hope that the campaign would have terminated here and I would have been permitted to return directly home, resigning to Genl Gains the Command, But I have just recd. intel-

[2] This paragraph shows that when it was written Jackson did not intend to seize Pensacola. In his letter to the Secretary of War Apr. 20, 1818, *ante,* he speaks of holding St. Marks indefinitely, to keep the Indians quiet. In the Rhea letter to Monroe, Jan. 6, 1818, he begins by suggesting the seizure of East Florida as indemnity, seemingly for the actions of McGregor at Amelia Island; and near the end of that letter he speaks of accomplishing "the possession of the Floridas", if a hint were given him through John Rhea. Yet, on Apr. 26, after leaving a force at St. Marks, to overawe the Indians, he is about to march home, leaving the Spanish government at Pensacola undisturbed. Such a course did not carry out his offer to take "possession of the Floridas". Is it likely that he would have done this if he had received, as he said later, a letter from Rhea saying that President Monroe was willing that he should take "possession of the Floridas"? It was not, as he said later, until he had information (about May 5) that Indians were assembling at Pensacola to attack the citizens of the United States, that he altered his course and seized that place also.

[1] Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ligence that can be relied on that a large assemblage of Indian Warriors, has collected at pensacola (five hundred in number) who are fed and countenanced by the Governor, This leads me to that point to expell them and garrison that place with american Troops, this done and the Governor either punished or shipped as Circumstances may require I think I may safely say in the language of the late order from the Department of War that peace and safety is given to the southern frontier. I write in great haste I am busied preparing to march I must make a movement on the morning of the 7th at farthest I am now waiting a supply of corn from N. orleans from which I expected to Hear today if it arives we may recruit and save some of our horses, if not both officers and men will be on foot.

I am yours respectfully

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Fort Gadsden, May 5, 1818.

Sir. I returned to this post with my Army on the evening of the 2d instant, and embrace an early opportunity of furnishing you a detailed report of my operations to the east of the Apalachacola river. In the several communications addressed you from Hartford, Fort Scott, and this place, I have stated the condition of the Army on my assuming the immediate command; The embarrassments occasioned from the want of provisions; The privations of my Troops on their march from the frontiers of Georgia; and the circumstances which compelled me to move directly down the apalachacola river to meet with and protect the expected supplies from New Orleans. These were received on the 25th march and on the next day I was prepared for active operations. For a detailed account of my movements from that period to this day, you are respectfully referred to the report prepared by my Adjt General, accompanied with Capt Hugh Young's Topographical sketch of the route and distance performed. This has been principally a war of movements; The Enemy cut off from their strong holds, or deceived in the promised foreign aid have uniformly avoided a general engagement. Their resistance has generally been feeble, and in the partial rencounters into which they seem to have been involuntarily forced; The Regulars, Volunteers, and militia under my command realised my expectations; Every privation, fatigue, and exposure was encountered with the spirit of soldiers, and danger was met with a degree of fortitude calculated to strengthen the confidence I had reposed in them.

On the commencement of my operations I was strongly impressed with a belief that this Indian War had been excited by some unprincipled Foreign, or private agents. The outlaws of the old red stick party had been too severely convinced, and the Seminoles were too weak in numbers to believe, that they could possibly alone maintain a war with even partial success against the United States. Firmly convinced therefore that succor had been promised from some quarter, or that they had

[1] War Dept. files.

been deluded into a belief that America dare not violate the neutrality of spain by penetrating to their Towns, I early determined to ascertain these facts, and so direct my movements as to undeceive the Indians. After the destruction of the Mekasukian villages I marched direct for St Marks: The correspondence between myself and the Spanish Commandant in which I demanded the occupancy of that Fortress with an American Garrison, accompanies this. It had been reported to me direct from the Governor of Pensacola that the Indians and Negroes unfriendly to the United States, had demanded of the commandant of st Marks a supply of ammunition, munitions of war etc, threatning in the event of a non compliance to take possession of the Fort. The Spanish Commandant acknowledged the defenceless state of his fortress and his inability to defend it: and the Governor of Pensacola expressed similar apprehensions. The Spanish Agents throughout the Floridas had uniformly disavowed having any connection with the Indians, and acknowledged the obligations of his catholic Majesty under existing treaties to restrain their outrages against the citisens of the United States. Indeed they declaired that the Seminole Indians were viewed as alike hostile to the spanish government, and that the will remained, though the power was wanting to inflict merited chastisement on this lawless Tribe. It was therefore to be supposed that the American Army impelled by the immutable laws of self defence to penetrate the territory of his Catholic Majesty, to fight his battles, and even to relieve from a cruel bondage some of his own subjects, would have been received as allies, hailed as deliverers, and every facility afforded to them to terminate speedily and successfully this savage war. Fort St Marks could not be maintained by the Spanish force garrisoning it. The Indians and Negroes viewed it as an asylum if driven from their Towns, and were preparing to occupy it in this event. It was necessary to anticipate their movements, independant of the position being deemed essential as a depot on which the success of my future operations measur[ab]ly depended. In the spirit of Friendship therefore I demanded its surrender to the Army of the u states untill the close of the seminole war. The Spanish Commandant required time to reflect, it was granted; a negotiation ensued, and an effort made to protract it to an unreasonable length. In the conversation between my Aid de camp Lt Gadsden and the Spanish Commandant circumstances transpired convicting him of a disposition to favour the Indians, and of having taken an active part in aiding and abetting them in this war. I hesitated therefore no longer, and as I could not be received in friendship, I entered the Fort by violence. Two light companies of the 7th Regt Infantry and one of the 4th under the command of Major Twigs was ordered to advance, lower the spanish colors, and hoist the star spangled banner on the ramparts of Fort St Marks. The order was executed promptly, no resistance attempted on the part of the Spanish garrison.

The duplicity of the Spanish Commandant of St Marks in professing friendship towards the United States while he was actually aiding and supplying her savage enemies; Throwing open the gates of his garrison to their free access, Appropriating the King's stores to their use, issuing

amunition and munition of war to them, and knowingly purchasing of them property plundered from the Citisens of the U States is clearly evinced by the documents accompanying my correspondence.

In Fort St Marks as an inmate in the family of the Spanish Commandant an Englishman by the name of Abuthnot was found. Unable satisfactorily to explain the objects of his visiting this country, and their being a combination of circumstances to justify a suspicion that his views were not honest, he was ordered in close confinement. The capture of his Schooner near the mouth of Suwaney river by my aid de camp Mr Gadsden, and the papers found on board unvailed his corrupt transactions as well as those of a Capt Armbrister, late of the British Colonial marine Corps, taken as a prisoner near Bowlegs Town. These Individuals were tried under my orders by a special Court of select officers, legally convicted as exciters of this savage and negro War, legally condemned, and most justly punished for their iniquities. The proceedings of the Court martial in this case, with the volume of Testimony justifying their condemnation, presents scenes of wickedness, corruption, and barbarity at which the heart sickens and in which in this enlightened age it ought not scarcely to be believed that a christian nation would have participated, and yet the British government is involved in the agency. If Arbuthnot and Armbrister are not convicted as the Authorised Agents of Great Britain there is no room to doubt but that that Government had a knowledge of their assumed character, and was well advised of the measures which they had adopted to excite the negroes and Indians in East Florida to war against the U States. I hope the execution of these two unprincipled villains [2] will prove an awfull example to the world, and convince the Government of Great Britain as well as her subjects that certain, if slow retribution awaits those uncristian wretches who by false promises delude and excite a Indian tribe to all the horrid deeds of savage war.

Previous to my leaving Fort Gadsden, I had occasion to address a communication to the Governor of Pensacola on the subject of permitting supplies to pass up the Escambia river to Fort Crawford. This letter with a second from St Marks on the subject of some U S cloathing shiped in a vessel in the employ of the Spanish Government to that port I now enclose, with his reply. The Governor of Pensacola's refusal of my demand, cannot but be viewed as evincing an hostile feeling on his part particularly in connection with some circumstances reported to me from the most unquestionable authority. It has been stated that the Indians at war with the U States have free access into Pensacola; That they are kept advised from that quarter of all our movements; that they are supplied from thence with amunition and munitions of war, and that they are now collecting in large bodies to the amount of 4 or 500 warriors in that city; That inroads from thence have lately been made on the alabama, in one of which 18 setlers fell by the tomahawk.

These statements compell me to make a movement to the West of the Apalachacola and should they prove correct Pensacola must be occupied

[2] Alexander Arbuthnot was hanged, and Robert C. Ambrister shot, on Apr. 29.

with an American force, The Governor treated according to his deserts or as policy may dictate. I shall leave strong garrisons in Fort St Marks, Fort Gadsden, and Fort Scott, and in Pensacola should it become necessary to possess it. It becomes my duty to state it as my confirmed opinion, that so long as Spain has not the power, or will to enforce the treaties by which she is solemnly bound to preserve the Indians within her territory at peace with the U States, no security can be given to our Southern frontier without occupying a cordon of Posts along the Sea Shore. The moment the American Army retires from Florida, The War hatchet will be again raised, and the same scenes of indiscriminate murder with which our frontier setlers have been visited, will be repeated. So long as the Indians within the territory of spain are exposed to the delusions of false prophets, and the poison of foreign intrigue; so long as they can receive amunition, munitions of war etc from pretended Traders, or Spanish commandants it will be impossible to restrain their outrages. The burning of their Towns, the destroying of their stock and provisions will produce but temporary embarrassments, resupplied by spanish authorities they may concentrate, or disperse at will, and keep up a lasting predatory warfare against the Frontiers of the U States, as expensive as harrassing to her Troops. The Savages therefore must be made dependant on us, and cannot be kept at peace without persuaded of the certainty of chastisement being inflicted on the commission of the first offence.

I trust therefore that the measures which have been persued will meet with the approbation of the President of the U States. They have been adopted in pursuance of your instructions, under a firm conviction that they alone were calculated to ensure " Peace and security to the southern frontier of Georgia ".

The Army will move on the 7th from hence, crossing the Apalachacola river at the Ochesee bluff, about 30 miles above.

With respect

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Fort Gadsden, May 7, 1818.

Sir, I halt my Army to enclose you a communication which has this moment been received by express from General Glascock. The outrage which has been committed upon the superannuated Warriors, women and

[1] War Dept. files. A Captain Obed Wright, of the Georgia militia, was in command of the frontier post of Hartford. Says Glascock in writing to Jackson, Apr. 30, 1818, " It appears that after he assumed the command of the place he obtained the Certificates of several men of the frontier that the Chehaw Indians were engaged in a skirmish on the big bend he immediately sent or went to the Governer and obtained orders to destroy the Towns of Philemmee and Oponee two companies of cavalry were immediately ordered out and placed under his command and on the 22nd he reached this place he Ordered Cap. Bothwell to furnish him with 25 or 30 men to accompany him haveing been authorised to do so by the Governer. the order was Complied with. Cap. Bothwell Told him that he cou'd not accompany him, himself disapproved the plan and informed Cap. Wright that there cou'd be no doubt of the friendship of the Indians in that quarter and stated that Oponee brought in a public horse that day had been lost on that day, this availed nothing. mock patriotism burned in their breasts. they Crossed the river that night and pushed for the Town when ariveing near there an Indian was discovered graseing some Cattle he was made a prisoner, I am informed by Sergt. Jones that the

children, whose sons were then in the field in the service of the U States, merits the severest chastisement. The interferrence too of the Governor of Georgia with the duties imposed on me claims the early attention of the President. All the effects of my campaign may by this one act be destroyed: and the same scenes of massacre and murder with which our Frontier settlers have been visited again repeated.

On my march from Hartford to Fort Scott The necessities of my army were first relieved at the chehaw village and every act of friendship characterised the conduct of their old chiefs. The Young Warriors immediately entered and were mustered into the service of the U States and under the Command of Col Karnard, were esteemed one of the most efficient corps of Friendly Indians. What must be their feelings on returning to the vicinity of their homes, after the privations, fatigues, and dangers of a long march in the service of the U States, to find their houses consumed, Their families dispersed, and their old warriors and chiefs tretcherously and most inhumanly murdered, you must well know how to estimate.

I have written to Hartford to have Capt Wright arrested and ironed untill the will of the President of the u s can be known and I have requested of the Governor of Geo. to aid in the execution of this order should Wright have left that place. I shall send a Talk to the Chehaws explaining as satisfactorily as possible this most iniquitous proceeding. Copies of the above are inclosed.

Yours respectfuly

To the Governor of Georgia (William Rabun).[1]

On march towards Pensacola 7 miles advanced of Fort Gadsden, May 7, 1818.

Sir, I have this moment received by express the letter of General Glascock a copy of which is enclosed, detailing the base, cowardly and inhuman attack, on the old woman and men of the chehaw village, whilst the Warriors of that *village* was with me, fighting the battles of our *country* against the common enemy, and at a time too when undoubted testimony had been obtained and was in my possession and also, in possession of Genl. Glascock, of their innocence of the charge of killing Leigh and the other Georgian at cedar Creek.

Indian immediately proposed to go with the Interpreter and bring any of the Chiefs for the Cap. to talk with it was not attended to an advance was ordered the Cavelry rushed forward and commenced the massacre. even after fireing and Murder Commenced Major Howard an old chief who furnished you with considerable corn came out from his house with a white flagg in front of the line it was not respected an order for a general fire was given and nearly 400 guns were discharged at him before one took effect he fell and [was] bayonetted his son was also killed these are the circumstances relative to the transaction seven Men were killed one woman and 2 children"

On the same day that he wrote to the Secretary of War Jackson sent a "talk" to the Chiaha (Chehaw) Indians, repudiating the attack of the Georgians, arraigning Captain Wright in bitter terms, and promising compensation for the damages done. See Parton's *Jackson,* II. 492.

[1] War Dept. files. A number of letters and orders respecting the blunder of Capt. Obed Wright in attacking the Chiaha (Chehaw) village are in *Am. St. Papers, Military Affairs,* I. 774-778.

That a Govenor of a state should assume the right to make war against an Indian tribe in perfect peace with and under the protection of the U. States, is assuming a responsibility, that I trust you will be able to excuse to the Government of the U. States, to which you will have to answer, and through which I had so recently passed, promising the aged that remained at home my protection and taking the warriors with me on the campaign is as unwarantable as strange. But it is still more strange that there could exist within the U. States, a cowardly monster in human shape, that could violate the sanctity of a flag, when borne by any person, but more particularly when in the hands of a superanuated Indian chief worn down with age. Such base cowardice and murderous conduct as this transaction affords, has not its paralel in history and should meet with its merited punishment.

You Sir as Governor of a state within my military Division have no right to give a Military order, whilst I am in the field, and this being an open and violent infringement of the treaty with the creek Indians, Captain Wright must be prosecuted and punished for this outrageous murder, and I have ordered him to be arrested and confined, in Irons untill the pleasure of the President is known upon the Subject. If he has left Hartford before my order reaches, I call upon you as Govr. of Georgia to aid in carrying into effect my order for his arrest and confinement, which I trust will be afforded, and Captain Wright brought to condign punishment for this unprecedented murder. It is strange that this hero had not followed the trail of the murderers of your citizens, it would have led him to the Mickasooky, where we found the *bleeding Scalps of Your citizens,* but there might have been more danger in this; than attacking a village containing a few superanuated woman and men, and a few young woman without arms or protectors.

This act will to the last ages fix a stain upon the character of Georgia.

I have the honor to be with due Respect

To Major John M. Davis.[1]

"Head Quarters Divn. South" May 7, 1818.

Sir. You will send or deliver personally as you may deem most advisable the enclosed talk to Kanard with instructions to explain the substance to the chehaw warriors You will proceed thence to Hartford in Georgia and use your Endeavours to arrest and deliver over in Irons to the military authority at fort Hawkins Captn. Wright of the Georgia militia who has been guilty of the outrage against the women and superannuated men of the chehaw village, Should Wright have left hartford you will call upon the Governor of Geoa. to aid you in his arrest To enable you to execute the above you are authorised to take in company with you the Tenesseeans that went from hence lately for fort Scott and await if you think it necessary the arrival of the Georgians now on march under major Porter You will direct the officer commanding at fort

[1] Copy.

Hawkins to Keep Captn. Wright in close confinement untill the will of the president be known. . . . .[2]

COLONEL JOSÉ MASOT TO JACKSON.

PENSACOLA, May 22, 1818.

PROTEST.

Having been informed of Your Excellency with the Troops under your command, passing the Frontiers and entering the Territory of West Florida under my charge, against which proceedings I protest, As an infringement and insult offered to his King and Master, obliges me in his name to declair to your Excellency to leave the boundaries, and if you will proceed contrary to my expectations I will repulse you force to force. The results in this case will be an iffusion of blood and will also disturb the present harmony existing betwixt our nations but as I will only oppose the insult of your approach I shall not consider myself the agressor. You will therefore be responsible before God and Men for the consequences and results of the same.

God save your excellency many years.

TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF PENSACOLA.

BEFORE PENSACOLA, May 24, 1818.

Sir. I am informed that you have orders to fire on my troops entering the city to procure supplies from an American vessel in the bay. I wish you to understand distinctly that if such orders are carried into effect, I will put to death every man found in arms. The regular soldiers must be placed under the direction and care of my troops until an answer is obtained from the Governor to my communication to prevent unpleasant occurrences.

Respectfully Yrs. etc. etc. etc.

[2] To this order Major Davis sent the following report from Fort Hawkins, May 30, 1818:

"*Sir:* By express I hasten to communicate to you, that in pursuance of your order to me of the 7th Inst. I came up with Captain Obed Wright of the Georgia Militia, in Dublin on the 24th Inst. I arrested him, and brought him on with me as far as Milledgeville, where the civil authority interfered and discharged him. A copy of the proceedings is herewith enclosed to you. I also enclose you copies of my letters to the Secy. War, and Govr. of Georgia, together with a copy of your order to me, (which you kept no copy of), and a copy of Wrights arrest.

"So far as I have had an opportunity of discovering, the minds of the Georgians is much agitated on this occation, and many of them warmly advocate Wright's conduct, I had to brook several insults while I had him in custody. The General impression of the *rable* was that wright would be delivered up to the Indians. The enlightened class new better, and said that you were incapable of doing such an act. I did not let the court know the extent of my orders. I only shew my first order, which directs him to be delivered over to the military authority at Fort Hawkins there to be kept in close confinement untile the will of the President be known. The Govr. of Georgia is absent at present, whether he will on his return order him to be delivered over to me on my application, or not is uncertain, I dont expect he will".

COLONEL JOSÉ MASOT TO JACKSON.

FORT ST. CHARLES BARRANCAS, May 24, 1818.

Sir, I received your Excells. two letters one of the 23rd the other of this date by your aid de camp Captn. Gadsden, and to all the charges brought against me by your Excellency, I have answered as I conceive satisfactorily in my letter of the 18 Ulto.[1] I will therefore only add that in relation to the Indians, your Excellency has been misinformed, in proof of which the two indians which I found after the peace negociated by me, and the 87 indians delivered to Majr. Youngs; are the same who are now confined in the jail of Pensacola together with three women and children, and long before the movements of your Excellency I had given orders to the Post of Appelache that the Semenoles should not be succoured in any way. which line of conduct I have also observed here, excepting with those unfortunate few who have for time immemorial supplied this place with firewood.

Your Excellency charges me with the bloodshed, which might be caused, in my resistence, on not giving up the Province, agreeable to your wishes. You solicit what I never can, nor never will comply with, to stain in my old age, my military carrear, being well assured that were you in my place, that your Excellency would not thus sully the honorable laurels which adorn you—let the motives be what they may, no nation has a right to violate the territories of another previous to a protestation being first sent to that government. Your Excy. has violated the territory of Spain, by taking possission of the post of the Appelachy, and lowering the Spanish colours, when you might have taken a medium more conciliatory, which would have united still stronger the bonds of friendship, between our governments.

On the 21st Ulto. your Excy. made prisoners, on their parol of honor Don Pedro Philbert and other inhabitants, at their respective plantations. This day at eleven, before Captn. Gadsden arived at Pensacola on his return from Barancas, the army of your Excell. entered that place, and made prisoners, Don Pedro De Alva Interpreter, who translated your two letters, and is bearer of this, and I believe after, the officers and troops and the two chiefs who were left in charge to preserve the tranquility of that place.

This being explained I ask, who will be responsible for the blood shed? will it not be your Excelly. when you say in your letter you will take Pensacola and Barancas. I protest before God and man that I will be blameless and that my ardent wishes are, and have always been to contribute to the peace, and friendship of our respective nations, for beside the sincerity of my intentions I have before me the message of the President of the U: States of the 25th of March last, and its contents led me to believe, that nothing of a hostile character would be attempted by the troops of the Un: States: How unfortunately this province has suffered, at Appelachy and Pensacola by the movements of your Excelly. I hope from the generosity of your Excellency, that you will first liberate the

[1] Should be April 15.

officers and troops of the garrison of Pensacola, then after provisioning your army you will, in a short time, retire from the territory of the Province, and not carry on a partial War in West Florida, at a time when our respective nations are lulled into a state of peace and friendship.

The Lt. Col: Don Lewis Piernas, commt. in Pensacola, is legally authorised to exercise in my place, my functions, and to receive communications from your Excelly., which he will remit me, and I will immediately and promptly answer the same. all which shall be transmitted by the bearer of this Don Pedro De Alva. Finally and contrary to my expectations if your Excelly. will persist in your intentions to occupy this fortrass, I am resolved to defend it to the last extremity, opposing force to force; and he who stands in self defence, can never be censured.

God preserve Your Excy. many years

To Colonel José Masot.

Pensacola, May 25, 1818.

Sir. The accusations against you are founded on the most unquestionable evidence. I have the certificate of Individuals who on the 23d Instant at or near the little bayou counted 17 Indians in company of several Spanish officers.[1]

[1] While Jackson was moving on Pensacola, Lieut. T. Cross was in Pensacola trying, but in vain, to get Governor Masot to allow a ship-load of public supplies for Fort Crawford to pass up the Escambia free of duty. The governor refused stoutly. But in regard to fugitive Indians he sent Cross the following proposal:

"By an agreement concluded with the Commanding officer of Fort Crawford Major Young, I have gathered all the fugitive Creeks that were in this vicinity, whom I advised to accept his offers, which were to receive them if they would give up peaceably, the result whereof has been as disired, and I then determined that they should march in three divisions on the 13th 14th and 15th Inst., having first agreed with the principal warriors, that in future all the Indians found in this place, should be taken up and remitted to Fort Crawford. Five Men Women and Children, are confined in the Royal gaol, and I request you to tell me if you can take charge of them in the transport under your Command. God preserve your life many years."

To this suggestion Lieutenant Cross replied, Pensacola, May 19, 1818, as follows:

"In reply to your enquiry relative to the fugitive Indians being conducted to Fort Crawford, I will observe, that should the Boats in which the supplies will go, permit, it will be done with pleasure. But as I observed to your Excellency in a conversation yesterday morning, it is expected that the Commanding officer of Fort Crawford will send Boats to receive the Cargo of the transport, and immediately on their arrival I will communicate a definitive answer on that subject.

"For the very friendly and attentive reception with which you have favoured me, I beg you to receive my gratefull acknowledgements."

Lieutenant Cross seems to have had little confidence in the governor's tardy impulse to send the hostiles back to the United States authorities. Being on the spot he gathered three certificates and sent them to Jackson on May 23. As Jackson was already before the town they could have had nothing to do with bringing him to the place. They read as follows:

"I certify that on the 23rd of May 1818. being in the Bayou, which enters Pensacola Bay 1½ miles from the Town, I saw at the ferry on the road to Barrancas, a number of Indians I think about 17. in company with 4 Spanish officers. The officers were carried over and the boat returned to ferry over the Indians. I saw one boat load landed on the side next the Barrancas. The Indians concealed themselves in the bushes on discovering us. Richard Brikham."

"I certify that I was in the boat with Brickham at the place and time mentioned in the above cirtificate; That I saw several Indians in company with 4 spanish officers. The officers were ferried over with one Indian. I did not see the Indians ferried over. They concealed themselves on discovering us. John Bonner (his mark)."

I have only to repeat that the Barancas must be occupied by an American garrison, and again to tender you the terms offered if aimacably surrendered. Resistance would be a wanton sacrifice of blood for which you and your garrison will have to atone. You cannot expect to defend yourself successfully, and the first shot from your Fort must draw down upon you the vengeance of an irritated soldiery. I am well advised of your strength and cannot but remark on the inconsistency of presuming yourself capable of resisting an army which has conquered the Indian Tribes too strong agreeably to your own acknowledgement to be controlled by you. If the force which you are now disposed wantonly to sacrifice had been wielded against the Seminoles the American Troops had never entered the Floridas

I applaud your feelings as a soldier in wishing to defend your Post but where resistance is ineffectual and the opposing force overwhelming— The sacrifice of a few brave men is an act of wantonness for which the commanding officer must be accountable to his Lord.

Jackson's Proclamation on taking Possession of Pensacola.[1]

Pensacola, May 29, 1818.

Major General Andrew Jackson has found it necessary to take possession of Pensacola, he has not been prompted to this measure from a wish to extend the Territorial limits of the United States, or from any unfriendly feeling on the part of the American republic, to the Spanish Government. The Seminole Indians inhabiting the territories of Spain

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"We certify that being in Fort St. Charles, Barrancas, on the 28th of May 1818. in the Afternoon, soon after the American troops took possession of the work and as the Spanish troops were Marching out, we saw an Indian, carried out by some of the Spanish soldiers, he was laid on the beech, to be put on board the boat. he was wounded in the leg or thigh, and had every appearance of having been engaged in the deffence of the Fort. William Russell, James L. Bell."

The following certificate was dated June 2, 1818, at Fort Montgomery:

"I cirtify that between the 5th and 7th of May 1818, whilst at Fort Gadsden on the Apalachicola river, I was informed by Mr. Larua and Benneto Gassia both citizens of and direct from Pensacola, that at the time of their departure thence, there were 500 Indians in and about Pensacola. And I further Cirtify that on my arival at Pensacola on the 23rd of May, I was informed by Mr. Skeets and other citizens of that place that on the 22nd which was the day before my arival. Holmes (a noted redstick) with his party, had left Pensacola, to proceed to the Chocktawhatchy for safety having been for several days previous in town. all which I certify on honor. William Hambly."

The following was obtained in Pensacola, Sept. 13, 1818, by Capt. H. Young, whom Jackson left in the place:

"Charles Baron, a resident of Pensacola, being sworn, states: that about the latter end of April, or beginning of May, 1818, a party of Indians, amounting to near one hundred, were in Pensacola with a quantity of plunder, which it was generally beleived, was taken at the time Stokes' family was murdered, on the Escambia. The Indians sold this plunder openly to the inhabitants of Pensacola, and the deponent could not learn that the Spanish authorities at Pensacola, made enquiries respecting it. The deponent further states, that at several times during the present year, 1818, he saw parties of Indians furnished with provisions and ammunition from the king's store, but he does not recollect the dates of these transactions. The deponent further states, that he has frequently heard Spanish officers at Pensacola justify the conduct of the Indians towards the United states, manifesting in their conversation, a decided hostility towards the Americans. Charles Barron."

[1] War Dept. files.

have for more than two years past, visited our Frontier settlements with all the horrors of savage massacre—helpless women have been butchered and the cradle stained with the blood of innocence, these atrocities it was expected would have early attracted the attention of the Spanish Government and faithful to existing treaties speedy measures adopted for their suppression. That so far from being able to controule the spanish authorities were often compelled, from policy or necessity to issue munitions of war, to these savages, thus enabling if not exciting them to raise the tomahawk against us.

The immutable laws of self defence, therefore compelled the American Government to take possession of such parts of the Floridas in which the Spanish authority could not be maintained. Pensacola was found in that situation, and will be held untill Spain can furnish Military strength sufficient to enforce existing treaties.

Spanish subjects will be respected, Spanish laws will govern in all cases affecting property and person, a free toleration to all religions guarranteed and trade alike to all nations.

Colo. King [2] will assume the command of Pensacola as Military and Civil Governor. The Spanish laws so far as they affect personal rights and property will be enforced. Colo. King will take possession of the archives of the province and appoint some confidential individual, to preserve them. It is all important that the record of titles and property should be carefully secured. He will cause an enquiry to be made into all the landed property belonging to the King of Spain and hold possession of it.

The claims to property within the range of gunshot of Fort St. Charles de Barancas, will be scrupulously examined into, and should this prove valid, a rent allowed, but possession in no wise given. This property is necessary for the United States, and under its laws may be held and an equivalent paid.

The revenue laws of the U. States will be established and Captain Gadsden appointed to act as collector with full powers to nominate such sub officers as in his opinion will be necessary to the faithfull discharge of the trust reposed in him. He will apply to the Governor of Pensacola, for military aid in all cases where it may be necessary to correct attempts at an illicit trade.

Governor Rabun to Jackson.

Milledgeville, June 1, 1818.

Sir, I have lately had the honor to receive yours of the 7th ultimo, founded on a communication from Genl. Glascock, relative to an attack recently made on the Chehaw Village. Had you Sir, or Genl. Glascock been in possession of the facts which produced the affair, it is to be presumed at least, that you would not have indulged in a strain so indecorus and unbecoming. I had on the 21st of March last, stated the situation of our bleeding frontier to you, and requested you in respectful terms,

[2] William King, colonel of the 4th Infantry.

to detach a part of your overwhelming force for our protiction, or that you would furnish supplies, and I, would order more troops, to which you have never yet deigned even to reply. You state in a very haughty tone that " I as Governor of a State within your military division, have no right to give a military order whilst you are in the field." Wretched and contemptible indeed, must be our situation if this be the fact. When the liberties of the people of Georgia shall have been prostrated at the feet of a military despotism, then, and not till then, will this imperious doctrine be tamely submitted to. You may rest assured, that if the savages continue their depredations on our unprotected frontier, I shall think and act for myself in that respect. You demand that Cap. Wright be delivered in irons to your Agent Major Davis. If you Sir, are unacquainted with the fact, I beg leave to inform you, that Cap. Wright was not under your command, for he had been appointed an officer in the Chatham County militia which had been drafted for the special purpose of assisting Genl. Gaines in reducing Amelia Island, that object having been accomplished before our militia had taken the field, Genl. Gaines as soon as their organization was compleated, assumed the right to order them to the frontier, without even consulting the State authority on the subject. Capt. Wright at that time being in a state of debility, failed to march, and of course was not mustered into the service of the United States. He however followed on to Hartford, where finding himself not likely to be received into the service of the united states, tendered his services to command the contemplated expedition, which were accordingly accepted. Having Violated his orders by destroying the Chehaw Village instead of Hopannee's and Phelemmee's towns, against which the expedition was directed, I had previous to receiving your demand, ordered him to be arrested, but before he was apprehended agreeable to my orders, he was taken by your Agent, and afterwards liberated by the Civil authority. I have since had him arrested and confined, and shall communicate the whole transaction to the President of the United States, together with a copy of your letter.

I have the honor to be etc.

To President Monroe.[1]

Headquarters of the South
Frt Montgomery, June 2, 1818

(Private)

D'r Sir. I reached this place last evening with the Tennessee Volunteers and my guards on our return march to Tennessee, to have them mustered, paid and discharged after closing a fatigueing campaign, by hoisting the American Eagle over the Ramparts, of Ft. don Carlos de Barancas and Pensacola. This step became absolutely necessary to put down the Indian war, and give " peace and security " to our Southern frontier, as you will see by the documents and certificates accompanying my letter of this date to the honourable Sec of War, to which I beg leave to refer you. These documents plainly unfold the duplicity of the gov-

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

ernor, and his protest, accompanied with his boasted threat of opposing force to force in case I advanced, deserved a severer chastisement than he recd, but the humiliation he experienced after his boast of desperate resistance of being compelled to surrender to a batery of one 9lb. and a 5 8/10 lb. howitzer was a severe punishment to military feelings, The Judgt. displayed by my aid Capt Gadsden in selecting the position, the daring courage of Gadsden, Capt Call my second aid and Capt Young supported by C. Peters, Lt Menton and Spencer struck the garrison with a panic and for its gallantry cannot be surpassed, by any military act, recorded in history, and there is not within my recollection an instance of a position being taken and ground broke at the distance of 385 yards of a heavy battery and the position held, untill the garrison surrendered, it was left for America to furnish the example of such determined bravery, and uropean Engineers will hear it as a fable, and declare it impossible. The fact exists, and will be acknowledged by all the garrison of Berancas.

The possession of St Marks, Ft Gadsden, and Frt don Carlos de Barancas, puts an end to all Indian wars. These were the hot beds, and the Spanish officers and British agents excited the Indians to masacre and plunder to enrich their own coffers by purchasing the plundered property at a reduced price. I view the possession of these points so esential to the peace and security of our frontier, and the future wellfare of our country that I have directed my aid de camp Capt Gadsden to make a report of the aditional repairs necessary to those garrisons to enable us to hold them, and as soon as I can spare him I intend to send him on to make to you a personal communication on this as well as other subjects closely connected with it and the peace and wellfare of our Goverment and country. Added to the importance of the position occupied by the late campaign, it is of great importance in another point of View, it has opened to our View a correct Topographical knowledge of a country hitherto unknown, and of which many eroneous opinions had been imbibed well calculated to deceive, for it is a fact, that no person to whom I applied knew any thing about this country, altho many professed an accurate knowledge of the whole. I say none except my faithfull Pilot Blount, who accompanied Mr Hambly who will hand you this, he knew the country and rendered me important services as a guide, without him I could not have operated successfully, and have sent him to you and beg that he may be liberally rewarded for his attachment to the U States and faithfull services rendered, three of his clan accompanies him, who I also wish to receive the attention of the Goverment, Blount ought to receive a pension, he has been stripped of all his property. Mr Hambly has acted as my interpreter of the Spanish language and Linguister, he is a man of probity in whom confidence may be reposed, and from whom much usefull information may be obtained, he goes on with Blount at my request, as interpreter and I beg leave to request that he be kindly received and well paid by the Government. his friendship to the u states was the cause of the destruction of his property. I have caused every step I have marched to be measured and the course taken, so soon as leisure will permit, a correct plan of my various routs, accompanyed

with the necessary remarks will be forwarded to the office of the Sec of War, and will prove how eroneous the opinions of distance as well as the face of the country have been.

Our marches have been fatigueing the privations great, the continued wading of the water and the swamps has first distroyed our horses, and in the next our shoes, the men are literanny [literally] barefoot and I think it but just that the Goverment should give them a pair of shoes each which I am trying to obtain, and Justice requires that every horse that is lost be paid for by the Goverment. A great number of the horses that has gave out and are left will be regained by the goverment. Indians have been employed to hunt and take care of them, Sound policy as well as Justice require that the soldier receive pay for his horse. These are the men who will defend your Eagles in the day of danger. These are the auxiliaries, that will aid in possessing the goverment of Ft St Augustine and Cuba, when thought necessary to be possessed by the american republick. These are both Essential to the security of our Southern frontier and to our commerce in a state of war, and can be taken by a Coup de Main whenever thought necessary.

The reduced state of the 4th and 7th Infantry, the 4th Betalion of artillery not being filled, the Posts being garrisoned by our Infantry has reduced our disposable force too small to hazard many excursions through our country in persuit of the enemy, from the calm in [the] North, could not Genl Miller of the 5th Infantry be spared to the south. This additional force with the 22 gun Briggs, would insure Ft St Augustine add another Regt. and one Frigate and I will insure you Cuba in a few days. I am at present worn down with fatigue and by a bad cough with a pain in my left side which produced a spitting of blood, has reduced me to a skelleton. I must have rest, it is uncertain whether my constitution can be restored to stand the fatigues of another campaign, should I find it so I must tender my resignation. When I reach Nashville I will again write you, in the mean time permit me again to remark the importance of the Possession of Fts. St Marks, Gadsden and Barancas is to the peace and security of our Southern frontier and to the growing greatness of our nation. The hords of Negro Brigands must be drove from the bay of Tenessee and possess ourselves of it, this cutts off all excitement by foreign influence, by keeping from there all foreign agents. I shall be happy to hear from you, in all things, I have consulted publick good and the safety and security of our Southern frontier, I have established peace and safety, and hope the goverment will never yield it, should my acts meet your approbation it will be a source of great consolation to me, should it be disapproved, I have this consolation, that I exercised my best exertions and Judgt. and that sound national policy will dictate holding Possession as long as we are a republick. You will excuse this scrall, I write in haste, and have no time to copy it. With a tender of my best wishes, I am respectfully your mo. ob. serv.

[*Indorsed by Monroe:*] Report of his operations in Florida. Taking possession of St Marks and Pensacola. Hopes that his conduct will be approved, which shows, that he had acted on his own responsibility.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Fort Montgomery, June 2, 1818.

Sir. In a communication to you of the 5th of May, I detailed at length the operations of my army up to that period. Leaving a strong garrison of Regulars in Forts Scott and Gadsden, I resumed my march with a small detatchment of the 4th Regt. of Infantry, One company of Artillery, and the effectives of the Tennessee Volunteers, the whole not exceeding twelve hundred men, to fulfill my intentions, communicated to you of scouring the country West of the Apalachacola river. On the 10 of May my army crossed that river at the Ochesee village, and after a fatiaguing, teadious, and circuitous march of 12 days, misled by the ignorance of our Pilots, and exposed to the severest of privations we finally reached, and effected a passage over the Escambia. On my march, on the 23d of may a protest from the Governor of Pensacola was delivered me by a Spanish officer, remonstrating in warm terms against my proceedings, and ordering me and my forces in[s]tantly to quit the territory of his Catholic Majesty, with a threat to apply force in the event of a non compliance. This was so open an indication of a hostile feeling on his part, after having been early and well advised of the object of my operations, that I hesitated no longer on the measures to be adopted. I marched for and entered Pensacola with only the show of resistance on the 24th of may. The Governor had previously fled to Fort Carlos De Barrancas where it was said he had resolved upon a most desperate resistance. A correspondence ensued between us, accompanying this marked A, detailing at length my motives for wishing and demanding that Pensacola and its dependencies be occupied with an American Garrison.[2] The package marked B are documents substantiating the charges in part against the conduct of the Spanish Governor having knowingly and willingly admitted the Savages, avowedly hostile to the U States within the Town of Pensacola. The peaceable surrender of the Fort at the Barrancas was denied; I marched for, and invested it on the evening of the 25th of may and on the same night pushed reconnoitering parties under its very guns. On the morning of the 26th a military reconnoisance was taken, and on the same night a lodgement was made under a fire from the spanish garrison, by Capt. Gadsden of the Engineers, aided by Captains Call and Young on a commanding position within three hundred and eighty five yards of the spanish work, and a nine pounder mounted; A howitzer battery was simultaneously established on the capital and within seven hundred and sixty yards of the Fort. At day light on the 27th The Spanish Garrison opened their artillery on our batteries;

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] This correspondence is not on file with Jackson's report. In *Am. St. Papers, Mil. Aff.*, I. 712, is printed Jackson's letter to Governor Masot, May 23, 1818, demanding the surrender of Pensacola and stating the grounds of the demand. His grounds were two. By refusing to allow supply ships to pass up the river without the payment of duties the governor had "exposed my troops to the severest privations", and by receiving hostile Indians at Pensacola and St. Marks he had made himself contributory to the war. The defense of Governor Masot against these charges is in the same volume, pp. 713-715. See also pp. 706-712.

a parley was sounded, a flag sent in and the surrender of Fort Carlos De Barrancas again demanded; The favourable positions obtained were pointed out, and the inutility of resistance urged. Anxious to avoid an open contest and to save the effusion of blood the same terms previously offered, were again tendered. They were rejected and offensive operations recommenced. A spirited and well directed fire was kept up the greater part of the morning and at intervalls during the afternoon. In the evening a flag was sent from the Spanish Commandant offering to capitulate and a suspension of hostilities was granted untill 8 oclock the next day, when the enclosed articles of capitulation marked C were signed and agreed to. The Terms are more favourable than a conquered Enemy would have merited, but under the peculiar circumstances of the case, my object obtained, there was no motive for wounding the feelings of those whose military pride or honor had prompted to the resistance made. The articles with but one condition amount to a complete cession to the u states of that portion of the Floridas hitherto under the government of Don Josse Massot.

The Arrangements which I have made to secure Pensacola and its dependencies are contained in the General orders etc marked D. I deemed it most advisable to retain for the present the same government to which the People had been accustomed untill such time as the Executive of the U States may order otherwise. It was necessary however to establish the revenue laws of the U States to check the smugling which has been carried on successfully in this quarter for many years past, and to admit the American Merchant to an equal participation in a trade which would have been denied under the partial operation of the spanish commercial code. Capt Gadsden was appointed by me collector and he has organised, and left the department in the charge of officers on whom the greatest confidence may be reposed.

Though the Seminole Indians have been scattered, and literally so divided and reduced as no longer to be viewed as a formidable Enemy, yet as there are still many small marauding parties supposed to be concealed in the swamps of the Perdido, Choctawhatchey, and Chapouley who might make occasional and sudden inroads on our Frontier setlers, massacreing women and children, I have deemed it advisable to call into service for six months if not sooner discharged Two companies of volunteer Rangers under Captain McGirt and Boyles, with instruction to scour the country between the Mobile and Apalachacola rivers, exterminating every hostile party who dare resist, or will not surrender and remove with their families above the 31st Degree of latitude. The Seminole War may now be considered at a close. Tranquility again restored to the Southern Frontier of the United States, and as long as a cordon of military posts is maintained along the gulf of Mexico America has nothing to apprehend from either foreign or Indian hostilities. Indeed Sir to attempt to fortify, or protect an imaginary line, or to suppose that a Frontier on the 31st degree of latitude, in a wilderness, can be secured by a cordon of military posts while the Floridas lay open to the use of any enemy, is visionary in the extreme. Under this firm belief I have bottomed all

my operations. Spain had disregarded the treaties existing with the American government, or had not power to enforce them. The Indian Tribes within her Territory and which she was bound to keep at peace had visited our citisens with all the horrors of savage war, Negro Brigands were establishing themselves when and where they pleased, and Foreign Agents were openly and knowingly practising their intrigues in this neutral Territory. The Immutable principles therefore of self defence justified the occupancy of the Floridas and the same principles will warrant the American Government in holding it untill such time as spain can guarantee by an adequate military force the maintaining her authority, within the colony.

A Topographical sketch of the country from the Apalachacola to Pensacola accompanies this. Capt Young will prepare as soon as practicable a Topographical memoir of that part of the Floridas in which my Army has operated, with a map of the Country. Capt Gadsden is instructed to prepare a report on the necessary defences of the country as far as the military reconnaissance he has taken will permit. Accompanied with plans of existing works, what additions or improvements are necessary, and what new works should in his opinion be erected to give permanent security to this important Territorial addition to our Republic. As soon as this report is prepared Capt. G. will receive orders to repair to Washington city, with some other documents which I may wish to confide to his charge.

At the close of a Campaign which has terminated so honorably and happily, it gives me pleasure to express my approbation generally of the Officers and soldiers of every species of Corps which I have had the honor to command. The patience with which they endured fatigue and submitted to privations, and the determination with which they encountered and vanquished every difficulty is the strongest indication of the existance of that patriotic feeling which no circumstances can change and of that irresistable ardour in the defence of their country which will prove her strength and bulwark under any exposure. I should do violence to my feelings if I did not particularly notice the exertions of my Qr Master General Col George Gibson, who under the most embarrassing of circumstances relieved the necessities of my army and to whose exertions was I indebted for the supplies received. His zeal and integrity on this campaign as well as in the uniform discharge of his duties since his connection with my staff merits the approbation and gratitude of his country. ,

With respect

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Nashville, July 14, 1818.

. . . . I trust I have given peace and security to the southern frontier, so long as the goverment retains the positions I have occupied, which is all important to the security of the south. I have had an active campain,

[1] Library of Congress, Jackson-Donelson Correspondence.

and what was to be expected, experienced many privations, I have traversed a country unexplored before by any but the savage and wild beast, the importance of which was not known in the u states—but which will hereafter be duly appreciated. I have, and no doubt you have seen in the news papers, statements, of a differrence between Genl Scott and myself, which probable would end in a personal conflict. whether these *little* publications are made by the instigation of Genl Scott or by some one else to impose upon the Publick mind I know not, but to calm your mind on this subject, I have only to observe, that the last letter I recd from Genl Scott, has put an end to any personal conflict between him and myself, his religion and morallity, is opposed to such a mode of settling personal differences, and after such a declaration, that he should be called on in that way by a brave man cannot be believed. Therefore these publications let them originate from what source the may are intended, to mislead the Publick mind, by holding out an idea that it was expected I would challenge Genl Scott. This, if ever I had, had such intention, the humble, and extraordinary answer of Gen Scott to my letter has put to rest, and has shielded this, vain, pompous nullity, from any personal conflict with me, I therefore hope that these publications will give you no uneasiness. . . . .

President Monroe to Jackson.[1]

Washington, July 19, 1818.

Dear Sir, I received, lately, your letter of June 2nd by Mr. Hambly, at my farm in Loudon, to which I had retired, to await your report and the return of our Commissioners from Buenos Ayres. In reply to your letter, I shall express mysef, with the freedom and candour, which I have invariably used in my communications with you. I shall withhold nothing in regard to your attack of the Spanish posts and occupancy of them, particularly Pensacola, which you ought to know, it being an occurrence of the most delicate and interesting nature, and which without a circumspect and cautious policy, looking to all the objects, which claim attention, may produce the most serious and unfavorable consequences. It is by a knowledge of all the circumstances, and a comprehensive view of the whole subject, that the danger to which this measure is exposed may be avoided, and all the good, which you have contemplated by it, as I trust, be fully realized.[2]

In calling you into active service against the Seminoles, and communicating to you the orders, which had been given just before to Genl. Gaines, the views and intentions of government, were fully disclosed in respect to the operations in Florida. In transcending the limit prescribed

[1] This letter was given to the public in Calhoun's pamphlet against Jackson in February, 1831, and appeared in the *United States Telegraph* for the seventeenth of that month. It was widely reprinted, as showing that Monroe disavowed Jackson's entry into Florida.

[2] The protests of Onis, the Spanish minister in Washington, against Jackson's entry into West Florida began on June 17. They initiated a long correspondence between him and John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State. The able letters of the secretary in defense of Jackson's course constitute the most interesting part of this correspondence. See *Am. St. Papers, For. Aff.*, IV. 495 *et seq.*

by those orders, you acted on your own responsibility, on facts and circumstances, which were unknown to the government, when the orders were given, many of which occurred afterwards, and which you thought imposed on you the measure, as an act of patriotism, essential to the honour and interests of your country.

The U. States stand justified in ordering their troops into Florida in pursuit of their enemy. They have this right by the Law of nations, if the Seminoles were Inhabitants of another country and had entered Florida to elude our pursuit. Being inhabitants of Florida, with a species of Sovereignty over that part of the Territory and a right to the soil, our right to give such an order is the more complete and unquestionable. It is not an act of hostility to Spain. It is the less so, because her government is bound by treaty to restrain by arms, if necessary, the Indians there, from committing hostilities against the U. States.

But an order by the government to attack a Spanish Post, would assume another character. It would authorize war, to which by the principles of our constitution, the Executive is incompetent. Congress alone possess the Power. I am aware, that cases may occur, where the Commanding General, acting on his own responsibility, may with safety pass this limit, and with essential advantage to his country. The officers and troops of the neutral power, forget the obligations, incident to their neutral character; they stimulate the enemy to make war; they furnish them with arms and munitions of war to carry it on; they take an active part in other respects in their favor; they afford them an asylum in their retreat. The general obtaining victory, pursues them to this post, the gates of which are shut against him. He attacks and carries it and rests on those acts for his justification. The affair is then brought before his government, by the power, whose post has thus been attacked and carried. If the government, whose officer made the attack, had given an order for it, the officer would have no merit in it. He exercised no discretion, nor did he act on his own responsibility. The merit of the Service, if there be any in it would not be his. This is the ground, on which this occurrence rests, as to the past I will now look to the future. . . . .[3]

[3] Monroe's attitude on this question is further shown in his letter to C. J. Ingersoll, July 24, 1818 (copy in the Jackson MSS.), in which is the following:

"The fact is, that the General acted without authority, and even against his orders, in the material cercumstance of taking Pensacola. The conduct however of the Spanish officers, is thought to have justified him. They stimulated the Indians to the War, furnished them with munitions of War to carry it on, embarrassed his operations by refusing a passage to his provisions, furnished an assylum, as you state, to a principal chief etc. the facts on which he rests his justification were not known to the Govt. when his orders were given, many of them indeed occurr'd afterwards; tho I do not think, had they been known, or anticipated, that the Executive could have given an order to take the posts. such an order would have been War, and that power belongs exclusively to Congress, in the first instance. To retain the posts, would be as objectionable on principle, as to take them, and might lead to the same consequences. It is therefore thought proper to restore them. But as the Spanish officers are the aggressors, and every thing that has been done is imputable to them, the minister of Spain is informed, that the evidence proving their misconduct, will be embodid, as the ground of an application to his Govt. for their punishment. He is further informed that it is expected, that his Govt. will place a force in Florida, sufficient to fulfill the Stipulation of the treaty of 1795, wherby it is bound, to restrain the Indians from committing hostilities against the U. States.

To Brigadier-General Edmund P. Gaines.[1]

Head Quarters Division of the South, Nashville,
August 7, 1818

Sir, ... I have noted with attention Major Twiggs letter marked No. 5. I contemplated that the Agents of Spain, or the Officers of Fort St Augustine would excite the Indians to hostilities, and furnish them with means. It will be necessary to obtain evidence substantiating the fact, and that the hostile Indians have been fed and furnished from the garrison of Fort St Augustine. This being obtained, should you deem your force sufficient you will proceed, take and garrison with American Troops Fort St Augustine and hold the garrison prisoners, untill you hear from the President of the U States; or transport them to Cuba, as in your judgement, under existing circumstances, you may think best.

Let it be remembered that the proceedings heretofore carried on by me, or this order is not on the ground that we are at War with Spain; it is on the ground of self defence, bottomed on the broad basis of the law of nature and of nations, and justified by giving peace and security to our frontier, hence the necessity of procuring evidence of the fact of the Agents or Officers of Spain having excited the Indians to continue their war against us, and that they have furnished them with the means of carrying on the war: This evidence being obtained, you will (if your force is sufficient), permit nothing to prevent you from reducing Fort St Augustine except a positive order from the Dept of War.

Orders some time since have been given to the Officer of the Ordnance commanding at Charleston to have in readiness a complete battering train. The number and caliber of the guns pointed out: I have no doubt but you will find them in readiness.

I enclose you the report of Capt Henley of the Naval force on that station: you will open a correspondence with Comd A Dallas, to ensure his cooperation provided it should be required.[2]

"There were two courses of proceeding, in direct opposition to each other, and differing, each, from that which has been adopted, one was to hold the posts, and meet the consequences. This was objectionable for the reasons assigned above. The other, not only, to state that no orders had been given for taking them but to bring to trial the officer who took them, for disobedience of orders. If his defense is good, as I think it is there is no ground on which to try him, in regard to Spain. This trial, therefore, would be a tryumph to that power, over a General, who had on his own responsibility, avanged the injuries of his country, and to which triumph his own Govt. would be made instrumental. Such a measure would announce to Spain, that, let her act as she might, Florida was in no danger; we would never take it. It would confirm her in the disposition not to cede it. By avoiding both extremes, we have endeavoured, to turn the incident to the best account we could for our country, and to the credit of the General, without committing a breach of the constitution, or incurring the imputation of it, or furnishing to Spain just cause of war. Should war follow, the Executive will not be responsible for it. It will be the expedient of desperate councils, adopted as the last resource to save their Colonies, in the hope of uniting Europe against us, and then, on the calculation that if the U States, and Spain engage in war, it will soon become General, in favor of Spain. Should war not ensue, it seems p[r]obable, that the multiplied proofs which have been offered, to the Spanish Govt. of the impossibility of fulfilling its engagements to the U States, in regard to Florida, will induce it, to cede the p[r]ovence."

[1] Copy. N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

[2] Capt. John D. Henley, U. S. N., and Comm. Alexander J. Dallas.

I trust before this reaches you you will have destroyed the settlement collected at Sewaney. This can be easily done by a Coup de Main, provided secrecy of your movement be observed, and great expedition of march used. If expedition of movement and great secrecy is not observed you will be discovered and the Enemy will either retreat, or endeavour to ambuscade you, both of which ought to be guarded against.

Have a careful eye to your supplies, on hand, that before they are consumed, others may be ordered and reach you. Without necessary supplies an Army cannot operate with effect. The late scarcity ought to teach a lesson on this head, never to be forgotten. I shall therefore expect that no scarcity will happen at any place, post or garrison intrusted to your care.

I shall expect to hear from you shortly and that you and your Brigade may be successful in all your operations and cover itself with glory is my heartful wish and with this feelings I am very respectfully etc.

To President Monroe.[1]

Head quarters Department of the South Nashville,
August 10, 1818.

D'r Sir. I am informed by a receipt of a lot of letters forwarded to me by the Honble Sec of War, that my dispatches of the 5th of May last from Ft Gadsden have not reached the Department. This I regret, the precaution I used by placing them in the hands of Major Davis Asst. Insp. Genl. I did suppose would have ensured their safe arival he was instructed to take them to the first safe Post Office in the State of Georgia. I have written him on the subject, and directed him to make strict enquiry, how and where the package could have been mislaid or purloined; I only regret its loss as it contained the originals; By Capt Gadsden I forwarded duplicates, and all papers that have relation to, or bearing on the subject to which those dispatches referred.

I have just recd. and forwarded to the Honble Sec of War some letters and extracts, shewing the assemblage of the Negroes and Indians near Ft St Augustine, that the Spaniards have sent them a war talk, that McQueen is seated at the Seewaney, and the Negroes are returning there; I have enclosed him also a copy of my order to Brevet Major Genl Gains, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

These letters shew the continued hostility of Spain towards the U States, by their constant excitements to keep the poor deluded Savage at war with us, and it is certain so long as the Spaniards inhabit the Floridas and an Indian remains within their limits, we cannot expect peace on our frontier, hence the propriety of holding the posts already occupied, and on the proof of the facts stated, to seize Ft St Augustine.

I fondly hope, that Genl Gains by a prompt and well directed movement will destroy and disperse the collection at Seewaney, and possess himself of Ft St Augustine. The Facts being established, self defence, Justified by the laws of nature and of nations will Justify this seizure, the

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

innocent blood of our aged matrons and helpless infants demand it, as by this alone can we give security and peace to our country. Justice would require, that every criter of the Ruthless savage to raise the war hatchet and scalping knife ought to be made to feel the sharpness of its edge: This alone can deter them.

Impressed with the importance of the Posts, that self defence compelled me to occupy in the Floridas for the security of our country, and garrisoned with my troops; the occupancy of which alone can give security to our frontier, and believing that possession of these would never be surrendered unless under a solem guarantee for the fullfilment of existing treaties, I have turned my attention to the defence of our extensive frontier and ordered Capt Gadsden to make out a report upon this subject accompanied with plans of fortifications necessary for its defence. This he has done which is forwarded to the Sec of War and to which, I beg leave to refer you; This report will shew the importance of they floridas to the security of our southern frontier and the safety of the union.

Should the government retain possession of the Floridas, which the united voice of the west demand, The plan of defence recommended, adopted, compleated and garrisoned, with an effective disposable force of 5000 men constantly kept up, I pledge my life that the country from St Marys, westward to Barataria can be defended against the holy alliance and combined Europe.

Permit me to remark, that our first attention ought to be drawn to the speedy erection of those works intended for the defence of our Southern frontier; I understand that Captain Gadsden has been assigned to this duty, he is certainly competant to the full performance of this duty, and that too in a masterly manner, but for the pay and emoluments of a Capt of Engineers, it cannot be expected that he will assume the responsibility thereto attached, undergo the great fatigues necessarily attendant on the superintendance of those works, distant from each other, in an insolubrious climate. I have heard his sentiments on this subject, and altho attached as he is to a military life, he will resign rather than perform this duty for such a compensation, when it is recollected, that on these defences, is to rest the security of our country for ages, a competant, recompence, ought to be given to enlist the best talents in the superintendance of those works, none can be employed in whose talents, industry and integrity, more confidence ought to be reposed than in Capt Gadsden. If I am competant to Judge, the talents of Capt Gadsden are too important to his country to be lost for trifles, should we be involved in a serious war with any European nation, it will be then (should he be in the field) that his merits and talents will be discovered.

Colo. A. P. Hayne has gone on to settle his accounts, and resign his staff appointment. I regret his loss to the army, This can only be repaired by giving Capt Gadsden the appointment, he merits it, and this will insure his remaining in the army. I ask it for him. I do it with a view to the benefit of the service, that the Government may be benefitted, by his talents, his energy, and his [*illegible*] collected bravery, it is necessary this appointment be spedily filled.

My health is greatly impaired, my constitution broken, as soon as the situation of our common country will permit, I have a desire to retire to private life. I fear my health will never again permit me to superintend another campaign. Without health a commanding general never can operate with promptness, energy, and rapidity of movement, which alone can secure success. I have no doubt but the possession of the Floridas will tend to perpetuate peace with Europe, it is by bold strokes of policy accompanied with Justice towards other nations, that shews the world that altho we love peace, we will protect our citizens, and punish duplicity and perfidy, whenever attempted to be practised upon us by foreign governments, which draws forth the admiration of the world, and not a temporising policy, the latter allways leads to war, the former to admiration and respect. I will close this letter with one remark, when you read the report of Capt Gadsden, you will there see the position taken by the British on the appelachecola, their design in taking it, truly marked out which nothing prevented them from attempting to execute, but the creeks being subdued, before their arrival, and the repulse of the British at Mobile. Should we be upon the eve of war with any European nation, the Post occupied should not be surrendered on any account, except under a secure guarantee, agreeable to the Terms of the capitulation. I have the honor to be with sincere respect Yr mo ob serv.

To Isaac Shelby.[1]

Nashville, August 11, 1818.

D'r Sir, I recd. by due course of mail, your last letter and would have replied to it on its receipt, but I was then awaiting the determination of the chikisaw Indians to whom I had written on the subject of meeting us in council on the subject of the treaty proposed to be holden with them,[2] I have just recd. their answer through James Colbert their interpreter, a copy of which I enclose you.

They were very much opposed to meet us, they say they have no lands either to exchange or sell, to which I frankly replied, that their father the President of the u states only asked them for the lands lying north of the southern boundery of the State of Tennessee, that these lands had been sold many years ago, to the citizens of the u. States for a valuable consideration, that the citizens of the u. States had been kept out of possession of those lands, for thirty odd years that the Indians might enjoy the benefit of the game, by hunting thereon—that now the game is destroyed, and it is of no further use to the Indians, they Individual who has Bought and paid for it demand possession of their land, and their father the President will be compelled to give it to them, if he refuses, congress will pass a law, authorizing them to take possession of it, That

[1] Wis. State Hist. Soc., Draper MSS.

[2] May 2, 1818, Jackson and Shelby were appointed commissioners to treaty with the Chickasaw Indians for the purchase of the tribal lands in Tennessee and Kentucky. They met the Indians at Old Town on Oct. 1, and a treaty was signed on Oct. 19, 1818, releasing the Indian title to the parts of Tennessee and Kentucky lying between the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers and the thirty-fifth degree of latitude.

their father the President, foreseeing this, wishes as their friend to arange this business with them by treaty in which will be stipulated to be given them other lands, or a fair consideration for their claim in money. If they should refuse to meet us, and cede the land asked for on the terms proposed, that congress has the right under the Hopewell treaty by law to regulate all the concerns of the Nation that it will exercise this right, on their refusal to treat with us, and take the land allowing the Indians such compensation for their right of occupying this land as hunting ground as congress may deem Just and right—That their father the President as their friend, wishes that this stipulation should be made with the nation in open council by treaty, in which greater liberality will be extended to them than they can expect from congress. This plain language of truth has brought them to their senses, and they have agreed to meet us on the 1st day of October next in the Nation.

I tried to bring them near Nashville then, to the Tennessee river, but all in vain. they will not meet us at any other Point than within the Nation. you being the first named on the commission. I have to ask you to give instructions what will be necessary to be ordered to the point of holding the treaty, As supplies for the commissioners, and the chiefs, and on the event that the contractor will not furnish the supplies, authority to engage some person to do it in whom we can confide—I am unadvised whether the contractor has an agent here, on whom a requisition can be made. If he has, I will find him out, and make a requisition on him for the necessary supplies.

I shall expect you at my house about the middle of September, where I shall calculate on your stay for several days, to rest and refresh yourself, from whence we will set out in due time, and by easy marches reach the place of meeting—from my house it is about two hundred miles. I have wrote to the agent to inform the chiefs we will meet them at the time and place appointed by themselves, towit on the 1st day of October next. Please inform me whether you intend bringing a secretary with you, or whether I shall secure one, Colo. Robert Butler my adjutant General will accompany us in that capacity if it meets your approbation.

I find with those Indians, in their present disposition, we will have to take a high and firm ground, or we will fail in success. We must speak to them in the language of truth, and endeavour to put to rest the oposition of the Colberts, by touching their interest, and feeding their averice. The subject is of great interest to our States, and the cession must be obtained if possible, if not obtained, we must then appeal to the executive to refer it to congress to whom strong remonstrances will be forwarded from this state, and I hope from yours, if the present spirit of the Indians are not checked, by some act of the government shewing them their real state of dependence, in a short time, no cession of land will be obtained from them—They Colberts say, they will part with their lands for the price the u. States gets for theirs. These are high toned sentiments for an Indian and they must be taught to know that they do not possess sovereignety, with the right of domain. . . . .

To President Monroe.[1]

Confidential

Nashville, August 19, 1818.

Sir: Your letter of the 19th July apprising me of the course to be pursued in relation to the Floridas, has been recieved. In a future communication, it is my intention to submit my views of all the questions springing from the subject, with the fullness and candour which the importance of the topic, and the part I have acted in it, demand. At present, I will confine myself to a consideration of a part of your letter which has a particular bearing on myself, and which seems to have originated in a misconception of the import of the order, under which I commenced the Seminole Campaign. In making this examination, I will use all the freedom which is courted by your letter; and which I deem necessary to afford you a clear view of the construction which was given to the order and the motives under which I proceeded to execute its intentions.

It is stated in the second paragraph of your letter, that I *transcended the limits of my orders*, and that I *acted on my own responsibility*. To these two points, I mean at present to confine myself. But, before entering on the proofs of their inapplicability to my acts in Florida, allow me fairly to state, that the assumption of responsibility will never be shrunk from, when the public interest can be thereby promoted. I have passed through difficulties and exposures for the honor and benefit of my country, and whenever still, for this purpose, it shall become necessary to assume a further liability, no scruple will be urged or felt. But when it shall be required of me to do so, and the result shall be danger and injury to that country, the inducement will be lost and my consent will be wanting.

This principle is held to be incontrovertible—that an order, generally, to perform a certain service, or effect a certain object, without any specification of the means to be adopted, or the limits to govern the executive officer—leaves an *entire discretion* with the officer, as to the choice and application of means, but preserves the responsibility, for his acts, in the authority from which the order emanated. Under such an order, *all the acts* of the inferior are the acts of the Superior—and in no way, can the subordinate officer be impeached for his measures, except on the score of deficiency in judgment and skill. It is also a grammatical truth that the limits of such an order cannot be *transcended* without an entire desertion of the objects it contemplated. For as long as the main, legitimate design is kept in view, the *policy* of the measures, adopted to accomplish it, is alone to be considered.

If these be adopted as the proper rules of construction, and we apply them to my order of Dec: 26, it will be at once seen, that, both in description and operative principle, they embrace that order exactly. The requisitions of this order are, for the Comg Genl. to assume the immediate command at Fort Scott—to concentrate all the contiguous and disposable force of the Division upon that quarter, to call on the Executives of adjacent states for an auxiliary militia force and concludes with this general,

[1] This letter was published by Calhoun in the *United States Telegraph*, Feb. 17, 1831, and from that paper widely reprinted. It is also in *Niles' Register*, XL. 21.

comprehensive command—" With this view, you may be prepared to concentrate your forces, and adopt the *necessary measures* to terminate a conflict which it has ever been the desire of the President, from motives of humanity, to avoid, but which is now made necessary by their settled hostilities."

In no part of this document, is there a reference to any previous order, either to myself or another officer, with a view to point out to me the measures thought advisable, or the limits of my power in choosing and effecting them. It states that Gen: Gaines had been ordered to Amelia island; and then proceeds to inform me that " subsequent orders have been given to Gen: Gaines (of which copies *will be* furnished you) that you would be directed to take the Command and directing him to reassume, should he deem the public interest to require it, the command at Fort Scott untill you should arrive there "—lastly, it mentions that " he was instructed to penetrate to the Seminole Towns through the Floridas, provided the strength of his command at Amelia, would justify his engaging in offensive operations.

The principle determining the weight of *references*, in subsequent orders, to instructions previously given, is well settled. Such references are usually made with one of these two intentions. Either the order is given to a second officer, to effect a certain purpose, which was intended to be effected by another officer, and the instructions of the first are refered to as the guide of the second—or the order contains, and is designed for an extension of authority, and only refers to anterior communications to give a full view of what has been previously attempted and performed. In the first case, it is always necessary to connect the different orders by a specific provision—that no doubt may exist as to the extent of the command; and thus, the several requisitions and instructions are amalgamated, and the limits of the agent plainly and securely established. In the second, no such provision is necessary—for an entire discretion in the choice and use of means being previously vested—the reference, if there be any, is only descriptive of the powers antecedently given and the results of measures attempted under such specified limitation.

But admitting that in my order of Dec 26, there is such a reference as I contemplate in the first case—allow me to examine its character and amount. It is stated that " orders have been given to Gen: Gaines (copies of which *will be* furnished you)" but without affirming that they are to be considered as binding me, or in any way connected with the comprehensive command that I should " terminate the Seminole conflict." On the contrary, so far are they from being designated as my guide and limit in entering Florida, that in stating their substance, in the ensuing sentence, no allusion whatever is made either to *means* or *limitation.*

How then, can it be said, with propriety, that I have *transcended the limits* of *my orders* or *acted on my own responsibility*? My order was as comprehensive as it could be, and contained neither minute original instructions, nor a reference to others, previously given, to guide and govern me. The fullest discretion was left with me in the selection and application of means to effect the specified, legitimate objects of the

Campaign; and for the exercise of a sound discretion, on principles of policy, am I alone responsible. But allow me to repeat, that responsibility is not feared by me if the General good requires its assumption. I never have shrunk from it, and never will—but against its imposition on me contrary to principle, and without the prospect of any politic result, I must contend with all the feelings of a soldier and a citizen.[2] Being advised that you are at your country seat in Louden, where I expect this will reach you, I enclose you a copy of the order to me of the 26th Decbr. 1817, and copies of the orders to Genl Gains therein refered to; from a perusal of which, you will perceive that the order to me, has no reference to those prohibitory orders to Genl Gains, that you have refered to.

It will afford me pleasure to aid the Govert, in procuring any Testimony that may be necessary to prove the hostility of the officers of Spain to the united states. I had supposed that the evidence furnished had established that fact, that the officers of Spain had Identified themselves with our enemy, and that St Marks and Pensacola were under the compleat controle of the Indians, altho the Governor of Pensacola at least, had force sufficient to have controled the Indians, had he choose to have used it in that way—for the purpose of procuring the necessary evidence of the hostile acts of the Govr. of Pensacola, I dispatched Capt Young Topo. Engineer, and as soon as obtained will be furnished you.

I trust on a view of all my communications (copies of which have been forwarded you by Capt Gadsden) you will find that they do not bear the construction you have given them. They were written under bad health, great fatigue, and in great haste—my bad health continues, I labour under great bodily debility. Accept assurances of my sincere reguard and Esteem and am respectfully

yr m[o] ob servt

To Isaac Shelby.[1]

Nashville, August 25, 1818.

. . . . Since writing to you of date 11th instant I have recd. from the Sec. of War a letter advising me that the necessary funds have been sent on to the agent to pay the anuities, and sums due to the chikesaw Nation under the treaty of 1807, and directing these sums to be immediately paid unless directed by you and myself to be witheld untill the treaty. Believing that great advantage might result from so large a sum being distributed, at the time of the treaty, as well as a great saving of expense to the government, I have wrote the agent to pospone the payment of the annuity to the first of October next—This will ensure us a full delegation from the Nation. I asked the question in mine of the 11th whether you would bring on with you a Secretary, if not that Colo. Butler adjt.-Genl. of the Southern Division would accompany us in that capacity.

I have to request that you will take my house on your way to Nashville where I shall expect to see you about the middle of September next

[2] From this place to the end the handwriting is Jackson's. The whole letter seems to be a draft.

[1] Wis. State Hist. Soc., Draper MSS.

where I hope you will rest and refresh yourself and horses, and from whence we will set out and reach the place assigned for holding the treaty by easy marches I endeavored to bring the Indians near Nashville, disappointed in this I pressed them to meet us at the Tennessee—This they declined, and wishing to avoid meeting us at all, they appointed time and place in the Nation. I have no doubt, but they had first determined not to meet us, I wrote them fully, stating what I believed, truths that they ought to know which I believe brought them to reflection, and their senses; to effect the object of our commission we must take a high and firm ground.

I shall expect you and your companions at my house about the middle of next month, I have and still am in bad health.

I am sir with great Esteem and respect

GOVERNOR RABUN TO JACKSON.

MILLEDGEVILLE, September 1, 1818.

Sir, I have lately had the honor to receive your letter of the 1st. Ultimo. I supposed that our correspondence on this subject had finally terminated, but a renewal on your part has induced me to make this reply. I find that the same angry disposition which (no doubt) dictated your letter of the 7th of May last, is still rankling within your breast. It is very certain, that I have never intentionally assailed your feelings, or wantonly provoked your frowns, and I flatter my self, that it is equally certain, that I shall never find it necessary to court your smiles.

"You are not disposed to enter into a controversy with me, relative to our respective duties, but recommend an examination of the Laws of our Country before I again hazard an opinion on the subject." Your advice is very good, and should be attended to (at least) by all public officers. I hope you will now permit me in turn to recommend to you, that before you undertake to prosecute another Campaign, you examine the orders of your superiors with more attention than usual. You assert, "that the better part of the Community know too well, that they have nothing to apprehend from a Military despotism;" and in proof of this assertion it might have been well to have Called my attention to your late proceedings at St. Marks and Pensacola, as affording Conclusive evidence on that point.

The situation of our bleeding frontier you say, *"was magnified by the apprehensions of a few frontier settlers, and those who had not understanding enough to penetrate into the design of your operations."* Indeed sir, we had expected that your presence at the head of an overwhelming force, would have afforded Complete protection of our bleeding and distressed Citizens bordering on an extensive and unprotected frontier, but our prospect was only delusive; for it would seem that the laurels expected in Florida was the object that excelerated your march far more than the protection of the *"ignorant"* Georgians. If *"Colo. Hayne and his 3 or 400 Tennesseans made a movement for the security of the pretended assailed front of Georgia"*, it certainly was a very unsuccessful one.

When you shall have explained to me by what authority you sent Major Davis into this state, with orders to apprehend Capt: Wright (who was not under your Command) and place him in Irons etc. then I shall deem it my duty to explain the motives which induced me to call for a reinforcement from Fort Early.

I am Sir, Yours etc.

SECRETARY CALHOUN TO JACKSON.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, September 8, 1818.

. . . . I concur in the view which you have taken in relation to the importance of Florida, to the effectual peace and security of our Southern frontier, and such, I believe, is the opinion of every member of the administration. In fact, the grounds assumed, are very far from being feeble. St. Marks will be retained until Spain shall be ready to garrison it with a sufficient force; and Fort Gadsden and any other position in East or West Florida within the Indian country, which may be deemed eligible, will be retained so long as there is any danger; which, it is hoped, will afford the desired security. We ought, it is true, never to resort to timid measures to avoid war; but it appears to me, that a certain degree of caution (not from the fear of the Holy Alliance) ought, at this time, to mark our policy. A war with Spain, were it to continue with her alone, and were there no great neutral powers to avail themselves of the opportunity of embarrassing us, would be nothing; but such a war would not continue long without involving other parties, and it certainly would in a few years be an English war. In such a war, I would not fear for the fate of our country; but, certainly, if it can be prudently and honorably avoided for the present, it ought to be. We want time; time to grow, to perfect our fortifications, to enlarge our navy, to replenish our Depots, and pay our debts. I speak to you frankly, knowing your zeal for our country, with whose glory yours is now identified. No one, who has examined my political course, will, I am sure, think that these opinions are influenced by timid council. . . . .

I have the honor to be,

THE GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA (WILLIAM W. BIBB) TO JACKSON.[1]

COOSADA, October 1, 1818.

Dear sir: Being absent from St Stephens I had not the pleasure of seeing Capt Young or of aiding him in his enquiries respecting the late indian depredations. I have also to regret that, having taken no copy of my letter addressed to you from Fort Crawford, it is not in my power to comply with your request.

That the indians obtained at Pensacola the means of prosecuting their hostile incursions on our frontier I am as perfectly convinced, as that they murdered our inhabitants. I presume however that Capt Young has procured all the evidence which it would be in my power to afford.

1 William W. Bibb was governor of Alabama 1817 to 1820.

The fact appeared to be so notorious that I had not supposed a doubt would be entertained upon the subject. I was informed, (and I apprehend it may be clearly established) that the party by which Stokes was murdered within less than twenty miles of Claiborne, were seen soon afterwards at Pensacola disposing of their plunder. Their trace was pursued by the detachment ordered into service at the time, towards the Florida line, and their paths were frequently found leading in the same direction from their hiding places on the Alabama. A circumstance has lately occurred, which furnishes strong proof that the neighboring Spanish territory has hitherto afforded an Assylum for the enemy. Within two months the party which has done most of the mischief in the neighborhood of Fort Dade had acquired an accession of numbers, and a few weeks since a competent militia force was ordered against them. In some way they became apprized of the expedition, and instead of retreating to Florida as formerly, they crossed the Alabama and Black Warrior, murdered a family on their route, and are probably on their way to the west side of the Mississippi. This movement I attribute to our possession of Pensacola.

You probably have seen the correspondence which passed between the Governor of Pensacola and Major Youngs, in which the former asserts his total ignorance untill that moment, that our frontier had been attacked. The assertion cannot be true. The constant intercourse between our inhabitants and the people of Pensacola, renders it impossible that any one there, should be ignorant on a subject which excited so much concern.[2]

I am Sir with high respect.

[2] The following deposition by William Pierce, of the Fort Stoddert region, Oct. 4, 1818, adds the evidence of an experienced and influential frontiersman to what has already been given on the aid of the Spaniards to the Indians:

"The deposition of William Pierce of the County of Baldwin in the Alabama Territory, taken before Harry Toulmin, one of the Judges of the said Territory, on the 4th day of October in the year 1818.

"About the month of July 1813 we received news that 300 indians had gone down to Pensacola to obtain ammunition for the purpose of making war. I was requested by my fellow citizens to go down for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. I reached Pensacola and found that there were 300 hostile Indians in that town. I applied to the indian interpreter to know whether they were to receive ammunition or not. He told me that the Indians had applied to the governor for it, for the purpose of going to war with the United States: and that they were to have the big talk on the next day when it was to be decided whether they should receive ammunition or not. The talk took place. I applied in the evening to the Interpreter, and he told me that the governor had decided that they should have ammunition. After that I left town immediately, in order to inform the citizens that the Indians were to receive ammunition, as it was expected that they would attack the settlement immediately. Soon after this event Fort Mims was attacked by the Indians: and no doubt can be entertained but that their success was owing to the supplies they obtained at Pensacola. Some time after this, in the course of the same winter, I was requested by the commanding officer to visit Pensacola again, for the purpose of ascertaining the number of Indians then in that place. I found a number of the war party, and soon learned that about thirty of them had painted themselves, and were leaving town for the purpose of waylaying every path by which I might go from the town to the American settlements.

"I staid there two days, and afterwards in the dead hour of night left Pensacola, under the conduct of a pilot, who took me through the woods, in sight of the Indian fires, but by avoiding paths, conducting me safely beyond their reach. During the following spring, I was in town again and found two or three hundred of them, amongst whom was M'Queen, the prophet Francis and other conspicuous chiefs of the hostile party. It is

To George W. Campbell.[1]

Chekisaw Nation, Treaty Ground, October 5, 1818

D'r Sir. I know you will be astonished, at receiving an answer to your very friendly letter of the 22d July last at this distant day and from this place—your letter came to hand by due course of mail, but found me sick in bed, that I could not comply with your request or my own wishes, by giving it a speedy answer It was some time before I recovered so as to use a pen, and when I did, I found myself surrounded by letters and communications relative to my official duties, that occupied my whole time, that I was able to attend to business untill the arival of Governor Shelby of Kentuckey with whom I was joined in commission, to hold a Treaty with this nation for a surrender of their right to all lands within the States of Tennessee and Kentuckey. we arived here on the 29th ult. and found everything wrong, an agent unacquainted with Indians, the Geography of the country, or even what was the wishes of the Government, and not half the nation notified of the time or place of meeting—runners have gone to all parts of the nation to collect them, we are awaiting there arival, and I am thereby afforded a leisure moment, to answer your friendly letter.

It affords me much pleasure to see the polite attention of the Eastern people towards you. this shews a spirit of harmoney towards the southern and western people, that I hope will grow into permanent harmony between the two interests, and that violence of party spirit and bickering will cease to exist in our happy country.

On the subject of my taking Pensacola, I regret that the Government, had not furnished you with a copy of my report from Fts. Gadsden and Montgomery, this would have given you a full view of the whole Ground. you are advised of the situation of our Southern frontier, when I was ordered to take the field and "put a speedy end to the conflict with the Seminoles" etc etc. our frontier when I reached it was reeking with the blood of our women and children, and the masacre of Ft Scott. when I reached Ft Scott I found it out of supplies, and no alternative left me, but to abandon the campaign or to force my way to the bay of Appelachecola, and risque meeting supplies I had ordered from N. Orleans I choose the latter—and succeeded—having obtained eight days rations for my men I immediately marched on Mickasookey where the strength of the enemy was collected, first apprising the Govr. of Pensacola the reason why I had entered the floridas, to wit, not as the enemy but as the friend

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my full persuasion that they were supplied by the Spaniards through the whole of the war. They were perpetually coming up and committing depredations on the property of American citizens, particularly destroying and carrying off their cattle, and then returning immediately to Pensacola. This indeed has also been the case since the war. As to any particular instances of countenance given to the Seminolee indians during the present war, none have fallen under my observation: but it is a matter of general notoriety that parties of Indians have destroyed cattle and other property as well as killed our citizens above the Spanish line, and then taken refuge below it.

"Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th Octr. 1818

"Harry Toulmin, Judge of the Alaba. Terry."

[1] The original of this letter is in the collection of the St. Louis Mercantile Library. In 1818 Campbell was minister to Russia.

of Spain, as Spain had acknowledged her incapacity through her weakness to control the Indians within her territory and keep them at peace with the United States, Self Defence justified our entering her Territory, and doing that for her which she had bound herself to do by solem Treaty. that as I was engaged fighting the Battles of Spain, I had a right, and did calculate on receiving all the facilities in the power of the agents of Spain, that would aid me in putting a speedy end to the war, advising the Governor in the same letter that I had ordered supplies up the Escambia for my army to Ft Crawford, which I trusted would be permitted to pass unmolested, and without any delay occasioned by the agents of Spain. but should I be disappointed in my expectations of the friendly disposition of the agents of Spain, or should my supplies be interrupted by them, I should view it as an act of war and treat it accordingly.

I recd an answer to this friendly letter, a positive declaration that my provisions should not pass, the supplies were by the Governor seized at Pensacola under a demand of Transit duties, and my whole army thereby made subject to starvation, and which I never got untill I entered Pensacola. I proceeded against Mickasookey routed and dispersed the enemy, Taking some prisoners from whom I learned, that the Indians recd all their supplies of ammunition from St Marks thirty miles distant, that the noted and notorious villain—Francis the prophet and his party had retired to St Marks with all his Booty taken from Ft Scott and McQueen and his party had retired there also, that the ballance of the Indians had fled to the Negroes on the Suwaney river, I was also informed by the Governor of Pensacola, through Captains Call and Gordon, that he expected St Marks was in the hands of the Indians and Negroes, as they had made demand of large supplies, which the commandant was not able to compy with, and he was unable to defend the Fort as soon as I had collected the corn and cattle for the supply of my Troops, I marched on St Marks When I reached there I found, that Francis and party had been in the Ft, that the garrison had been supplied with the cattle stolen from our frontier, that the Public stores were the granaries of our enemy, and that the Indians had been supplied with all kind of munitions of war by the Commandant, and that the notorious Arbuthnot was then in the garrison. I demanded possession of the garrison, to be possessed by my Troops during the war and untill Spain could reinforce it with as many troops as would insure the safety of our frontier and a fullfilment of the Treaty with the U. States on the part of Spain, this was refused me. I saw across St Marks river the smoke of my enemy delay was out of the Question, I seized Arbuthnot in the garrison and took possession of it. The noted Francis, who had just returned with a Brigadier Genl commission, a good Rifle and snuf box presented by the Prince Regent had been captured the day before with four of his followers, by Capt McKeever whose vessell they had vissitted, mistaking it for a vessell expected from england with supplies for the Indians as he stated. I ordered him and his principle chief to be hung, and marched the next day for Suwaney where I routed the Indians and Negroes, Took Ambrister a British officer,

who headed the Negroes [and] Arbuthnots Schooner, with all their papers which led to the conviction and execution of Arbuthnot and Capt Ambrister both of whom was executed under Sentence of a court martial at St Marks.

I returned to Ft Gadsden when proposing to disband the militia force, I recd information that five hundred and fifty Indians had collected in Pensacola, was fed by the Governor, and a party furnished by the Govr had Issued forth and in one night slaughtered eighteen of our citizens, and that another party had with the knowledge of the Governor and being furnished by him went out publickly, murdered a Mr Stockes and family and had in open day returned to Pensacola and sold the Booty amongst which was the cloathing of Mrs Stokes. This Statement was corroborated by a report of Gov. Bibb, I was also informed that the provisions I had ordered for the supply of Ft Crawford and my army on board the U States Schooner Amelia was seized and delivered at Pensacola. With a small detachment of regulars and six hundred Tennesseans I marched from Pensacola, whilst on my march thither I was met by a protest of the Governor of Pensacola, ordering me out of the Floridas, or he would oppose force, to force and drive me out of the Territory of Spain This bold Measure of the Governor, who had alledged weakness as the cause of his non fulfilment of the treaty with the U States, when united with the facts stated, and which then I had positive proof, that at that time a large number of the hostile Indians were then in Pensacola who I had dispersed East of the Apelachecola unmasked the duplicity of the Governor and his having aided and abetted the Indians in the war against us, I hastened my steps, entered Pensacola, Took possession of my supplies—the Governor had fled from the city to the Barancos, where he had strongly fortified himself. I demanded possession of the garrison to be held by American Troops untill a gurantee should be given for the fullfilment of the treaty and the safety of the frontier, this was denyed. I approached the Barancos with one 9 lb. peace and 5, 8/10 Inch howitzer, the[y] opened their batteries upon me it was returned spiritedly, and with two pieces against forty odd mounted of 24 down, the white flag went up in the Evening and the capitulation entered into which you have seen This time I had my ladders ready to go over the wall, which I believe the garrison discovered, and was afraid of a night attack and surrendered, When the flag was hoisted the[y] had three hundred effectives in the garrison. This number of americans could have kept it from combined Urope There was one Indian wounded in the garrison, and the others were sent out in the night across the bay before I got possession.

Thus Sir I have given you a concise statement of the facts, and all I regret is that I had not stormed the works captured the Gov. put him on his trial for the murder of Stokes and his family and hung him for the Deed I could adopt no other way to "*put an end to the war*" but by possessing myself of the strong hold that was an asylum to the enemy, afforded them the means of offence, the officers of Spain having by their acts Identified themselves with our enemy, become such, and by the law of nations subjected themselves to be treated as such. self defence

justified me in every act I did, I will stand justified before god and all urope and I regret that our government, has extended the courtesy to Spain of withdrawing the troops from Pensacola before Spain gave a gurantee for the fulfilment of the Treaty and the safety of our frontier, it was an act of courtesy that nothing but the insignificence and weakness of Spain can excuse but it is not my province to find fault with the acts of the government; but it may have reason to repent of her clemency.

Make a tender to your lady of my sincere respects and best wishes for her happiness and reserve for yourself an expression of my unfeigned friendship and Esteem and remain respectfully

yr mo. ob. serv.

P. S. My eyes are weak and my hand trembles—I am still weak and much debilitated, nothing but the hope of being serviceable to the wishes of my Government and interest of the state of Tennessee could have induced me to have undertaken the journey—A. J.

President Monroe to Jackson.[1]

Washington, October 20, 1818.

Dear Sir, I received your letter of the 19th of August, while I was at home, on my farm in Albemarle, and their appearing to be no necessity for giving it an immediate answer, I delayed it until my return here.

I was sorry to find, that you understood your instructions, relative to operations in Florida, differently, from what we intended. I was satisfied however, that you had good reason for your conduct and have acted in all things on that principle. By supposing, that you understood them as we did, I concluded, that you proceeded on your own responsibility alone, in which, knowing the purity of your motives, I have done all that I could to justify the measure. I well knew also the misconduct of the Spanish authorities in that quarter, not of recent date only. Finding that you had a different view of your power, it remained only to do justice to you on that ground. Nothing can be further from my intentions, than to expose you to a responsibility, in any sense, which you did not contemplate.

The best course to be pursued, seems to me to be, for you to write a letter to the Department of war, in which you will state, that having reason to think, that difference of opinion existed between you and the executive, relative to the extent of your powers, you thought it due to yourself to state your view of them, and on which you acted. This will be answered, so as to explain ours, in a friendly manner by Mr. Calhoun, who has very just and liberal sentiments on the subject. This will be necessary in case of a call for papers by Congress, or may be. Thus we shall all stand on the ground of honour, each doing justice to the other, which is the ground, on which we wish to place each other. . . . .[2]

[1] This letter was published in the *United States Telegraph,* Feb. 17, 1831, and republished in many newspapers. It is in *Niles' Register,* XL. 22.

[2] Replying Nov. 15, 1818, Jackson cited the closing paragraph of his report to the Secretary of War, May 5, 1818. He then added: "The moment, therefore, that you assume the ground that I transcend my power, the letter referred to above will, at once, unfold to your mind the view I had taken of them, and make manifest the difference of

Jackson and Isaac Shelby to Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, October 30, 1818.

Sir: We had the pleasure on the 23d inst. to address you, in which we made known to you that on the 19th we had the good fortune to conclude a treaty with the Chickasaw nation of Indians, by which they have ceded to the United States all claim or title to the land within the States of Kentucky and Tennessee.

To show you the disposition of the Indians and the determination of the Chiefs, neither to exchange or sell any part of their land, before we entered the Nation or met them in council; we beg leave to refer you to the letter of James Colbert of the 17th July, 1818 in answer to one written by Genl. Jackson on behalf of the Commissioners, announcing to the Nation that we had been appointed by the President of the United States to treat with the Chickasaw Nation for a purchase or exchange of land; which letter is herewith enclosed, and marked A. and to show you how we managed this discussion from its commencement, we beg leave to refer you to General Jackson's letter of the 24th of July,[2] written in behalf of the Commissioners marked B, which induced Major James Colbert, the interpreter of the nation to write the General of date the 8th of August appointing the time and place for holding the treaty, which communication is marked C, and to which we beg leave to refer you.

We reached the Treaty Ground on the 29th Sept. and for a detailed account of our whole proceedings pending this negociation we beg leave to refer you to the journal signed by Col: Robert Butler, our Secretary and approved by us, which document accompanies the treaty, and will be handed to you by Col Robert Butler whom we have charged with its safe delivery, and for which service we hope you will allow him the pay of Secretary and his expenses; we could not think of trusting so valuable a paper to the conveyance of a mail.

You will see from the documents referred to, that we soon found (to be successful) we must address ourselves to their fears and indulge their avarice. The goods subject to our control would not answer this purpose, and if they had they could not have been used without discovery, nor were they with the amount for which we were authorized to draw sufficient to obtain the object; the Chiefs knew the value of the land we asked for, and in consequence of this knowledge set a higher price upon

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opinion that exists. Indeed there are no data at present upon which such a letter as you wish written to the secretary of war can be bottomed. I have no ground that a difference of opinion exists between the government and myself, relative to the powers given me in my orders, unless I advert either to your private and confidential letters, or the public prints, neither of which can be made the basis of an official communication to the secretary of war. Had I ever, or were I now to receive an official letter from the secretary of war, explanatory of the light in which it was intended by the government that my orders should be viewed, I would with pleasure give my understanding of them." See Calhoun's pamphlet against Jackson published in 1831 in *Niles' Register,* XL. 22. Also in Parton's *Jackson,* II. 525.

[1] Copy.

[2] In stating the objects for which the commissioners were appointed to make the treaty, Calhoun wrote to Jackson, May 2, 1818, saying, "The President anticipates from your weight of character and knowledge of the Indians that the object in view will be effected". For the treaty see Kappler's *Indian Treaties,* II. 174.

it themselves. The Colberts wielded the Nation and of course laid several hundred per cent on their own influence. The reserves suggested themselves to us. There were Citizens whose interests in obtaining the cession was such as made them willing to advance on the reserve, but we thought it best to hold an election in the Government, and if it choose to make the advance, an assignment will be made on the Deed, which will be admitted to record in the County wherein the land lies, but if the Government does not approve of this measure, the Deed is to be delivered to James Jackson of Nashville, to whom it is made, who will advance the sum drawn for. We would suggest that Martin Colbert goes on to the City to await the ratification of the Treaty. Genl. Jackson has assured him that as soon as the ratification of the treaty takes place Mr. Thomas Kirkman will advance him the goods, and has instructed Mr. James Jackson to advise him accordingly. We can assure you that without this do[u]ceur we could not have obtained the treaty, and we have placed the land reserved, in a better state for the benefit of society, and the individual advancing the amount is willing to retain it, if the executive should think proper to make that election.[3]

You will perceive by the transaction that we created a fund out of their own property to bring over the influence of the Nation and obtain this cession so important to the United States and to the Western World, for the strength of the population of the Country ceded will be sufficient for the defence of the West in the event of war in that Country, and the report of Major Lewis will show its extent and immense value. We trust you will see in our procedure all our genius and efforts used to obtain the object of our mission, and the means used by which we obtained success, we hope will be approved by the President.

The goods forwarded to the Bluff subject to our order we have agreeable to the instru[c]tions contained in your letter of the 29th of September, relative to those goods for the Annuity furnished Mr. Baleo, Sub factor with an extract, and directed him to hold them, subject to the Order of Mr. Mc. Kinney Superintendent of Indian Affairs we will conclude by remarking that there is a great saving by paying the Annuity in money, the enumeration being made the amount can be divided into shares as has been done at the last payment, be placed in the hands of the four Chiefs of the four different Departments, who can assemble

[3] In the treaty certain lands are reserved to George and Levi Colbert. It seems to be the meaning of the writers of this letter that these lands could be had by the government to be set up in the ceded region if it chose—or if not James Jackson would take them. In either case the Colberts would receive a sum of money. Another "douceur" was that James Colbert, interpreter, should be paid $1089.00, "it being the amount of a sum of money taken from his pocket in the month of June, 1816, at the theatre in Baltimore".

By article 4 of the treaty a tract four miles square, on which was a salt lick, was reserved to Levi Colbert and James Brown, two chieftains, for the use of the nation. They leased this reservation to Jackson's close friend, Maj. Wm. B. Lewis, for 199 years, Lewis agreeing to pay the Indians 750 bushels of salt annually. The transaction afterwards was the occasion of much criticism, part of which fell on Jackson. The lease is preserved in the Tennessee State Library at Nashville, and with it is a memorandum signed by Colbert and Brown and dated Jan. 11, 1819, authorizing Lewis to enter on the said tract in pursuance of his lease. For subsequent history, *cf.* also Jackson to Eaton Nov. 29, 1819, p. 443, n. 1, *post.*

the Indians of their respective Departments in their own neighbourhoods, and distribute the same to them without its costing the United States a single ration, when an annuity in goods will cost them half the amount of the goods in rations, and the poor of the Nation receive but little benefit therefrom, as there is always a great proportion of the goods lost or wasted as will be found in the instance of the goods lately sent on.

We are Sir, Very respectfully Your Obt. Servants

John H. Eaton to Jackson.[1]

Senate Chamber, November 20, 1818.

. . . . I wrote you a hasty scrawl a few days since enclosing the message of the President; it is full upon the Florida question; and standing as a public and official document before the world justifying and defending every thing done by you in that quarter, cannot on your part be considered otherwise than satisfactory and calculated to lull all the strong murmurings of your enemies. It is true he does not alledge that your orders prohibited the course you pursued; nor indeed could he go so far, after having ordered a redelivery of the Province in contravention of the treaty of Pensacola; yet he declares it the only course you could have taken with a view to the object before you, founded in necessity, and warranted by the outrages of the savages who were exerted and urged on by the agents of Spain. The message certainly breaths strong hostility towards Spain; and points to rupture as strongly as the equivocal character of a modern state paper can. It is to me strange however if such be the end to which the President points, that he had not retained the posts untill the meeting of Congress, rather than to deliver them up, and then recommend a course which if adopted at once creates the necessity of retaking them

We have not yet gotten to business; a few days more will organise and arrange matters, and then something of bustle and noise may be expected. I am pursuaded so far as I have data on which to found an opinion that Congress will be disposed to go farther than the message has done in relation to Florida The affair will be brought up, and every thing in regard to it fully elicited; for it is a matter seemingly of general interest Such is my opinion at present, tho yr. experience in legislative matters is sufficient to assure you how little is to be relied on conjectures as to what a deliberative assembly may do . . . .

To Isaac Shelby.[1]

Hermitage, November 24, 1818.

D'r Sir, I reached home on the 12th instant, having gratified my friends in the A[labama] Territory by the purchase of a section of land south of the Tennessee on the Military road between the river and big spring— This Section I bought at two dollars pr acre, no person bidding against

[1] Eaton had just entered the Senate, in which he represented Tennessee till 1829; Secretary of War 1829-1831.

[1] Wis. State Hist. Soc., Draper MSS.

me, and as soon as bid off, hailed by the unanimous shouts of a numerous and mixed Multitude—This on the eve of my retiring from all public appointment, I am compelled to say was gratefying as it was an approval of my official acts, and that too at a time when I was about to intermingle with them as a private citizen, and after they had full time to deliberate on all my official acts—

On the 20th the citizens of Nashville and its vicinity gave myself and Staff a Ball in commemoration of the late Chekesaw Treaty where I had the pleasure to see your Portrait suspended at the head of the assembly room and I was gratified to find that Mr. Earl [2] had been so fortunate—for I can with truth say that there never came from the hands of an artist a better likeness, I hope you reached home in good health, and has had a happy meeting with your family, finding them enjoying good health.

Present me to your Son Major Thomas Shelby respectfully, and altho unacquainted to your amiable lady and family, and believe me to be with due respect and Esteem

Yr Mo. ob. Serv.

To President Monroe.[1]

Hermitage, December 7, 1818.

Dear sir: I have just received your message to both Houses of Congress, forwarded by you, and have read it with great attention and satisfaction.[2] The Florida question being now fairly before Congress, I hope that body will take measures to secure our southern frontier from a repetition of massacre and murder.

From the report of Colonel King, received and forwarded to the Department of War, you will discover that the Indians had concentrated their forces on the Choctaw Hotchy, which gave rise to the affair between them and Captain Boyles, which Colonel King reports.

The collection of the Indians is said to have taken place at this point on their hearing that Pensacola was to be restored to Spain, and that the Indians have declared they will never submit to the United States. If this be the fact, and as to myself I have no doubt, so soon as Spain is in the possession of Pensacola, we may expect to hear of a renewal of all the horrid scenes of massacre on our frontier that existed before the campaign, unless Captain Boyles, on his second visit, may be fortunate enough to destroy this operation, which, you may rely, springs from foreign excitement. . . . .

[2] Ralph Earl, who married a niece of Mrs. Jackson, and painted many portraits of the general.

[1] Parton's *Jackson*, II. 526.

[2] With the message went a number of documents relating to "the Defeat of the Seminole Indians". See *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2d sess., appendix, pp. 2136 to 2379. Feb. 22, 1819, the President submitted to the Senate the treaty with Spain, accompanying it with many documents, some of them relating to the invasion of Florida by Jackson. *Ibid.*, pp. 1818-2136, *passim*.

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, December 14, 1818.

D'r Genl. . . . . I wrote you on Sunday last, in which I steped forth into the field of conjecture as regarded many things. As others are brought to light you shall hear from me. You enquire if your presence should be here. I have frequently thought upon business and this has been my conclusion: that I would be glad you were with us; if the inclemencies of the journey could be dispensed with. But again you must and do know that here are little finesses and cunning practiced a knowledge of which to you if here would excite the warmth of your feelings and lead to improper results. Were you present, and could stand aloof, cool collected and unruffled by what might be said by the little glow worms of others I should be highly gratified but knowing that this would by no means be congenial to your temper of feeling and mind think it best for you to be absent, knowing and believing that you have friends here that so far as their feeble powers may go, will bring forth to the world an unvarnished view of all things. . . . .

Colonel Robert Butler to Jackson.

Washington, December 15, 1818.

D'r General, I yesterday read you letter to Doctor Bronaugh with considerable interest, and we have previously determined that a state of things might exist here which would render your presence necessary—we have much rumor that Georgia and New York have joined forces, and determined to injure the administration if possible on the Florida Question. There has been much warmth already manifested, but I think it is now subsiding, on the documents being given to the world. If this attempt is made you are to be the wounded instrument on the occasion. This party is very few, and from the preparations making I think they will get lashed in the house beyond endurance. It is desirable you should jump into the stage and come on for several reasons.[1] It is said Genl. Brown will be here, and much intrigue will be on foot in relation to the army. . . . .

John Rhea to Jackson.

Washington, December 18, 1818.

Dear General, I rece[i]ved your letter of 14th Novr last, and would have wrote to you in answer thereto, before now but I waited to see the publication of all the proceedings letters etc relative to the Semenole War. I have lately read the publication of them in the Natl Intelligencer—they

[1] When Congress met, the part of the President's annual message relating to the Seminole campaign was referred to a select committee on military affairs, which, on Jan. 12, 1819, by a majority vote of one member, reported resolutions condemnatory of Jackson. Early reference to the subject showed that it was charged with electric interest and Butler felt that Jackson ought to be on the spot. He had great confidence in Jackson's ability to do things. Eaton, in the Senate, where the Seminole matter was also being investigated, advised Jackson not to come, as his letter of Dec. 14 shows. Butler's advice was taken and Jackson arrived at the capital Jan. 23, 1819.

not yet appearing published by order of the H of Rept. I will for one support your conduct, believing as far as I have read that you have acted for public good.[1] There has been (as you no doubt will have observed, in the public papers,) an attempt made to investigate but failed, the resolution was postponed, indefinitly. I confess I had rather, that every thing that could have been alledged had come out, but it was otherwise ordered.

I have received your letter of the thirtieth of last month—the treaty, I, understand is with the Senate, but you know that I not being one of that part of the Legislature, pursuant to the constitution, can have no knowledge of it—nevertheless I have heard about it, and I suppose you will be informed respecting it—at an early day I presented a resolution respecting, the reservation, made by the treaty with the Creeks, in which a reservation for others and you was made—it went to the Committee on private land claims, that Committee have not yet reported I am highly gratifyed that your health is improving. You have many friends, and I am of opinion, that they will in number increase, in proportion, as your victorious proceedings are understood. You may be assured, that I am highly interested for you, not only on account of friendship, not only on account of your emenent services to our Country, but also because, I was one of those who were instrumental in bringing you into action—remember me to Mrs Jackson

Sincerely your friend

President Monroe to Jackson.

Washington, December 21, 1818.

Dear Sir, I recev'd your letter of novr. 15. sometime past, and should have answer'd it sooner, but for the great pressure of business on me, proceeding from duties, connected with the measures of Congress.

The step suggested in mine to you, of Octr 20th, will I am inclined to believe, be unnecessary. my sole object in it, was, to enable you, to place your view of the authority under which you acted in Florida, on the strongest ground possible, so as to do complete justice to yourself. I was persuaded, that you had not done yourself justice, in that respect, in your correspondence with the dept., and thought, that it would be better, that the explanation should commence with you, than be invited by the dept. . . . . It appear'd to me that that would be the most delicate course in regard to yourself. There is, it is true, nothing in the dept., to indicate a difference of opinion, between you and the Executive, respecting the import of your instructions, and for the reason, that it would have been difficult to have expressed that sentiment, without implying by it, a censure on your conduct, than which nothing could be more remote from our disposition or intention.

[1] This paragraph would seem to show that Rhea knew nothing of the so-called "Rhea Letter", which he was later alleged to have written a year earlier. If he had believed that Jackson was secretly authorized to enter Florida his tone in this letter would probably have been firm.

On receiving your communications by Mr Hambly, three objects were preeminently in view; the first, to preserve the constitution from injury; the second, to deprive Spain and the allied powers, of any just cause of war; and the third, to improve the occurrence to the best advantage of the country, and of the honor of those engaged in it. In every step, which I have since taken, I have pursued these objects, with the utmost zeal, and according to my best judgment. In what concerns you personally, I have omitted nothing, in my power, to do you justice; nor shall I in the sequel of the business.

On what ground you have form'd the opinion stated in your letter, respecting a certain gentleman, is unknown to me. It is due to candour to state, that I have seen nothing, of that character myself; and that the decision of the administration, on the three great points above stated, respecting the course to be pursued by the administration, was unanimously concurrd in, and that I have good reason to believe, that it has been maintaind since, in every particular, by all, with perfect integrity.

It will be gratifying to you to know, that a letter of instructions has been drawn, by the Secretary of State,[1] to our minister at Madrid in reply to the letter of Mr Pizarro, which has been published, in which, all the proceedings in Florida, and in regard to it, have been fully reviewd, and placd in a light which will I think be satisfactory to all. This letter will be reported to Congress, in a few days, and published of course.

with great respect and sincere regard I am dear sir yours

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, December 30, 1818.

D'r Sir, Inclosed you will receive a written adress from James Pitchlynn a half breed and son to Mr John Pitchlynn interpreter for the Choctaw nation of Indians.[2] Mr James Pitchlynn is Just from his nation, and appears very anxious that an exchange of land should be effected by his nation for lands west of the mississippi, and as you will see gives it as his opinion that it can be effected. He informs me that there are upwards of three hundred choctaw Warriors with their families, that have crossed the m. river under the command of a choctaw chief called capt. White, who have united their settlement with the quashotas and allabamians the whole under the command of Capt. white. These choctaws with their friends in the nation are all a[n]xious for an Exchange

Mr Pitchlynn has applied to me to submit to him in writting the terms on which the u states would exchange. I have answered him, I have no instructions from his father the President of the u states, that I would give him my opinion in writing, and that he must make it known to his nation merely as my opinion. I stated him as follows. That the u states will give them as much land west of the mississippi river as his nation now has East—that his father the President will allow them a fair consideration for all improvements, which add real vallue to the land, and to

[1] Adams to Ewing, Nov. 28, 1818. *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 539-545.
[1] War Dept. files.
[2] See vol. I., p. 358.

the poor of the nation as a full compensation for their improvement, a gun, a Blankett, a trapp, or in lieu of the latter a Kettle. That he would furnish them with provisions untill the could raise a crop, with Boats to pass their families and stock across the m. river, and powder and lead to last them the first year and if any remained on this side the m. they should be subject to the laws of the u. states. I have Told him to inform his nation that congress has a bill now before them which I expect will pass into a law, preventing the choctaws from hunting west of the m. should they not agree to exchange their lands. mr P. appears fully to understand this, and asked me for authority and the means of bearing his expence to explore the west of the m. and to pass through his own nation, to explain the subject fully to them; and gives it as his opinion, that he can take more than half the nation with him across the m. I have answered him, I have no authority to grant his request, but would submit his proposition to his father the President, and forward to him his answer, if he thought proper to give one.

Mr P. has requested me to make known to his father the P. u. states, that the choctaws on the west under command of Capt white are solicitous for the exchange and ask that a sub agent for them may be appointed to aid them in obtaining it. Should the Govt. think this advisable, I would recommend, that mr P. be appointed interpreter to that part of the nation, he appears zealous in this thing, and I have no doubt but he will use his best exertions, and if one half goes, the whole nation will remove there are few indeed of the choctaws, who remain to be controled by our laws, and I am informed that there are only those opposed to an exchange, who are making money on the Public road. Mr P. returns to day to his nation, I have promised, to transmit to him your answer.

I am respectfully

James Pitchlynn to Jackson.[1]

[n. p., December, 1818.]

Major General Andrew Jackson

Sir, not being well enough acquainted with the english language to express my mind as I would wish I have procured my friend to reduce my talk to writing.

Sir—I was one of the commissioners, appointed on part of the choctaw nation to confer with commissioners of the United States at the late treaty, which did not terminate as I wished altho under existing circumstances I was compelled with the rest of our commissioners, as also the whole nation to give a decided negative to the demands of the commissioners of the United States, but this denial is not [to] be considered as expressing a decided determination on part of the nation not to exchange their country for lands westwards of the Mississippi, the failure of the treaty was oweing to other causes. Col. Mc.Kee who was appointed as one of commissioners on part of the United States is in my opinion as

[1] War Dept. files. Enclosed with Jackson to the Secretary of War, Dec. 30, 1818.

much interested in keeping the nation where it is as any white man or half breed in the nation, and was also becomeing verry unpopular in the nation in consequence of the part he took in the treaty in which choctaws relinquished their claim eastward of the Tombigbee, the other commissioner who attended was probably a verry good man but totally unquallified for the important business in which he was engaged.[2] The object they had in view will also in my opinion be verry difficult at any time to be effected it will be much easier to procure an exchange of the whole nation than an exchange for a small part on a similar purchase. An exchange of the whole territory of the nation for lands on the western side of the Mississippi can be procured on the following terms—the Indians, half breeds, and white people of the nation will have to be liberally paid for their farms and improvements according to their vallue as stands on roads or otherwise—a liberal remuneration in this respect will have a greater effect on the minds of the Indians, than the same reward bestowed in any other way. It must be evident that where people are settled, have necessary buildings for the convenience and comfort of their families, have also farms sufficient to raise a support on and have their stocks round them cannot be expected to leave to remove to a distant country and settle in the woods without receiving a sufficient reward to compensate them for their losses and trouble in removeing—it is also to be observed that the half breeds and Chiefs who have the most valuable farms and stocks have the greatest influence in treaties which will make it impossible to procure an exchange at any time without a provision on this head—as an attempt of this kind would be unavailing it would also be unjust and I will never give my consent to sell or exchang[e] any part of the nation without this provision.

It will also be necessary to pay them for removeing their stocks—say for their cattle perhaps, three dollars per head, and for their horses six—it will also be necessary to find them with provisions for one year on the country to which they may remove and amunition for a like period—there are also many poor Indians who have no horses who would have to [be] furnished with the necessary means of conveyance. It would also be well in my opinion for an assistant agent to be appointed on western side of the mississippi who would encourage the migration of the choctaws thither as soon as possible. If another treaty is held it will be proper in my opinion that it should be held on waters of the mississippi where provisions can be procured in plenty to keep the nation together until they can be properly made to understand the nature of the terms on which an exchange must be made. if the Indians had been favorably disposed to treat at the last convention at the factory it would have been impracticable to have succeeded as all the provisions were consumed that could be procured during the time they continued together. . . . .

[2] The commissioners appointed in April, 1818, to treat with the Choctaws were Col. John McKee, Gen. William Carroll, and Daniel Burnett.

To William B. Lewis.[1]

[Hermitage, 1819(?)]

Sir, Mr. Wilson who was employed by Mr. Decker to paint my house has disappointed me, he was to have been here on the 15th he has not arrived, I will therefore now engage with the gentleman you spoke to me about, I have a Dearborn waggon in Town to day to bring up the tubes to convey the water from my roof, and the ballance of the paint. will you have the goodness to see him for me. get him to go to Mr. Berkmans examine the Bill of paints laid in, and if any wanting to add them, and to say to Mr. Berkman whether he prefers the Whitelead in oil or dry, and let it be brought up to day.

I shall be down to day, to ride, but I am taken with an accute soreness in my left side, I cannot say pain, that is very troublesome when I bend, or is touched, perhaps it may with exercise disappear.

I heard last evening that Mr. Rhea is in town I wish to see him, and if I can ride without great inconvenience I will be down for that purpose. I am anxious to have my painting done, and have them all up, will therefore be glad, that the Gentleman you named can be seen, and directions given as to the white Lead, whether he prefers it in oil or dry.

I send Mr. Goffman down, who will see the gentleman if you will point him out to him and have all things brought up.

I am yours respectfully

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Washington, January 31, 1819.

D'r Andrew, I have no doubt ere this you have seen in the newspapers announced my arival here, on the morning of the 23rd instant, and I have no doubt but you have seen the discussion before Congress which brought me here. I fortunately arived here in time to explode one of the basest combinations ever formed, the object not to destroy me but the President of the u states, and to wound my reputation and feelings. The Virtue of a majority will defeat these hellish machinations, at the head of which is Mr Wm. H. Crawford and Mr Speaker Clay, the latters speech is in print,[2] and noted by me for the purpose of commenting on it as soon as the debate is ended, and if necessary I shall await the 4th of march next when mr Clay has no congressional privileges to plead.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. This letter refers to the completion of the brick mansion at the Hermitage, the date of which is not quite certain. It is published in the hope that the context may reveal facts by which the correct date may be ascertained. Bearing on the completion and occupation of the Hermitage is a receipted bill from M. W. Allen and John C. Hicks, June 12, 1818, for china and silver plate to the amount of $200. It seems fair to assume that it indicates an outlay for the new house, built and furnished to keep pace with the new dignity that had come to its master. In 1922 the bill was in the possession of Albert M. and Andrew Jackson, of Los Angeles. It was made out to Mrs. Jackson. Another evidence of Jackson's increasing prosperity and state is that in 1819 he employed William Frosh, an English gardener in Philadelphia. Sir John Jackson to Andrew Jackson, Philadelphia, Apr. 30, 1819.

[1] Library of Congress, Jackson-Donelson Correspondence.

[2] Speech of Jan. 20, 1819, on the report of the House committee on military affairs, disapproving the executions of Arbuthnot and Ambrister.

my good friend Genl. Scott who has informed me that "he will not accept my challenge, perhaps on account of religious scruples etc etc"—is also believed to be in the combination. I shall endeavour to see you at west Point before I return. . . . .

To General Francis Preston.[1]

Washington, February 2, 1819.

D'r Genl.: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the recipt of your much esteemed and very friendly letter of the 1st Instant. The advice you give is that of a frind. I see its propriety and acknowledge it. But my Dr. Genl read Mr. Clay speech, a man who has been in the habit of praising my conduct, writing me friendly invitations to visit him, and to serve a combination which he and Mr. Wm. H. Crawford has concerted in connection with others, to wound me and prostrate the executive and fix an indeliable stain on our national charector. I say view this thing in all its bearings, and then answer me at a proper season ought I to be silent. I will as soon as I can get it copied send you the correspondence between myself and Genl Scott, which will afford you a clue to some of the Bitterness of the enquirer. I send you by this mail a pamphlet containing the documents and Mr. Adams letter. I have the pleasure to inform you that I have this day been presented with the resolutions of the Republican Society of New York approving of all my conduct, which is stated to have passed unanimously.

The feelings of Kentucky and Tennessee are much roused, and I am told Mr. Clay will stand alone from that state and he is now full of shame. A man who would exalt himself upon his countrys ruin ought to fall never to rise again in the affections of his country His conduct in appointing committees to suit his purpose too plainly shews he is unworthy to fill the Speakers chair.

Had Mr. Clay in his speech, examined the subject fairly, produced all the proof of facts fairly before the committee and drew conclusions from the whole evidence different from what I had conceived to be Just I should have had charity to believe he acted from a conviction of his mind; but the unjustifiable manner in which he has treated the subject, his base insinuations when I could not have been heard I have noted, and at a proper period must give vent to my feelings. Would you believe it, that after he had delivered this famous speech and before it was published he waited upon me at my lodgings—anough I will drop the subject.

I see in the Abingdon paper by a Kentuckian, the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister is fairly viewed, and the nature of the court and its powers fairly stated. I hope you have seen it. To view it as a court martial, the order creating it will not warrant; and the order creating the court alone gives it its Jurisdiction.

Much has been said of violating the constitution. I was and exutive officer, ordered to put a Speedy end to the conflict. I was authorized by the order to pass the Florida line. The moment I stepped over the boun-

[1] Photostat copy in the possession of the editor.

dary, I was alone governed in the prosecution of the campaign by the laws of nations and usages of war. all I carried with me was my army and the rules and regulations for its government. My enemies could not be tried by the constitution, by the rules and articles of war, they were subject to neither. they were to be punished agreable to the law of nations and of war, which includes natural Justice.

I will be happy to hear from you. accept a tender of my friendship and esteem and believe me to be respectfully

yr mo. ob. servt.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Washington City, February 5, 1819.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your letter of the present date, enclosing a communication from the Chairman of the Committee of the Senate requesting of You a Copy of the letter addressed by Maj White Youngs to Governor Masot on the 27th of April 1818;[2] Not having received a report from Maj Youngs, relative to his correspondence with Governor Masot, or his attack on the hostile Indians in the vecinity of Pensacola, the only information I possess on the subject is contained in the letter of Governor Bibb dated on the 19th of May 1818, to which I beg leave to refer you

On my return from Suhanne to St Marks I was informed (through the medium of Mr Hambley) by the Captain of a Vessel direct from Pensacola that a number of hostile Indians had assembled at that place; on interrogating the Captain he reluctantly stated, that at the time of his Sailing there were in Pensacola 450 or 500 Indians, that they had been fed, and furnished with munitions of War and were commiting depredations on the persons and property of the Citizens on the frontier of Ala-

[1] War Dept. files.

[2] Abner Lacock, senator from Pennsylvania, was chairman of a select committee on Jackson's conduct of the Seminole War. The letter alluded to, dated Feb. 3, 1819, was as follows:

"The committee appointed on the subject of the Seminole War, desire to have from the War Dept copies of the letters from Majr White Youngs to Govr Masot, dated 27 April 1818, from Camp on Escambia and Fort Crawford, and the proclamation enclosed with them, the receipt of which are acknowledged by Govr Masot in his letter to Major Youngs of the 27th April 1818.

"Col Butler states to the Committee that he believes that the information given to Genl Jackson upon which his movement to Pensacola was founded, was communicated by Doyle at Fort Gadsden, who received it by letter from Innerarity residing in Pensacola. The committee wish to have a copy of this letter and to know when and where it was received and shewn to Genl Jackson.

"Genl Jackson in his letter of the 5 may 1818, to the Secretary at War says 'It has been stated that the Indians at War with the U. S. have free access into Pensacola, that they are advised from that quarter, of all our movements, that they are supplied from thence with Ammunition and munitions of War, and that they are now collecting in a large body to the amount of 500 warriors, in that city, that inroads from thence have been lately made in the Alabama, in one of which eighteen settlers fell by the Tomahawk.'"

"The Committee wish to know by whom these circumstances were stated to the General Commanding the time and place at which they were Communicated to him—particularly where the General was, and the time at which he received the account that the 500 hostile warriors were collecting at Pensacola."

bama, and also on the Subjects of Spain. After receiving this information I informed You in my letter dated at St Marks on the 26th of April, that I should leave that place for Fort Gadsden in two or three days, and after making all necessary arrangements for the security of the positions occupied, and detaching a force to scower the Country West of the Appilachicola I should proceed direct to Nashville. I then Ordered Captain Sands to Mobile to prepare and hold in readiness a train of Artillery, should circumstancies arising out of facts disclosed render its use in the field necessary; on this Occasion, as on all others, I thought it my duty to be prepared fully to execute my Orders in puting an end to the conflict.

On my arrival at Fort Gadsden my Qr. M. General Col George Gibson (who was charged with the defence of that Post) handed me several letters brought from Fort Montgomery by Maj Hogan, from respectable Citizens, confirming the report made by the Captain of the Schooner while at St Marks; and detailing the murder of eighteen of our Citizens on the Sapulgus,[3] and the destruction of a Family near Fort Claiborne. Major Hogan also confirmed this information, and added that the Citizens at Montgomery were fortifying themselves. similar information was received from two Gentlemen who arrived in a Vessel laden with Sutlers Stores for the Troops at Fort Gadsden, but whoes names are not now recollected, and by the Captains of the Sloop Hector and Barge Peacock, direct from Mobile. In adition to the forgoing I was shewn a letter (Confidentially writen) from a Person of high Respectability in Pensacola detailing the facts as stated by the Captain of the Schooner at St Marks.

This information corroborated by so many Persons determined me to go in Person to Pensacola and I ordered Col Gibson forthwith to Mobile with instructions to give every facility to Captain Sands, in having the artillery secretly moved to Fort Montgomery, there to await my Orders, and immediately organized a force sufficient for the execution of my Orders under date 26th December 1817.

After crossing the Choctawhachy I dispached an Indian guide with a Soldier express to Fort Crawford, with Orders to Col. Gibson and Captain Sands at Fort Montgomery to move on the Artillery and form a junction with me after I crossed the Escambia River, which Order was promptly executed, on my reaching the Escambia I was met by Capt Boyls express from Governor Bibb, with the letter of the 19th of may above mentioned, and on reaching the west Bank receved information that Holmes and his Warriors were then in Pensacola for which place I immediately marched, for my proceedings thereafter I refer you to my detailed report.

Should You wish information on any other points growing out of my military Opperations during that Campaign, it will afford me much pleasure to give it to You.

I am Sir Respectfully

[3] The Sepulga.

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Hermitage, March 6, 1819.

. . . . I greatly rejoice, that you went on to Washington. It was, for very many weighty considerations, a most happy and fortunate determination. *Time*, has shown, that it was probably the only course, which could have been adopted, to ensure full and complete Justice to your Character. The most intelligent Class of the American Community, have been enabled, to become personally acquainted with you. And on your Return to the bosom of your family, you will have it in your power to say, that notwithstanding all the *Cruel anxiety* and *Persecution*, which you have been made to suffer, on account of your unshaken Love of Country and sound political knowledge, *all—all* has *terminated* for the *best*. I sincerely congratulate you on the happy occasion. My greatest fears have always been on account of your health: But if that did not prevent, I hope you have extended yr Tour to Boston, as well as Bal[t]imore, Philadelphia, and New-York. At a convenient Season, I [am] sure you will visit, Charleston So. Ca, also; the Capital of your own *Native State*. I know of no event, that could make her patriotic Citizens; my *Brothers*; Gadsden, and self more happy.

What does the President of the United States not owe you, for the prompt support, you have always given his Administration. In 1814 and 1815 you snatched the *Republican* party, and Mr. *Monroe*, from almost inevitable destruction and in the present instance you have most effectually served the *Latter*. Your personal presence has silenced all opposition to his Administration; and has ensured his second election. He owes you more infinitely more, that he can express, and I a[m] sure he feels his *obligation*; and in serving Mr. Monroe, you have served your Country and the sacred, *cause*, of *virtue*, *honor* and *Justice*.

Account with James Jackson and Company.

March 17, 1819.

Dr. General A. Jackson in account Current with Jas. Jackson and Company.[1]

1818						
Feby.	7	To	pd.	Major Searcy on yr. acct.....	$ 4000	—
March	10	"	"	yr. Note to the Nashville Bank.....	5000	—
April	7	"	"	by Jas. Jackson on yr acct. in Huntsville	5445	81
"	"	"	"	for 6 qr. sections of Land		
	"	"	"	by J. J. for 8 shares in Town of Florence	430	—
June	4	"	"	yr. note to John Childress in N.ville Bank	650	25
	9	"	"	Mrs. Jackson p Mr. Earl.....	30	—
Nov.	14	"	"	Captn. Gadsden p order.....	800	—

[1] This statement of account shows Jackson's financial situation at what was the height of his prosperity. It was about this time that he built the mansion at the Hermitage.

1819				
Jany	3	To pd. pd for 2 Brls salt.....	39	60
	4	" " for Negros p order.....	850	—
	"	" " Major Mason p do.....	1883	—
Mar	31	" Balance of acct. of Merchandise to this date in this acct. are included some cash payments omitted to be charged in the present acct. of Cash recd. and paid away it also bears credits of cash viz Cash recd. 29 Decr 1817 $1150. Int. recd. to 1 Jany 1818 593.30 R Rapier for yr. ⅓ of Bett 166.66	3011	13¼
	1	To pd. Joseph Irwin p. yr. order.....	500	—
		" " McLean and Tunstall for printg. Pamphlets	60	—
		" " Kirkman and Jackson on acct A. J. Donelson	290	45
		" amt. of Jackson and Hutchings acct.....	199	83½
	31	To Balance to New acct.....	8778	31
			$31968	38¾

Nashville Ten.			Cr.	
1818				
Jany	1	By this amt. due you this date.....$	6900	—
	19	By Cash recd. from Nashville Bank.....	4000	—
	30	By do recd from J. H. Eaton in part paymt. of stock	1000	—
	31	By do for Int. this mo. $50.80 : 30.80 : 16.26 : 10. : 80 : 42 : 12 : 26	267	86
Feby	1	By do recd. fm N. Bank p J. Anderson.....	1000	—
	3	By do " " " do for Martins note.....	543	90
	21	By disct. on Powder fm J and R Woods....	16	75¼
	28	By Int. recd. this mo. $60. 14.50 : 22.— : 40..	136	50
March	29	By recd. fm N.ville Bank on acct. J Anderson.	250	—
	31	By Int. recd this mo. : 40. : 40. : 60.....	140	—
April	2	By recd. for Jno. H Eatons note to you for stock	4000	—
	30	By Int. recd this mo. : 32.40 : 43.20 : 10.80 ..	86	40
May	31	By do— do : 23.40 : 33.69	57	09
June	20	By do— do : 22.68 : 3.20	25	88
	"	By amt. of Yeatman's note to you.....	5220	—
July	6	By amt. of G. Bells note to you.....	1000	—
	"	By recd. from Mr. Earl on acct. mony loaned Mrs. J.	30	—
	31	By Int. recd this mo. $63.48½ : 25— : 10.76..	99	24½
Augt	31	By do— do $18.25. : 62.27	80	52

Septr	21	By recd. from B. Bank	2000	—
	30	By Int. recd. this mo. 64.76. :45	109	76
Octr	1	By recd fm. Major Nicolas amt. of Pay to this dte.	1490	88
	10	By do fm B: Bank	500	—
	31	By Int. recd. this mo. : 30.—: 67.35 : 60. 16.40	173	75
Decr	31	By do— do : 45—: 11.25	56	25
[1819]				
Jany	31	By do— do : 51. : 10.60 : 25.—: 23.85 : 12	122	45
Feby	27	By do— do	7	65
	"	By recd. amt. of Kingsley's note for cotton	2563	50
Mar	17	By recd. Interest	90	—
			$31968	38¾

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

Department of War, March 29, 1819.

Sir, I have the honor to enclose you a commission, as Commissioner jointly with Colo. John McKee [1] and Daniel Burnett Esq, to treat with the Choctaws. Colo. McKee has been directed to report to you the probability of obtaining a successful treaty. It is the wish of the Government that a treaty should not be held, unless there is a strong probability of success, of which you will judge; and should you determine upon one, you are authorized to appoint the time and place for holding it. You are empowered to make the necessary disbursements, and draw on the Department for the amount thereof. The Government feels confident that no unnecessary expense will be incurred.

The instructions given to Colo. McKee and Mr Burnett the last year will, as far as they are now applicable, be your guide. You will exercise your discretion whether the provisions that will be required in case of holding a treaty shall be obtained by a special contract for the purpose, or by a requisition on the Commissary General of Subsistence, or his Assistants. Col. Mc.Kee is instructed on the mode of issuing provisions to the Indians, to which you will conform. Your compensation will be at the rate of Eight Dollars per day, for the time actually employed, which will be ascertained and paid on your certificate. Enclosed for your information is a copy of a letter to Col McKee in relation to this subject.

I have the honor to be,

James Gadsden to Jackson.

New Orleans, April 15, 1819.

My Dear General, I have this moment received your two letters of the 7 and 8 Ulto. accompanied with General Smyths speech etc.[1] The report of the Committee in the Senate, has as you may suppose been read with

[1] Agent to the Choctaws 1814-1820; see p. 30, note 2.

[1] Speech of Jan. 21, by Alexander Smyth of Georgia, in defense of Jackson.

much indignation in this Country. The gentlemen who perused it were unfortunate for themselves in betraying their malicious feelings, and whatever may be their protestations to the contrary, the general belief is that they were actuated by the most diabolical views, and individual antipathies. I am happy however that you did not notice them as well as many other disappointed wasps of Congress, not that they did not merit chastisement for the licentiousness of their remarks, but that it would have been descending in you to have put yourself on a level with those who would have considered themselves enobled by a personal controversy with you. You[r] conduct was therefore a disappointment to them; for believe me General there are too many in this country who have mistaken your real character, and believe you not capable of commanding yourself; They would fain think that all your acts have been the impulse only of the moment, and that in all your military operations you have been controuled more by feeling, than by correct judjement, that your victories have been the happy blunderings of feeling, more than the result of judicious plans, and boldness of design. Hence it is my opinion they believed that you would commit yourself at Washington, They attempted therefore to irritate you and had you noticed their indicorous remarks they would have exulted.[2]

I thank you General for the interest you have taken in my behalf at Washington. The appointment would be gratifying to my feelings because I wish to abandon a military life as one in which there is in peace nothing to gain and the Collectorship will afford me a comfortable support.[3] If Mr. M. is sincere in his promises, I will most willingly undertake the work you wish me, though I would prefer it to fall into hands of an Individual more capable of doing justice to the subject, and to yourself. I know that I have not a talent for historical writing, and as my genius is rather slow I would have to substitute industry for poverty of intellect. It would give me more pleasure to see your papers in the hands of some able Literary Character and if you have some one in view, or can fix your mind on any one you will I hope not hesitate giving your papers to him. You will not let the promise of presenting me with your papers, interfer with this design, or permit delicacy towards me to operate on your judgement. When I made the request of the transfer of your papers it was with a view of preserving them, and of doing justice to your Actions at some future period through the Assistance of some of the Literati of this Country. Under existing circumstances I could execute nothing, my duties are of the most arduous character and require my continued application, but if I obtain the appointment you have recommended me to, much leisure time will fall to my lot which I would most willingly devote to arranging the matter and putting it in form for a history if I do not write it myself. You may therefore pack up your

[2] The impression that Jackson's lack of self-control would probably lead him into unbecoming conduct was partly due to the nervous fears of shallow friends. It is characteristic of him that he was not offended by their adulation, and perhaps not influenced by it. Gadsden's plan to write a life of Jackson was only the fancy of an impetuous mind. Nothing further was heard of it.

[3] Gadsden however remained in the army till 1822.

papers in readiness to be sent to this Country, unless you can find some Individual near you who will undertake the narrative. . . . .

To John Clark.[1]

Nashville, April 20, 1819.

D'r Sir. You will pardon the libirty I have taken in addressing you, on the small personal acquaintance I have with you and permit me to hope that you will indulge me with such facts relative to the Character of Mr Wm H Crawford now Secty. of State[2] as may belong to his public Character, or have any connection with his private deportment. Mr. Crawford and myself have (whilst he was Secty, of war,) differed in opinion in relation to our respective duties and privileges, he having assumed to himself such as were in my opinion unconnected with the duties of the Office over which he presided, to which I chose to demurr. In the Investigation of the Seminole Question, lately before Congress, I have been Confirmd, in the opinion that Mr Crawford has been materially Concerned in writing the report for Mr Laecock[3] and in instituting such Questions and Interogations as he believed would materially result in my injury, and prejudice, I therefore think it my privilege to search for such Evidence, as I believe it is easy to obtain to prove to the world that Mr Crawford has not only with me swerved from that strictly honorable deportment which it is usual for one gentleman to obse[r]ve towards another, but that his depravity of heart has permitted him to do so, on many former occasions, particularly with yourself for the particulars of which I shall be under many obligations to you

Most Resptly. your Obt Ser

John Clark to Jackson.[1]

Milledgeville, May 24, 1819.

Sir, Your letter of the 20th Ultimo has been received and perused with feelings of much interest and attention. You request to be furnished with such facts as I may be in possession of relative to the public or private Character of Wm. H. Crawford Esqr. It is true as you suppose that Mr Crawford commenced his political career in this State, and as

[1] Copy. Clark was a prominent Georgia politician, opponent of Crawford, and governor from November, 1819, to 1823.

[2] Crawford was Secretary of the Treasury.

[3] Lacock's Senate committee reported adversely to Jackson on Feb. 24, 1819, and the House committee reported adversely on Jan. 12, 1819. (See *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., I. 256 and 515, and appendix, pp. 2350-2378.) The report of the House committee was rejected on Feb. 8 by a vote of 63 to 107 (*ibid.,* p. 1136). The Senate report was announced so late in the session that it could not be debated before Congress adjourned on March 4. It was allowed to lie on the table, and when Congress met again the opponents of Jackson were willing to let the matter lie undisturbed. His friends urged him not to take it up again, and he took their advice, after laying before the Senate a long and carefully prepared defense, which Rufus King presented on Feb. 23, 1820. *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., II. 2308.

[1] This letter illustrates well the petty jealousies which lay beneath many a political contest of the day of personal politics. It was not creditable to Jackson that he lent himself to Clark's schemes against Crawford, nor to Clark that he fell in so readily with Jackson's hostility toward the same man.

early as the first of the year 1801. Since which time by means of his wounderful talent at lieing, finess and political chicanary, he has been riseing in public estimation. To trace him Sir thro' all his dark and subtle windings, by the exposure of facts and incidents to throw his Character into a Just light, will require some time and I regret it the more since I perceive that the veil which he spreads over him, has not proved impenetrable to the scrutiny of your eye. I should be glad to put you at once in possession of every fact and every cir[cu]mstance, which would tend to afford you a more distinct view of *the man as he is.*

It may not be improper here to remark that for many years there has not subsisted the most cordial friendship between Mr Crawford and myself. A warfare both political and personal has existed wherein that man left nothing undone on his part that could be done to my injury without any moral regard to the means of it's accomplishment. Mr. Crawfords conduct during which time I have noted and remembered; and I speak from my heart when I say that I deem it a duty which I owe myself, my family and my country to place it before the public. I may be blamed for not having done so long ago, but if I had, Crawford had such a faction in this State it would have availed nothing and he has worshipers yet. The publication will consist mostly of documents of various kinds, together with some few explanatory remarks. It will appear in the pamphlet forme, on account of its length and will be more lasting.[2] When this is done which shall be as soon as possible, it will afford me much pleasure to furnish you with a copy. And here I will add that I have little doubt of being able to satisfy all impartial minds of the almost unparreled baseness, for a man to have been guilty of and rise into power as Wm. H Crawford has. If infamous conduct manifested towards a private individual can disqualify for holding any public trust then should this man be hissed from the Councils of the nation and be made to fill that Station in life which he so Justly deserves.

There are some circumstances of recent date which relate in part to yourself, I will here mention. You may have observed in a news paper issued here (Georgia Journal I believe) the 25th, of August last an Editorial remark which went to announce the "equal division" of the Cabinet on the question (which was said to have been made) of arresting General Jackson for conduct in the Seminole War. on the 16th, of the same month (which was the day before the Sale of the African negroes here), Mr Crawford, T. Cobb in Company, arrived in Milledgeville, the evening of the same day they spent at the house of Mr F. Grantland one of the Editors at that time of the Journal, from whom it was understood the next morning that there had been this division. now if Mr Crawford did not give this information here himself, he informed Mr Cobb and no doubt with the view of his repeating it. Had Mr. C. been friendly disposed towards our illustrious Chief Magistrate or had he regarded the wellfare of the nation as he ought, I should not suppose he would have divulged the secrets of the Cabinet and of which he was a member.

[2] See p. 420, n. 3, *post.*

Again after those Gentlemen left Milledgeville which was on the 17th, (August) and while on the same tour at Monticello Mr Cobb was heard to say that Genl Jackson had bearded the Administration. all these circumstances tho' trivial in themselves certainly tend to show the united enmity in some degree of those Gentlemen to the President as well as yourself. Further it is well understood by some here that the two pieces signed A. B. published in the Journal last year (which I presume you have seen or heard of) were handed to the printer in Cobbs name, the first no doubt he was the real Author of. When the second made its appearance Mr. Crawford was in this State and I think it not unfair to believe that he was with Mr Cobb when it was written.

From what I have here said you will readily perceive that I feel myself at liberty and that it will afford me much pleasure to give you any information within my power that will tend to elucidate the Character of Wm. H Crawford Esqr. And I should be happy to hear from you upon this or any other subject that you may think proper to Communicate.

With high respect and esteem

P S You have no doubt observed in the news papers mention made of Wm. H. Crawford Esqr having informed the managers of the Colonizing Society of a number of negroes advertised to have been sold here on the 4th of this month. which negroes are a part of those taken some time since from the Agent and Mr Gross and which Mr Crawford when here the 17th of August recommended the selling of. (I mean those that were then disposed of) how his Conduct in those two cases can be reconciled, he I suppose can tell. It is believed by some here that he recommended selling the negroes thinking probably that it would prevent enquiry and exposure of his friend D. B. Mitchell, who no doubt Sanctioned their being brought into the Country and was interested and instrumental in its being done. Which would in my opinion be made [to] appear if there was an enquiry authorised or directed to be made, so as to compell persons to give testimony of all they knew respecting the business.

Yours respectfully

President Monroe to Jackson.

Winchester, May 31, 1819.

. . . . I have been extremely distress'd at the difference between you and general Scott, from my great respect and regard for you both, and from its unhappy tendency, considering your rank, and other circumstances, to injure the army and the country. I have never read the correspondence nor any part of it, from a wish that the high opinion which I had for you both, founded on such meritorious services, should not be affected, in regard to either, in the least degree, by an incident of this kind. I always hoped that it might be settled on conditions honorable to you both, and, that is, the object of this letter. I should have spoken to you on the subject, when at Washington, had I not supposed, from what

I heard, that it would be carried no further, and been likewise then pressd, as you also were, by another concern, which required my constant attention.

I annex at the foot of this letter the manner, in which I think, it will be honorable for you both to accomodate this difference. You will find that I contemplate no concession on either side; that I propose, only, that you forget the past, and be friends. Those who have fought heroically for their country, and to which every one bears testimony, will never dishonor themselves by such an accomodation. On the contrary they must gain credit by it. You stand on such ground in this affair, that the proposed adjustment, can be imputed to magnanimity only, if acceded to on your part. To accede to it, in the first instance, must be imputed to the same motive, since after declining a certain issue, as I understand to be the case, he can make no advance, and to ask it, would, I think, not accord, with your sentiments in such a case. If I am authorised to settle the affair in this manner, I will immediately communicate it to him; of his sanction, there can be no small doubt.

The adjustment in this mode will I am convinced, afford general, and great satisfaction, to the country, who take deep interest in preserving the fame of both. It will also be useful to the army, which we both wish to maintain and preserve. I need not add how much gratified I shall be, from personal as well as public considerations, at such a result.

with great respect and esteem I am dear sir very sincerely yours

Informal note for the *Intelligencer.*

We have heard with great pleasure, that the dispute between Generals Jackson and Scott, has been amicably settled, by the interposition of the President, on conditions honorable to both parties. No concession has been made by either. Forgetting the past, and each respecting the gallant conduct, and honorable qualities of the other, they have resolv'd to be friends. Should this account be true, as we believe it to be, we are satisfied, that the whole country will be much gratified by the result, as well as by the manner in which it was produced.

P S. I have just heard with much regret of your indisposition. I hope to find you perfectly recovered.

To John Clark.[1]

Hermitage, July 13, 1819.

D'r Sir. I have the pleasure to acknowledge the recpt of your friendly letter of the 24th of May last in answer to mine of the 20th of april, it reached me in due course of mail, and found me confined to my bed, on my recovery the President reached me,[2] who, my duty compelled me to accompany, through the no[r]thern part of my Division, from which Tour I only returned on the evening of the 11th Inst, which will account for my delay in replying to your letter.

[1] Copy.

[2] Leaving Washington in April, 1819, President Monroe made a tour of the South in May and June, travelling to Atlanta, thence to Nashville, to Lexington, and back to Washington.

I am happy to be informed that you are preparing a publication,[3] that will give to the world a full portrait of Mr Wm. H. Crawford, if the painting is well drawn, from my own knowledge of the man, it will portray, hypocricy surrounded with all its horid deformity, depravity, and baseness of human charector; so soon as it is in type you will confer an obligation on me by enclosing me the copy you have promised, as I am preparing an answer to the famous report of the committee of the Senate, I would be much pleased to receive it before that is concluded.

I recollect to have seen in the Georgia Journal about the date you name the Editorial remark that the Cabinet had divided on the subject of my arrest, I should be happy to obtain a certificate that Wm H Crawford or Mr Cobb who was in company with him give rise to this Editorial remark, as I have assurances, from the source of information that this is a positive and meditated falsehood, if originating from Wm H Crawford, and If I can substantiate this fact on him, will hurl him from his present exalted station—will you have the goodness to procure every information you can on this subject and enclose it to me as early as possible. If it can be traced to Mr Cobb and he in company with Mr Crawford the inference is plain that he must have derived the intelligence from him, If no further proof can be had on this subject, may I give the extract of your letter to the Public, when the occasion may occur, or will you embody it in form for this purpose and enclose it to me.

I mean in due time to endeavour to expose this Mr Wm H Crawford to the world with all his deformity about him, in which I will bring to view the african business. I have but little doubt from what I heard in Georgia as I passed through it in 1818, that this man was engaged with Genl Mitchel in this speculation whether the proof can be reached I cannot say but if a mr Woodward who was on the Seminole Campaign [4] could be got to divulge what he knows, I have but little doubt he could Establish the fact of the purchase of those africans at Amelia Island and Ft St Agustine, whether he can Establish the fact of a copartnership between Mitchell and Crawford is uncertain; but the time and manner of giving the appointment to Mitchell when it was promised to Genl Meryweather, and he solicited to accept both by Mr Crawford and Mitchell when exposed to the public view, will induce an enquiry how it came to pass that the appointment was given to Mitchell and the moving cause that induced Mr Crawford to give it, and induced Mitchell to descend from the Exalted station of Governor to that of an Indian agent, the application of the Eighty thousand dollars must have been the moving cause, and the manner of its application will shew the design of the donor and acceptor at the next Congress, I suppose this thing will be stirred

[3] General Clark's book (208 pages) appeared late in 1819 with the title, *Considerations on the Purity of the Principles of W. H. Crawford, Esqr.* It was a violent diatribe, as the reader of his letters to Jackson might expect. John Quincy Adams, who disliked Crawford intensely, spoke of it as exaggerated and untrustworthy (*Memoirs*, V. 185). There is an ineffectual notice of it in J. G. D. Shipp's *Life and Times of William H. Crawford*, pp. 161-164.

[4] Thomas S. Woodward. His testimony is printed in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, II. 960, where (pp. 957-975) the whole matter is set forth.

and an enquiry had. if any proof can be obtained I would give it a proper direction to this point, and If I can I intend to hint at this thing in my answer to the report of the committee of the senate.

I shall be happy to hear from you on the recpt of this; and it will afford me much pleasure to reply. accept assurances of my high Esteem and respect, and believe me to be yr. mo. ob. serv.

To James Gadsden.

Hermitage, August 1, 1819.

D'r Gadsden: On last evening I recd. your letter of the 6th of July in answer to mine by Major Armstrong, I have wrote you often since that time, I might say, every week that I was able to write. I adressed several via Neworleans, and some direct to mobile. . . . .

I knew you would be astonished at that part of my letter that related to Genl Swift [1]—that you may form your own ideas from facts I enclose you a confidential statement of them substantially as the[y] took place. I was aware that it would astonish you, I knew how much confidence you had in the Genl, I had you know the same exalted opinion of him, and when I wrote you on this subject it was to bring to your view, the weakness of human nature, the depravity of man that you might be allways on your guard. let me assure you, I applaud you for your principle, it is the only correct one to be persued, never abandon a good opinion you have formed of any man unless on the most stuborn proof—but Sir in the mean time it is prudent, to view facts, and consider of them well. If the Genl as he says was your informant, he had read the letter, declared the statement true. His attempt to give it a differrent coulouring at the time he did, endeavouring to change it to a mere letter of introduction when he knew and had said differrently, is positive proof of his want of stability, firmness, and integrity. I have no objections when you meet with Genl Swift that you shew him the enclosed confidential statement for his own use and his own eye. I trust he will have the candeur to acknowledge the statement I have made to be substantially correct.

I see from your letter that business will compell you on to the city [2] this fall that you wish to be on before congress meets although I am very anxious to go on to congress unless I can sell some of my out lands, so as to aid me in funds to meet the payment for my farm, lotts etc etc, in and near Florence, and to aid my pay and emolument for travelling expences, I cannot, proceed. I sett out in a few days to sell my farm near florence if I can, if I should I will decend the Mississippi and pass round by water and Touch at Mobile Point for you But my Dear young friend, I cannot under uncertainties request you to pospone your Journey to the city. I would advise you to proceed when your business calls, advising me when you will be at the city to which place I will write you my ultimate determination. Being determined to leave the army the moment

[1] Joseph G. Swift, chief of engineers.
[2] Washington.

the business in the Senate is acted on, I do not wish to create debts, that I am unable to meet. Mrs. J. Joins me in good wishes, I am your friend sincerely

Confidential.[8] I thought it a duty I owed to mr munroe to put him on his guard as it respected Crawford. I wrote him that I was informed confidentially, that mr Wm. H Crawford had written a letter to mr Clay the object of which was to form a combination and opposition against mr Munroes reelection that I could Vouch for the veracity of my confidential informant, but from whom my informant obtained his information I knew not, (you recollect you gave me no name) all that my informant stated to me was, that his informant was of high charector, and standing in the united states. When I reached Washington this thing was spoken of in confidential circles.

on my arival at the city amonghst the number of my friends Genl Swift waited upon me with his usual friendship and Frankness, I was happy to see him, for as you know I had the most exalted opinion of him. a few evenings after Genl Swift called to see me again and spent the evening, in the course of the evening he asked to have some private conversation with me I shewed him to my bed room—as soon as we were alone, he introduced the subject of mr Wm. H Crawfords letter to Clay, and observed that he felt much interested in knowing who was my informant, and if I would disclose it to him in the strictest confidence I would lay him under obligations. Knowing the confidence you had in Gen Swift, having equal confidence in him myself, and finding from his declarations that he was materially interested to know, under the strickest confidence I gave him you as my informant—the Genl smiled and observed (here I will give you his words) " he has not treated me generously, but it is true I am the man I saw the letter and read it." I instantly replied, Sir you are not to charge my informant with ungenerous treatment, let it be remembered that I have informed you and now repeat it that my informant gave me no name from whom he derived his information, but told me it was from a gentleman of high standing and respectability and if any person is to blame for speaking of it, it is me. The Genl then repeated it is me, I saw and read the letter but as mr Crawford and himself had been at war, but had buried the Hatchett, he hoped it would not be stirred unless some grand political purpose could be effected by it. I told him I had named to mr Munroe that mr Crawford had written such a letter, I had stated it to some others, but as he had requested it, I should not bring it before the public unless I thought I could effect some public good by it. here for the present the conversation ended, and the Genl left me, a day or two after I waited on the President, during my Vissit, the subject of the letter to Clay was introduced, mr. Munroe told me, that he had a conversation with mr Crawford on that subject and that he had denied positively ever writing such a letter and also mr Crawford said that he situated as he was, holding an office under mr munroe

[8] This paper is probably the confidential statement referred to in Jackson to James Gadsden, Aug. 1, 1819. It has become separated from the letter and is filed in the Jackson MSS., vol. 116, p. 106.

must be a Villain if he would attempt to intrigue and to form a combination to defeat his election. I looked sternly at mr munroe and replied, say to mr Wm H Crawford from me that he is a Villain, and that he dare not put his pen to paper and sign his name to the declaration that he never wrote such a letter to mr Clay, if he does say to him from me, if I do not prove it upon him, I will apologise to him in every gazzett in the u states: he replied, you rest upon Genl Swift to prove this, be careful least when it comes to the test, he does not deceive you, that he does not trip. I replied on my informants veracity I was ready to risk my life, who was his I did not know he told me he was a man of high standing and respectability, whether it was Genl Swift or not I did not know, but tripping was out of the question with me, no man should do it, and I would thank him to say from me to mr Crawford that he was the very Villain he had described himself to be, that I had such confidence in my informant that I repeated, that mr. C. durst not put his pen to paper and deny the charge and sign it, if he did I pledged my self to prove the fact upon him, and if I failed, I pledged myself to apologise to him in every gazzett in the u state—from the President, I went to the Sec of War, there being alone, the conversation turned on the subject, mr Calhoun stated that mr Crawford denied writing such a letter. I replied to him in the same way I had to Mr Munroe, requesting the Sec of War to give mr Crawford the information of my declarations.

The night following Genl Swift waited upon me and asked to have some private conversation, I shewed him into my bed chamber—as soon as alone, he introduced the subject of the letter and said he had waited upon me to have some conversation, fearing that I had not fully comprehended him. I replied I could not mistake him, that I understood him to say that he was your informant, that it was true, that he had seen and read the letter—the Genl replied that was true, but I had not taken up a proper idea of the tenor of that letter, that it was merely a letter of introduction from mr Crawford in favour of a Gentleman from North Carolina to mr Clay and there was nothing else contained in it. I felt roused, and observed sir it is strange that a mere letter of introduction could inspire you with ideas of combinations at the next Presidential election, and if you are the informant of my confidential friend explain to me sir for the expressions then used if the letter as you now say was a mere letter of introduction, my friend said to me that his informant observed to him, that this letter from mr. C. to Clay was the first evidence to him, that mr Wm H Crawford was one of the greatest Villains and rascals that ever disgraced human nature, that holding an office under mr munroe and intriguing against him was the highest evidence of his corruption and baseness. Genl Swift paused for at least a minute without reply, and when he broke silence asked me if there was no way to bring about a reconciliation between mr Crawford and myself. I told him there was none, that I knew him to be a Villain, that I had made it a rule through life never to take a rascal by the hand knowing him to such, that I never gave my hand where my heart could not go also, believing as I did of mr Crawford I never would take him by the hand,

that I did not know who was the informant of my confidential friend, but if mr Crawford would deny the fact of writing the letter the object of which was to form a combination against mr. M. election and that if I did not prove it upon him I would apologise to him in every gazzett. We parted and here this thing has rested, ever since. Shortly after this the Vote was taken in the house of representatives on the Seminole question. I had recd. many pressing invitations to Vissit Baltimore Philadelphia, Newyork and Boston, intending to go as far as west point if I found the Vote of the house of representatives put an end to a further investigation in the Senate, I sent for a member of the committee in the Senate who informed me that the committee in the senate would not stir the thing as he believed any further. I prepared to proceed to the Eastward. When I returned to Baltimore on the sunday evening before the rise of congress I met the report of the senate, I was engaged to dine with the citizens on monday: at 8 oclock in the evening, I took the stage for the city and reached there the next morning half after three, where I was informed that the report of the committee was written by mr Crawford, which I verily believe, and that after I had left the city for the Eastward Genl Swift and mr Crawford had been very intimate often together, and on the most friendly footing. When I left the City Genl S was to have overtaken us in a few days. I am of the opinion that all my conversation was detailed to mr Crawford, and finding I would not be friends with him, he drew the report and urged his tools to report it to the senate. The information of their intimacy and being frequently together is from undoubted authority. but this intimacy alone would have created no unfavourable opinion of the Genl, but his avowal of being your author, having read the letter and declaring it was true, and then attempting to say it was a mere letter of introduction, combined with the intimacy afterwards and Crawford drawing the report, during this intimacy induced me as well as a number of my friends to form unfavourable opinion of him, knowing your unlimitted confidence in him, as a man of honor and probity, I named the circumstances, that you, at least, might be on your guard. It is also stated that on another occasion he has tripped. yours friend sincerely

John Clark to Jackson.

Woodville near Milledgeville, August 18, 1819.

Dear Sir. . . . . I am unable to satisfy you more particularly at present concerning the "division of the Cabinet". Perhaps however I did not State that I observed to the Editor (Fleming Grantland) shortly after the paper appeared that contained the remarks, that he derived his information from Crawford or from Cobb which was the same thing, Grantland Laughed and made no reply. Some time after I mentioned this circumstance to Doctor Thomas Moore who is a Gentleman of unquestioned veracity and respectability and brother in law of Grantlands, when he informed me as mentioned in my letter. I have been waiting to see Doct Moore who lives at some distance and has been expected at Milledgeville for some time, Should he not be here soon I will go and

see him, when perhaps something further may be made appear.[1] The intelligence be it true or false I have no doubt came from Wm. H. Crawford. It would have sprung from no other source—that is to say it must have come from him directly or indirectly to the Editor of the Journal.

Majr, Woodward whom you mention derived his information respecting the introduction of Africans from an Uncle of his Capt. Joseph Howard, who no doubt when called on will confirm what the major has said upon the subject. Howard resides in the Alabama Territory. Woodward says that he was applyed to by his Uncle to go and bring Africans from Amelia Island for Mitchell who was to advance the money to buy them with. He also says that an Indian by the name of Tabbler (that speaks good English) of the Cusata Tribe informed him that Mitchell sent him with Bowen for the negroes to Amelia Island and that Mitchell paid him for going and told him to say nothing about it. There are men here that saw Tabbler with the negros on their way up. Let this matter be investigated as it should be; let those persons who I could name be compelled to disclose what they know and there is no doubt in my mind but Mitchells guilt will be established. Circumstances are not so plain against Crawford, but he was not so immediate an Actor and therefore less liable to detection, however I have from the first believed him to have been concerned.

In my former letter I mentioned that the Vice President of the Colonizing Society at Washington Wm. H Crawford recommended the sale of certain Africans here. I am since informed by a Gentleman of standing that Crawford informed him that "he did advise Governor Rabun to sell them and that he did not believe they could have been sold but for such advise." The last that were Advertised for sale by the Governor (which was of the same drove with the others taken from the Agency) he (Mr Crawford) informed the Colonizing Society of their being advertised, who sends on an Agent and stops the sale, which he (Crawford) could have done of the others if he would. I mention those circumstances only by way of showing the hypocrisy of this man. I expect they will now contrive it so as to get the money for the first negroes that were sold. . . . .

P. S. You are at liberty to make what use of my letters your discretion may dictate.

P. S. Capt, Kizer (who you I presume know as he belongs to the Army) informed me not long since, that Mitchell told him when he was

[1] Nov. 2, 1819, Clark sent Jackson the following statement by Dr. Thomas Moore:

"I do certify that I was in Milledgeville in August 1818. and continued with Mr. Fleming Grantland, then one of the Editors of the Georgia Journal for some days, during my stay with him, say on the 16. of August 1818. William H. Crawford and Thomas W. Cobb spent the evening with Mr. Grantland. The next day Mr. Grantland and myself entered into conversation relative to General Jackson, he then mentioned the division of the Cabinet, and stated he had it from one of those Gentlemen, and I am rather under the impression, he mentioned it was from William H. Crawford. This division as I understood was equal on the question as to the propriety of arresting General Jackson for his conduct in the Seminole War. THOS. MOORE.

"True copy from the Original in my possession this 2nd Nov. 1819.—JOHN CLARK."

proffering to sell him two or three negroes some time before the Africans was taken to the Agency "that he asked too high for them, that he could get them at Amelia Island for one hundred and fifty dollars when he (Kizer) replyed that would be violating or infringing the laws. Mitchell then observed that he could have them kepted or covered in the nation so as to run no risque".

To Governor McMinn.[1]

Hermitage, August 25, 1819.

D'r Sir. Herewith Inclosed you will receive the report I mentioned to you in my last, with the documents accompanyin[g] it.

I can say with truth that no individual ever served his country with more disinterested zeal nor none who have when necessary for its benefit taken more responsibility than I have done—none who by base and unprincipled men have been more falsly assailed. The documents I trust herewith inclosed will convince you and the Legislature of this fact and for that purpose as well as to shew the dificulties the commissioners had to surmount, to obtain the cession we did. I lay them before you. I have only to add one fact, Before the commissioners went on The nation had a meeting in full council, and directed James Colbert Interpreter to the nation to answer the letter I had adressed the nation and say to me that the nation had no land either to sell or exchange, and it was useless to have a meeting of the nation in council on this subject. I answered the nation through its interpreter in a way, which brought them to think and the[y] appointed a time and place to meet us. When we met it is a fact notorious that there was no person that believed we would succeed, nor was their a chief or warrior of the nation that did not come to the treaty with a determination not to give us a foot of land, under all these forbidding circumstances we did succeed, we were determined on this purpose, and in order to effect it, did I take upon myself the risque and responsibility of sending to Nashville for the money and gave to the agent a responsible receipt for his Post note and drafts before he would agree to let our messenger have them. It was well known without this and other funds we could not succeed. We created funds out of the property of the Indians, that obtained the cession. Still have I been secretly slandered in the Senate and the same Junto continues it in the papers. That facts may be seen as they are, they have been submitted, you will please to lay them before the Legislature at such time as you may Judge proper. I have annexed the originals, if Mr. Graham could take a copy of the accompanying documents, before they are laid before the Legislature and certify the same, least the originals might be lost he will lay me under obligations. I am respectfully

yr mo. ob. serv.

[1] This letter refers to the treaty with the Chickasaws, Oct. 19, 1818.

To James Jackson.

Hermitage, August 25, 1819.

D'r Sir: To enable you and Mr Whitesides to give a true statement of facts, if deemed necessary I make the following[1] about the year 1794 or 1795, having purchased in partnership with John Overton Esqr 25000 acres of land, this land was sold by Major Grant as agent to David Allison, on a credit for which his notes were Taken at Philadelphia. The part due me was laid out in merchandize. Allison was then in good credit. I had scarcely reached home when I was notified that Allison had failed and to prepare to cover my endorsement I sold my store then in Nashville to Colo. Elijah Robertson for thirty three thousand acres of land or thereabout—proceeded to Knoxville, and sold this land to Colo. James Stuart of Jonesborough at one quarter dollar pr. acre, and took a draft on Govr. Wm Blount then residing in Philadelphia for the amount—proceeded on to Philadelphia, where I found Blount Equally involved with Allison in distress and with great dificulty, got up the paper I had endorsed, and was compelled in closing this disasterous business, to take D. Allisons paper for the amount due me. Thus David Allison became indebted to me—the land I sold Stuart to enable me to take up his paper is now worth at least $200000.

D. Allison died in Philadelphia Jail as it was thought insolvant In his life time he had morgaged the 85,000 acres of land on Duck river to Norton Prior to secure the payment of a debt—That in the latter end of the year 1799, or early in the year 1800 Joseph Anderson as agent for Norton Prior, came to an agreement with me to have the morgage prosecuted to a foreclosure in the name of Norton Prior, against the heirs and Devisees of David Allison for which I was to have a part of his proportion of the land. This suit by the instructions of Jos. Anderson was to be instituted and prosecuted in the Federal court at Nashville. I not then being a practising lawyer, but engaged in public life as Judge of the Supreme Court, employed John Overton to originate and prosecute the same which he did agreable to the instructions given by Jos. Anderson to a decree—and the Tittles under the decree, was made agreable to the written instructions given me by Joseph Anderson. The part of the land Deeded to me by the marshall, I sold believing it to be a good tittle, being present when Thos. Blount signed the Deed for the same to David Allison, and I never once thought of a defect in the decree, for the want of Jurisdiction in the court. I was not present when the decree was entered up, and the cause having been prosecuted agreably to the instructions of Judge Anderson in the Federal court.

I never once thought on the subject, Untill after I had sold the land, George W. Campbell came to me in Nashville I think in the year 1810 or 1811 and told me he had been examining the proceedings in that suit and

[1] This letter shows the extreme difficulty of carrying on business on the frontier, due to the lack of instruments of credit. As it was, men traded in notes signed by their neighbors. It was like a card-house, the failure of one important man carrying many others with him. The quickness with which Jackson's store in Nashville vanished into thin air would be amusing if it were not so tragic.

the sale under the decree was a nulity the court not having Jurisdiction. Having sold and made a general warrentee, I became alarmed and knowing that Jenkin Whitesides was interested under the marshals sale I immediately went to Mr J Whitesides and informed him of Mr Campbells opinion. Mr Whitesides replied that he knew that, and that he had informed Mr. Irwin that the heirs of David Allison had it in their power at any time to redeem but Mr Irwin and himself was of opinion that the debt was so great that they heirs never would be able to redeem. I told Mr Whitesides I had never sold any land but what I thought the title was a good one, that I would not rest my title on such a foundation, that David Allison was indebted to me in the sum of about $20,000, and that if the heirs could redeem, I would endeavour to secure my debt and those honest men to whom I had sold when I thought my title was good I prosecuted a suit by J. Dickeson on one hand to Judgt, against the heirs of David Allison. I proceeded to Georgia carrying with me the record, met William Allison who was present when I last settled with his brother David knew the Justice of my claim and how much I had suffered in sacrafice of property by him he convened the heirs who readily agreed to transfer me all their right to any property within the state of Tennessee that they were invested with by descent as heirs of David Allison and executed a Deed to me and I executed to them a release against the debt. This is a concise statement of the facts—you know the ballance.

I enclose you a copy of the record which I have procured accidentily since I saw you. it proves what Judge Overton states that he alone prosecuted the suit in the name of Norton Prior as council alone, and is full proof that Irwin in his answer has stated and swore to a falshood, when he states that this suit was prosecuted by Whitesides, and this ought to be stated in a clear manner, that the people might see, that a man who would swore to a falshood, proven as such by record would state any thing to benefit himself. in time I will hunt up all the papers on this subject, but being so long engaged in public business, my papers are so numerous and desorted that it is hard to find any particular one. I shall see you on Saturday. I am your[s] respectfully.

To Governor McMinn.[1]

Hermitage, September 13, 1819.

Sir. Your Letter of the 9th Int with its enclosure has been receved. Your Idea that a submission of the secret Journal to the Legislature might be improper upon reflection meets my approbation. Secrecy was imposed on the Senate of the US by the President from an apprehension that its publicity might endanger the lives of certain chiefs; and on this [account] it yet continues necessary still to preserve that secrecy

I have altered the report heretofore made to you and request by the altered copy now returned to you, that you will cause the orriginal to be corrected.

[1] The body of the draft is in Eaton's handwriting.

you are at liberty should you in the progress of matters deem it advisable, to submit the secret Journal to any particular member or members that you might think could be safely confided in; or should their be a committee appointed on this chickasaw business, to them, if you think proper, you can present it in confidence It is yielded, to be used as your own *safe discretion* may consider best. . . . .

James Pitchlynn to Jackson.[1]

Oaktibbeha September 13, 1819.

Sir, Yours of the 20th July did not come to hand untill the 12th. I take the Earliest opportunity of Writing you

In my last I gave Very flattering hopes of a treaty but a different Conduct in the officers of goverment gave a different face to the question. Namely it was Very impolitic in the agent to call a general Council of the Nation. Nothing could be more absurd than to have thought they could obtained the unanimous consent of the Nation. they knew that the influence of the white men in the Nation was such that goverment could do nothing for the intrest of the nation when the intrest (or Supposed intrest) of those white men came in competetion. The half Breeds have assumed a stand I little Expected them to take—they have lately Elicited a disposition to assume the whole goverment of the nation and are Unanimously opposeed to the Views of goverment.

A deputation of the nation are now preparing to go to Washington City to See the president. their object is to represent to their father the impropriety of Sending threefourths of the nation to a place where they could grow rich and independent like the Noble few among us here, they want to tell the president the injustice of Sending the Indians away inasmuch as it will deprive them of a large fund which they intend to Educate their children with. they wish to tell that it is absolutely wrong to deprive them of an opportunity of Defrauding the Nation.

They recently in our district appropriated their Divdend of the annuity given at General coffey's Treaty for the use of Schools

You will doubless before this arrives be apprised of the result of the National Deliberations. You sir are not to consider the late refusal to treat as the Voice of the Nation. you are only to Consider it as the Voice of the rich white men and half Breeds who would be willing to Enslave the poores part of the nation As I am a cheif of those choctaws West of Mississippi I am determined they shall have land where they now reside. I am determined these fellows here shall Not Sell lands here and they only reap the benefit in Justice this part of the Nation ought not to hold a foot land for they have sold a full half of the nation and those West have not Received one cent of the proceeds As Soon as health permits I will call to See you we can then deliberate more fully

I am Sir your Brother

[1] War Dept. files. Indorsed, Jackson to the Secretary of War, Oct. 2, 1819.

JAMES HOUSTON TO JACKSON.

MARYVILLE, September 24, 1819.

Dear sir: I have in Possession two negroes a son and daughter of old Peter that I am informed you own. the Girl has three very likely children one Girl and two boys. Mr Saml Miller told me that you wanted the family all together. I had authorised him to purchaise mine. My object is humanity and accomodation. If you still retain the idea of bringing the family together and appoint any Agent in this place you may have my negroes at a fair price.

I am sir with sentiments of Respect yours etc

TO WILLIAM WILLIAMS.[1]

HERMITAGE, September 25, 1819

D'r Sir. Having made a report to the Governor concerning the Chickasaw treaty and the reservation of the salt springs accompanying the same with documents to shew that the statements made by Colo John Williams in the senate of the United States were false, malicious and without the slitest foundation.

This report is laid before the assembly and in conjunction with a communication that I am just informed Colo Williams has made to the assembly through the Governor may lead to some discussion, I take the liberty for your information, to state his conduct in the last congress, referring you to Doctor Hogg and Major Eaton for the truth of this statement.[2] I have no doubt but you have seen the report of the committee of the senate with its accompanying documents, as I am informed and believe Colo Williams gave to the members on that committee the information that I was one of the company who had invested large sums in the purchase of real property in Pensacola, and in order to enhance the vallue of my property, and without any real necessity, in open violation of the constitution, had marched my army there and seized the place—to establish this fact my staff were summoned before said committee and Colo Butler interrogated by them on this head—finding themselves disappointed and being informed by Major Eaton one of the committee, that they were badly informed, that it was Mr James Jackson of Nashville—that he, Major Eaton, was one of the company and he did know, I had no interest in the purchase nor was I one of the company, nor had I ever been.

On that committee was Mr Laccock, Mr Burrill, Major Forsythe, Mr King of New York, and Major Eaton. the three first named were for making an unfavorable report, respecting me, they two latter were op-

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc. William Williams was a member of the Tennessee legislature.

[2] Col. John Williams (see p. 88, note, *supra*) was United States senator from Tennessee 1815-1823. Dr. Samuel Hogg was a representative 1817-1819. The report of the Senate committee on the Seminole War (*Sen. Doc.* no. 100, 15th Cong., 2 sess.) is in the *Annals of Congress* for that session, cols. 256-268. Jackson's memorial in rebuttal, presented to the Senate by Senator Rufus King, Feb. 23, 1820, is *ibid.*, cols. 2308-2328.

posed to such a report, Major Forsythe was appointed minister to Spain and left the committee precisely divided on this question.

Colo Williams knowing that Mr King of New York [3] was opposed to the wicked design against me, in order to gain him over, and poison his mind against me, communicates to him in confidence, that I had made the reservation of the salt lick in the chickasaw treaty for myself, and that the ink had not dried on the treaty before I had obtained a lease for it. This came to the ears of Doctor Hogg, who made it known to Major Eaton who addressed a note to Mr King on the subject which he handed to him in the senate chamber. Mr King after reading the note said the information was communicated in confidence, he would see the gentleman an[d] give him an answer. Mr King stepped to Colo Williams took him by the arm walked him across the room and after conversing some time, returned and said to Major Eaton, the gentleman who gave the information requested him to say, that he hoped there would be no fuss made about the thing, that he was mistaken, that it was not Genl Jackson that had leased the lick, but a near relation of his. I ought to have remarked that when Mr King first spoke of it he said he had been informed by a member of congress from Tennessee. Altho Colo Williams did know as well as I did that Major Lewis was no relation of mine. still he made this statement altho he knew it to be false, to carry with it the idea that if I had not procured it for myself, that I had for a near relation, when he did know I had not a relation in America except by marriage.

Colo Williams being here disappointed, and the house of representatives in congress having approved by a large majority my conduct on the Seminole campaign, This combination of enemies of their country, composed of Clay, Crawford, Williams and Co, fell to work to devise something that would if possible counteract the vote of the house of representatives in congress. The committee of the senate was sugested, but to enable it to act another member must be added who would foster their views, and make such a report as would be acceptable to the combination. Mr Laccock made the motion that a member should be added to fill the place of Mr Forsythe. they had the member selected, Mr Epps— This motion was opposed by Mr King and Major Eaton. the question was carried by a majority of one vote, when Mr Epps was nominated by Mr Laccock, and Mr Morrow by Mr King, and Mr Epps was elected by a majority of one vote, Mr Williams voting for Mr Epps. In the mean time as I am informed Mr Wm H. Crawford was engaged drawing up the report on the information of Colo. Williams, which was opposed by Mr Epps, as he says without examination. This gives a clue to its varying from the testimony as the object of Crawford, Williams was regardless of the means employed if they could tarnish my reputation by the report, I make this statement to you that the as-

[3] Rufus King, senator 1796-1803, 1813-1825.

sembly may judge at a proper time, how far such conduct of Mr Williams their senator is consistent with their ideas of justice and propriety, and at a proper period as soon as the election for senator is over that the assembly if it chooses may employ a corrective

The statement in my report as far as it relates to the information given by Colo Williams to Colo King of my having reserved and leased the salt lick myself is set forth in the precise words given by Mr King to Major Eaton, and from him to me. Therefore Maj Eaton I refer to and Doctor Hogg can give a full detail of the Colo conduct on the subject of the chickasaw treaty. When you come to contrast the chickasaw treaty with the late cherokee, which Colo Williams advised and has so loudly extolled for its benefits, you will find, 1st that 12 miles square worth at least a million is reserved to be sold for the benefit of that part of the cherokee nation remaining east of the Mississippi (as a doucer I suppose to keep them here) many other reservations of iron works etc. etc., and twenty one six hundred and forty acres of land within the state of Tennessee long since known to be patented by Colo Williams. why then has the Colo vociferated so loudly against the reservation of the *bubble—the salt lick*—and extolled the other. because he expected he could injure me thereby, and it is believed that many of his friends (not relations) are interested and that the reservations was the property of those he wished to injure, such as Capt Thos N. Clark, Mr. McCampbell etc. etc. I am told that he has in his communication complained that the commissioners has not in the terms of the reservation secured the public against the high prices of salt, inasmuch as they commissioners has only extended the limitations of the price of salt within the reservation. Is it possible that this senator is so profoundly ignorant as not to know that the commissioners had no power to control the price of salt beyond the limits of the reservation nor is it believed that the President and congress have this right. if they have how criminally remiss in his duty to the interest of the public has Colo Williams been in not regulating the price of salt made at the U. States Saline, and other places, and why did not the Colo attach a clause to the ratification of the chickasaw treaty regulating the price of the salt made at this lick every where it was transported to; if congress had such power and surely it will not be contended by Colo Williams that the president can, (under the treaty making power) delegate to the commissioners, greater powers than both he and congress can exercise under the constitution. I have barely made this remarks that you may fully understand Colo Williams conduct, and give you a clue to the object of Colo Williams views in his communication to your body through the Gov'r. He wishes to injure the election of Major Eaton knowing that my answer to the report of the senate will bring out things unpleasant to himself, and he wishes to avoid the comments that will be made by Major Eaton on that subject, and to have one chosen whose disposition he can wield to his own *views*.

I am sir respectfully yr mo ob serv

To President Monroe.[1]

Hermitage near Nashville
September 28 [or 29], 1819.

(Private)

Sir. In my last to you on the subject of a fit person to fill the office of Marshall of West Tennessee, I stated that as early as I could I would enclose you a copy of a letter from a Gentleman of high standing in the State of Georgia. In compliance with that promise I herewith inclose a copy of that letter, I trust it will aid you, in forming a correct opinion of things as they are and give a clue by which the person combinding to violate the laws of the United States, by the purchase of african slaves at amelia Island and introducing them into the United States may be discovered, I have no doubt but the public weal requires that this subject should be investigated, that an end may be put to such violent outrages of the laws and morallity and officers of the Government if concerned in this inhuman and illegal traffic may be dismissed from office and legally punished. You will see that the writer permits the letter to be used as my discretion may direct. I submit it to you for your information and to be used as you may judge right in bringing to light this transaction.

In adition to the information which the copy of the letter inclosed will furnish, which is marked No 1, I am advised by a Gentleman who wishes

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS. A draft of this letter is in the Jackson MSS., and with it is the following statement, referred to below, a copy of which was enclosed by Jackson to Monroe:

"Answers given upon Oath, by colonel David Brearley of the 7 Regiment US Infantry, to the foregoing Interrogatories propounded by Brevet Majr. General Edmund P. Gaines, of the United States army, whereof a true copy is here[u]nto annexed as per doccument marked A

"*1' Interrogatory.* On my arrival at Fort Hawkins in the month of June 1817 I found a numerous assemblage of creek Indians on business with their Agent General Mitchell. I suggested to him, my wish to assertain the disposition of those Indians twards the Seminoles and to know if they would engage in the war then anticipated with that tribe, my request was promptly attended to, and made known to the Chiefs and warriors in council on the 6' of July. on the 7' the General gave me the result of their deliberations on that subject, which was communicated to General Gaines, by me in a letter bearing date at Fort Hawkins July the 8th 1817 of which the following is an extract.

"'The Indian Council is about to disperse. they go off apparently satisfied, General Mitchell has informed me that the chiefs have stated officially, that they will furnish Five Hundred warriors (to be subsisted and paid at the expence of the United States while in service) whenever it was thought necessary to go against the Seminolies' I do not recollect at any time to have heard General Mitchell say that he would cause the Indians to turn out, but at all times gave it as his Opinion that they would go with the greatest willingness when properley called on

"*2d Interrogatory.* I did not understand from General Mitchell, that he would take upon himself, to name any time for the co-operation of the Indian warriors, with the forces under Genl Gaines. As to the number of warriors, I all ways understood that, to be a matter resting intirely with the chiefs of the Nation.

"*3d Interrogatory.* General Mitchell mentioned to me I believe some time in the month of november or december 1817 that in consequence of advice received from the war departement, stating that General Gaines was instructed from prossecuting the war beyond the limmits of the United States we should not encourage the friendly Indians to engage in it, on the contrary that he considered it his duty to recommend them not to interfear. He further stated to me that he had made his views and reasons on his subject known to General Gaines in an interview he had with him when on his way to Fort Hawkins in the early part of December last.

"*4th Interrogatory.* General Mitchell informed me in the month of November or december 1817 that he had sent a talk to the hostile, or Seminole Indians which he hoped would

bring them to friendly terms, or words to that effect, that there were some cases of outrage which occured between the white Inhabitants and Indians, and were reported in which he considered the whites the aggressers, I do not recollect to have heard him say, that this was the case in every instance, nor do I recollect that, that opinion was extended to any opperation of the regular Troops except in attack made on Fowl Town, which he considered premature and illtimed

"*5th Interrogatory.* The Indian warriors commenced assembling at Fort Mitchell for enrolement on the 17' of February 1817, General McIntosh arrived on the 22d on the 23d the muster and Inspection commenced

"*6th Interrogatory.* I believe that General McIntosh and his friendly warriors were willing to join the United States army during the months of November, and December 1817. But never understood from any person that they were called on during those months, consequently, could not have learned that General Mitchell had disuaded them from going, other than as I have before stated in answer to the 3d Interrogatory.

"*7' Interrogatory.* I saw a number of African Negroes at the creek agency in the month of January 1818 and was informed by General Mitchell they had been brought there by a captain William Bowen of the State of Georgia, who had exhibited to him a Bill of Sales purporting to have been executed in Camden County (Georgia) for the purchase of said Negroes, and that he Genl Mitchell suspecting they had been improperly brought into the United States, had detained and reported them to the proper authority, together with such facts as had come to his knowledge. That they were smuggled into the United States, there can be no doubt, but thro what chanel, or by whom I know not, nor do I know that General Mitchell was concerned in smuggling them in—his Opinion was that they had been smuggled from Amelia Island or elsewhere, which he gave as the reason for detaining and reporting them.

"*8' Interrogatory.* General Mitchell informed me that he had given a permit or passport for the removal of said Negroes out of the United States, of which the document hereunto annexed, and marked C I believe to be a true copy

"*9' Interrogatory.* I heard the Big Warrior, and some others whose names I do not recollect, in the month of January 1818 complaining that a proportion of the Eighty five Thousand dollars appropriated for the indemnification of losses sustained by the friendly Indians during the late war with great Briton, yet remained in the hands of the agent. General Mitchell explained to them, and repeated to me as he had frequently done before, his reasons for then retaining the sum in his hands (V. I. Z) that the sum claimed far exceded the appropriation, that there were a number of claims yet unliquidated, and many he presumed which had not come to his knowledge, that he paid a certain proportion of each claim, as it was liquidated and when he was satisfied the whole was in, he should pay the ballance in like proportion; The first conversation I had with General Mitchell on that subject, was in the month of September 1817 which was in consequence of a demand made on him by Colonel Russell for Twentyfive or Thirty Thousand dollars, which demand had not been presented before nor was it then in such a shape as to authorize the payment

"*10th Interrogatory.* I was at the creek agency in the month of January last at which place the Indians were assembled for the purpos of receiving pay for their military service; performed during the late war with Great Briton, which payment was made in me[r]chendize, as I was informed by the request of the chiefs I know not what profit was laid on the goods but presume it was such as is customary in that part of Georgia.

"*11th Interrogatory.* General Mitchell informed me that the goods in store for the payment of the Indians were purchased by his son under his directions according to the request of the chiefs

"*12' Interrogatory.* There is a house at the agency for the accomodation of Travellers keept by persons in the employ of General Mitchell on his account

"*13' Interrogatory.* I did learn from General Mitchell in December 1817 that he had been requested by the chiefs of the nation to take charge of the Ferry on the Oakmulgee near Fort Hawkins, I afterwards learned from him, in the month of January or February that he had done so. I was also informed by him in the month of February or March, that in consequence of the Indians neglecting and refuseing to attend to the Ferry on the Flint in a proper manner, he had also taken charge of it. I was always of the Opinion the tolls were extravegent D. Brearley Col 7 Infy"

"City of Philadelphia. The nineteenth day of October A.D. 1818 before me James N Barker one of the Aldermen of the city of Philadelphia personally appeared col David Brearley of the 7' Regiment US Infantry and made oath in due form of law that the facts contained in the answers to the foregoing interrogatories are true to the best of his recollection and belief

"Witness my hand and seal the day and year above writen. J. N. Barker Aldn."

"Copies of the Interrogatories, and answers, have been forwarded to the Secretary of War and Genl Jackson. D. Brearley Col 7 Infy."

his name not to be mentioned That by calling on Colo. Gideon Morgan of the Cherokee Nation and Colo. Andrew Erwin now of this state and who is now a candidate for the Marshalls office for West Tennessee, will prove positively that Genl Mitchell did purchase by his agent who he had furnished with funds for that purpose a large number of African Negroes at amelia Iland, which were brought through the Indian Country to the Agency. My informant states that care must be taken, in putting the Interrogatories so that the witnesses Colo. Morgan and Erwin may not object, as the answers might implicate themselves, they both being engaged in the purchase of africans at amelia Island at or about that time, Mr Gross was the partner of Colo. Erwin about that time and it was to this same Mr Gross that the agent Genl Mitchell gave the passport under which he proceeded to carry his Negroes through the Creek Nation to the Allabama Territory.

I would here remark that the deposition of Genl David Merryweather of Georgia might throw some light on this subject, disclosing the manner and under what circumstances the agency was given to Gov. Mitchel by Wm H Crawford then Sec of War. I will here give you a substantial detail of the circumstances as related by Genl Merryweather to myself and staff at the Cherokee treaty in 1817, as far as my recollection serves me it was as follows. " That Wm H Crawford met with him in the fall 1816 in the State of Georgia, and recommended him to accept of the agency to the Creek nation. The Genl replied he had determined to retire from public life. Mr C replied that this office would enable him to educate the younger branch of his family without infringing on his little Estate etc. etc. etc. The Genl observed that he would reflect on the subject and advise him of his ultimate determination. Genl Mitchell then Govr. of Georgia met with Genl. Merryweather Joined his salutations to that of Mr Crawford that he would accept the agency and urging the same reasons why he should accept as Mr. Crawford had done. Genl Merryweather replied he would think on the subject, consult his family and then determine on the subject. After consulting with his family, he determined he would accept the appointment and wrote accordingly to Mr Crawford that he had concluded to accept the appointment of agent etc. etc.

In the mean time Congress had passed a law appropriating $85,000 to pay the friendly Creeks for the depredations committed on them by the red sticks, which was to pass through the hand of the agent, and be distributed by him. On the receipt of Genl Merryweathers letter Mr Crawford replied expressing great regret that his letter had not reached him sooner as three days (or thereabout) before its receipt he had filled up an appointmt for and forwarded it to Genl Mitchell then Govr of Georgia. Whether Govr Mitchell was an applicant for said office is not known, suffice it to know that he resigned and accepted the appointment, and recd. the $85,000, of which there is so much said both by the Indians and whites, and if rumor is true was a fund from which the store was Established in the nation and so many African negroes were bought.

The statement of Colo. Brearly to me at Ft Hawkins was full on these points. I enclose a copy of the memorandum then made, I saw Colo.

Brearly last Spring at Trenton. I then asked him how it happened that he had not in his Depositions spoke to all the points named to me at Ft Hawkins, he replied the Interogatories did not require him and he did not believe he was bound to answer beyond them, but if I required he would forward to me his deposition embracing all these points in his relation to me and staff on the 10th and 11th February 1818. I therefore enclose it, that Colo. Brearly may be interrogated on those points his Deposition does not include. I do think this is a subject that ought to be investigated.

From the Gentleman who has recommended Colo. Gideon Morgan and Andrew Erwin to be interrogated etc. etc., I learn that there are letters in the possession of a gentleman of high standing in this state, that if I can get them will unfold compleatly the combination of Crawford, Clay, Cobb, Williams and to the extent and precise views of the combination, I have no doubt but I can prove, notwithstanding Mr. C. pledge to you and the declaration of the baseness of the man that could thus act, that he Mr Crawford is this base man having been guilty of this base act. I named to you that Doctor Hogg stated to me at next congress there would be a caucus to endeavour to raise Crawford up again. Colo. John Williams silently and under the rose has been at work for a long time, he has been using this same Andrew Erwin as a tool. Colo Cannon [2] in this way was brought forward, and has been elected, and Colo. Erwin is now in the same way endeavouring to get the Marshalls office. the cunning of Colo A. Erwin aided and abetted by Mr Crabb Atto. Genl of the U States for West Tennessee,[3] produced the plan of silently applying to the members of the Legislature for a recommendation many of whom before it was known publickly it being presented had signed it, as soon as it was known a counter recommendation for Genl Purdy was set on foot, and a majority of the Legislature that would sign for either signed the recommandation for Genl. Purdy. one of the members as soon as he heard Genl Purdy was a candidate went to Colo A. Erwin and had his name erased from his paper, with such unprincipled men it is hard to compete, and let me say to you again that the old leaven is not dead, it only sleepeth.

It is true I believe that the Junto cannot make much head against you. But should you appoint Colo Andrew Erwin, a Bankrupt Merchant, a man without principle, and a tool to your enemies, believe me when I tell you, it will arouse the feelings of the people of the west part of Tennessee against you, lessen your popularity, and the appointment of Erwin will strengthen your enemies. I have used candour in my former letters to you, and I hope this will reach you before you make the appointment of Marshall. Capt Marshall is a highminded honest and honourable man. Genl Purdy has great claims from length of service, he is honest, poor and unincumbered, Mr Fletcher is a broken merchant, high toned Federalist and supported Cannons election. Doctor Sappington is a honest republican, poor and whether involved in the prevailing wreck I can-

[2] Newton Cannon, representative from Tennessee 1814-1817, 1819-1823.
[3] United States district attorney.

not say. Colo. A. Erwin is a Bankrupt both in property and charactor, and strongly attached to your worst enemies, and in the man no confidence ought to be reposed out of these you can make a good choice that will give satisfaction to the state, and security to the honest creditors of other states.

Present me respectfully to your lady and family, and believe me to be respectfully

Yr mo. ob. serv.

To Colonel John Brown.

Hermitage, October 8, 1819.

D'r Sir: Yours of the 25th ult. is Just received and that you may correct the Egregious Error which you have fallen into I hasten to reply. I well recollect on my return from the city last spring the conversation that Took place between you and myself relative to the conduct of Colo. John William towards me, during the last session of congress, and I also recollect your wishes as well as desire expressed of bringing about a reconciliation between us—to which I as well recollect I replied that his late as well as former conduct towards me required explanation and reparation his late attempt in the Senate to injure me, by secretely diseminating the basest falshoods, (that I had reserved the Salt Spring in the late chickesaw purchase for myself, and had leased it before the Ink was dry upon the treaty etc etc—and that I was engaged in large speculations in Pensacola) etc etc which he intended as a vital stab to my reputation. Notwithstanding at my age I had a wish to be in friendship with all the world, I never could be friendly with Colo. Williams untill a full explanation and compleat satisfaction for the injury he had attempted to do me during the last session of congress was made.

I cannot foresee from the conversation that passed between us how you have fell into the Error you have done and which you have expressed when you say in your letter that my reply was that you might say to Colo. Williams I had no wish to remain unfriendly with him—unless you mean to convay the Idea, that I was a[n]xiously waiting, a fit opportunity to have the necessary explanation with him, and thereby put an end to the differrence that existed between us. If this is your meaning, you might have inferred it from our conversation, but that I did, or ever intended to say to you that I was willing to become friends with Colo. Williams without his first making a satisfactory explanation of and attonement for his conduct in the various attempts it is alledged he has made to injure me is incorrect.

As I allways despised duplicity in others and never have practised it myself I have to request that you, without delay make known to Colo. Williams the mistake you have fell into and explain to him that I never can become friendly with him, untill this explanation does take plaice; that had it not been for the *cry of the military power bearing down the civil*, even where a military man is only defending himself this explanation would have been long since called for, and if Colo. Williams will say to me Senatorial priviledges aside, we will soon put an end to our

dispute I will place before him the injuries he has attempted to heap upon me, and the attonement necessary to [be] made, provided he admits the facts, or substantiating them. Should he refuse to do this I may yet a little be compelled to bear with the injury untill I can with honor retire to private life and lay down my commission. Then having all the rights of a citizen, I Can protect my reputation without the *cry* of *military usurpation.* I have to repeat the request that you without delay, make known to Colo. Williams the mistake you have been under in the communication you have made to him as detailed in your letter of the 25th of Sept. last as I do positively deny having ever gave you such authority.

Blessed is the peace maker, but even in the terms of the Scriptures, where one injureth another he must make reparation before forgiveness and friendship can be restored, and I sincerely regret that your zeal to restore friendship should have led you into so great a mistake as the one commented on.

I am with due respect yr mo. ob. serv.

P. S. I shall expect to hear from you on the recpt of this, and that you have made the communication requested to Colo. Williams.

Colonel John Brown to Jackson.

Kingston, Tenn., October 16, 1819.

yours of the 8 Instant is this moment receved. the conversation that past betwen us respecting the Diferance betwen you and col williams as stated in your Letter is Correct with the Adition as well as I now recolect that it was not your wish in the first instance to have becum unfriendly with col williams which ought to have ben the expresion in place of re-man[ing] unfriendly and as well as I now recolect you purmited me to name to col williams that you was willing that an explanation should take place untile which you never could becum friendly with him. I named to col williams my wish to Interfer as the mutuel friend to setle the Diference betwen you—his reply was that it was not his wish to have becum unfriendly with General Jackson in the first instance. which ought allsow to have ben the expresion in my former Letter and that he was willing that a full explanation of the Diference betwen you should take place. my zeale to bring about a friendly understanding indused me to propose that all animosity should cease and when you meat, to meat and treat [each] other politly. this propesition I reather think was brought forward by me the Impropriety of which I now Sea. I have wrote to Col williams that a reconciliation cannot take place without an explanation, and as my interferance was volentary and from the purest motives and confidential known only to you and Col williams, I wish it to be vewed as mutuel and friendly, which I do asshure you in the most Solom terms is the factt. on reflection I am apprehensive the Diferance betwen you and col Williams is more serious than I was awar of. and a further Interfearance by me may be Improper

I am with Due Respect

To President Monroe.[1]

Nashville, November 16, 1819.

(Private)

D'r Sir, Having set out on the 22d ult. to visit the detachment on the military road, when I reached the Tennessee my horses were taken with the prevailing epidemic which rendered them unfit to travel, which prevented me from prosecuting my Journey. Having one horse alone that could proceed, I sent on my aid de camp Capt Call,[2] whose report, on the progress made, the condition of the troops, and supplies, I have this day forwarded to the Secretary of War. This detach[ment] has done its duty, and had the Troops on the other end of the road as faithfully performed theirs, the road would have been compleated in all the present month.

I find from the public Journals, that the treaty with Spain has not been ratified, and it is announced that a special minister is coming over to give explanations to our government, why the King of Spain has not ratified the treaty. Will we have war with Spain, is a question that from my situation sugests itself, you have long known my anxiety to retire from the Service to private life, I had a hope that our affairs with Spain would have been finally settled by her ratifying the treaty, and nothing would have arisen to prevent me from tendering my resignation to you, the moment that the Senate has disposed of the report of the committee made at the close of the last session of Congress. Congress will be in session shortly, and that report disposed of in some way. The moment this is done my desire is to resign if the situation of our affairs are such, with the uropean powers, that peace will be maintained and my services dispensed with. I am weared with public life. I have risqued my life for public good, I have met privations and fatigue to promote the true interests of my country, I have worn out my constitution to preserve her rights and procure her safety, and when her security, permitted me to retire from the scenes of war, I have been assailed by the *drones of the hive*, I have been accused of acts I never committed, of crimes I never thought of, and secretly slandered in the Senate, by some of its unworthy members, and charged of doing acts in my official capacity to promote my private Views, and enhance my own interest. I have laboured through life to establish an honest Charactor, *but such is the corruption of the time*[3] and when I see such corruption in the members of our Senate, I dispair of a perpetuation of our happy constitution, and have a wish to retire to private life. But Sir you know my Services is my countries, as long as I can render any that may be serviceable to her *and your administration of the Government* But you know my earnest wishes for a retirement, and I am convinced will permit it as early as it would be honourable to myself, and the interests of our common Country, will permit.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.
[2] Capt. Richard K. Call, governor of the territory of Florida 1835-1840, 1841-1844.
[3] The words italicized in this paragraph have been erased in the original by the writer.

I have therefore to request, that you have the goodness to say to me on the receipt of this letter, at what time it will be proper for me to tender my resignation, and convenient for you to accept it. I have barely to add, that my private concerns demand my attention which cannot be given untill I retire to private life. Have the goodness to present Mrs. J. and myself to your amiable lady and family and accept for yourself our best wishes, and believe me to be Yr mo. ob. serv.

James Houston to Jackson.

Maryville, November 17, 1819.

Dear sir, I received yours of the 7th of last month. And by reason of sickness in my family have not untill now been able to attend to the business it required. Yesterday was the first I could leave home. I went to Knoxville and waited on Judge [*name omitted*] shewed him your letter. He said he would as willingly do business for you and myself as any other men. But that he had declared against valueing property of any discription, and therefore could not do it. General Parsons was present at the time, who was well acquainted with the family of negroes. I desired him to say what he thought they ware worth. He said that considering the times he thought them worth $1800 dollars as a fair price. I thought it low, but for the sake of accomedateing the family, will be satisfyed with that price, with prompt payment as part of the ballance in three or six months.

I will now discribe the family. Betsy the daughter of Peter is of middle size about 22 Years of age with three verry likely children. The oldest a Girl about 6 Years old the next a boy between 4 and 5 Years old the next a boy about 2 Years old. Bob the brother to Betsy and son of Peter is a Strong able young fellow about 18 Years old well acquainted with business. If you see proper to accept the terms You may appoint any Agent to receive the negroes or if you want them altered wright to me your terms and I will answer you

I am Sir with sincear regard your Obdt Sevt

[*Indorsement, in Jackson's handwriting:*] answered 3rd Decbr that if funds could be raised I would take them—an answer final as soon as I could hear from Florence.

Mr James Houstons letter—on the sale of family of negroes children of Peter.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, November 21, 1819.

Dear Andrew, on my return from Florence I wrote you from Nashville a hasty scroll in the night. I fondly cherished the hope of receiving from you a letter on my return. in this I was disappointed. The recpt of a letter from Edward dated the 25th ult. gave me the pleasing intelligence that you were well. this was gratifying to your aunt and myself, being both fearfull from your long silence that you were sick.

[1] Collection of Jackson MSS. in the possession of Miss Pauline Wilcox, Washington, D. C.

I am certain that at the advanced stage of your education you can attend to nothing more beneficial than writing. It employs the thoughts, expands the mind, and will give you by a proper attention an easy habit of communicating your thoughts. there is nothing so beatifull in writing as a plain easy stile. Mr. Madison excelled in this, and altho Mr. Jeffersons, writings has met with the approbation that they meritted—I have always thought that the chasteness of Mr. Madison excelled any american author I ever read. It is by habit that this ease and plainess of stile, which I call elegance is to be acquired. it is when writing to your friend, when you ought to be free from restraint, that you can exercise this freedom of expression, by which alone you will adopt that ease and plainess of stile, that will lead you into the habit of their common use.

When you know the pleasure it gives me to read your letters, why not amuse yourself in writing me. Choose your own subject—and handle it in any way your judgt may direct. it will give me pleasure to approve, or to point out your errors if any should exist with the freedom of a friend. This will give you a confidence in yourself, which to become great you must acquire, keeping your mind allways open to reason and conviction—but never yielding your opinion untill the Judgt. is convinced. Independance of mind and action, is the noblest atribute of man. he that possesses it, and practises upon it, may be said to possess the real curage of his creator. without it, man becomes the real tool in the hands of others, and is wielded, like a mere attamaton, sometimes, without knowing it, to the worst of purposes. hence the necessity of all inteligent men, exercising the talent that God has given them agreable to that Judgt. they possess, which they have derived from duty, improved by Education, and never abandoning it, untill their reason and Judgt. are convinced that they are in error. This independant course gives a peacefull conscience, and when the public voice, being misled, disapproves the course, innocence smiles with contempt at public clamour—time, dispells the mist of error from their eyes. truth ultimately prevails when the independance of the individual is hailed, by the approbation of all, and thus rewarded for his virtue and independance.

Your friends are all well and frequently inquiring after you. The first pride of my life has been gratified, at hearing of the honourable station you now fill. This is the reward of your application, and the proper course you have pursued. let it operate upon you, stedfastly to persue this proper course, without vanity, or pride, by which you can only reach perferment in life that will be permanant, that is by deserving it. I enclosed you in my last one hundred dollars in a bill of the Branch bank of the U States—I am anxious to learn whether it has reached you, there are so many roberies of the mail that I am fearfull it has been purloined as I have not been advised of its receipt by you. I have again to renew my request so often repeated that you write me often, and inform me of your views and future intentions.

Your aunt and Andrew joins me in our best wishes for your health and happiness. we are all anxious to see you so soon as your studies will permit; if we remain in peace I wish you to study law, and live with

me. if we have war and I should participate in it, I will have you with me, but I hope our country will be blessed with peace, war is a great evil when it can be avoided and a curse to any nation. present us to Edward affectionately and believe me to be your affectionate uncle

To President Monroe.[1]

Hermitage, November 22, 1819.

(Private)

D'r Sir, I have just recd a copy of Doctor Moors certificates [2] named in Genl Clarks letter to me which I had the pleasure of shewing you, and afterwards furnishing you with. I enclose it to you, that you may really know, Wm H Crawford, and how little regard he has for and how little respect he pays to truth, when he has vindictive passions to revenge, or self agrandizement in view, for your sake and for my countries good, I wish you were freed from the encumbrance of this man in the Executive.

I see from the Georgia Journal that some documents are published that appears to be the forerunners of a full disclosure of the smugling of the african negroes, in which it appears the Indian agent is involved.

Present me to your lady and family and believe me to be with sincere respect

Yr mo. ob. serv.

To Governor John Clarke.

Nashville, November 23, 1819.

D'r Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the recpt of your letter of the 2nd instant, with the news paper you had the goodness to send me.

I have read it with pleasure, and congratulate you and your country in your exaltation to the Executive chair of Georgia,[1] as well as the prospects of bringing to light those engaged in the illegal and inhuman traffic of the poor african.

The documents published clearly shew the guilt of the agent in this illegal traffic, and when we discover officers of the Government violating their duties and the laws of our country for their own benefit it is a proof that corruption abounds—and I have such confidence in the integrity and virtue of Mr Munroe, that on reading those documents, he will either dismiss the agent, or order a strict enquiry into his whole conduct that must eventuate in his removal, and bring to light the whole combination.

I thank you for the certificate of Doctor Moore which you have enclosed to me, I have given it a proper direction. I informed you that

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

[2] See p. 425, note.

[1] Clark had just been elected governor of Georgia over Troup, a friend of Crawford's, by a large majority. He continued his pursuit of General Mitchell, laying charges against him before the national government. They were investigated by the President, who decided that they were substantially true and ordered that Mitchell be dismissed from his Indian agency. *Niles' Register,* XVII. 177, 194, XVIII. 118, XX. 116.

Mr Monroe had positively declared that no such division in the cabinet ever existed, and the information, if given, to the Editor of the Georgia Journal, was a positive falshood. This in the first place must lead to Mr Crawfords removal from office, in the second it enables me, when a fit time arrives to expose this miscreant to the world in his true charector and afford evidence to the good [people] of the u states of the baseness of this man whose vanity lead him to offer his pretensions for the Presidential chair. When corruption so far prevades the human mind, to induce it to state a positive falshood, to the injury of his fellow being—*the being*, thus degenerated, affords ample proof of his unfitness to fill any office in a republican Goverment, which can exist alone upon the virtue of the people composing it, and particularly the officers of the goverment who execute it, hence the certificate of Doctor Tho Moor afford ample proof, that William H. Crawford is unworthy and ought not to hold any office under the Goverment of the U. States.

It is a source of great pleasure to all the friends of their country, to think that the good people of Georgia has at length opened their eyes to the intrigues of your enemies, and has at length done Justice to your merits, by placing you in the executive chair by such an honourable vote. Error may for a while do injustice, but truth is mighty and will ultimately prevail. your enemy Genl Mitchel must be in the pangs of death, and hard run for exculpatory proof when he introduces his own affidavit to prove his innocence. It is remarked by everyone that this shews his guilt as much as the proof aduced, and that any individual base anough to violate the law that he has sworn to execute would perjure himself, to exonerate himself from punishment for an infraction of that law he had sworn to support and execute. I will thank you to forward me any of your papers that contain farther proof on this subject.[2] I will file them. . . . .

yr mo. ob. servt.

To John H. Eaton.

Nashville, November 29, 1819.

D'r Sir: This will be handed you by Doctor Brunaugh who will also hand you my answer to the report of a majority of the Senate on the *Seminole war*, with such documents as is thought relevant to that subject.

You will find by way of Postscript to my answer the subject of the reserve, and lease of the Salt spring noticed and the certificates of Doctor Brunaugh Capts Call, Easter, the sta[te]ment of Colo. Butler, and Major Wm. B. Lewis, and the certificates of Bell, McNairy and Capt Eastland forwarded with the other Documents.[1] Although the majority

[2] May 23, 1820, Governor Clark sent Jackson part of a pamphlet against Crawford, saying he had shown in it that Crawford was once dishonest, whatever he might be then.

[1] At the treaty-making with the Chickasaws in 1818 the Indians objected to selling the salt lick within the proposed cession. It was finally agreed that they should retain ownership of it, but lease it to a citizen of the United States. Maj. W. B. Lewis, who was present, obtained the lease without the knowledge of any of the whites present. When Jackson was charged with complicity Lewis made the following statement (Aug. 20, 1819):

of the committee, does not notice this subject in the report, still, as it originated, with one of the Senators, and communicated to Mr King one of the committee, as it is believed to poison his mind against me, and to procure if Possible his vote of censure, well knowing that he approbated the measures adopted in the prosecution of the seminole war, and particularly as the committee have arraigned my motives as a public officer—I have thought it proper to lay these documents before the Senate—however you will see, that, it is annexed to the answer on a seperate sheet, that if you and my friends should think it improper to be annexed that it can be seperated, and the P. S. used as a preface to the publication of the documents as you may Judge best, or in any way that you and my friends may think proper so that Congress may see them and Judge of the motives and actions of Colo. John Williams and others. There can be no question but it is proper that the senate and house of representatives should see them and the world in some shape or other—in this thing there was much depravity and malevolence in its author, that the world ought to see—so soon as I can with propriety, The honourable member shall be accountable to me, but in the mean time the senate and house of representatives ought to be informed on this subject.

" Having a considerable interest in the lands of the Western District, and feeling anxious that a treaty should be made, by which the U. States would acquire the right to that tract of country, I had determined, when I first heard of their appointment to accompany the commission to the Treaty Ground, with a belief that from the knowledge I had of that tract of country I might, possibly, contribute in some measure to the acquisition of so desirable, and to this state important, an object. It is true I held no appointment under the commissioners, nor did I want one; but it was found necessary in negotiating the Treaty, that it should be done thro' a secret, confidential agent, and in that capacity I had the honor to act, as will appear by reference to the commissioners Journal. For my service I received nothing, nor did I desire any compensation.

" The circumstances of my having acted as confidential agent, gave me an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with all the principal chiefs; by reason of which I was enabled *soon* to ascertain not only their views, but also their wishes, as it regarded the objects of the Treaty. When I ascertained that the Salt springs on the Sandy would certainly be reserved, and that Trustees were to be appointed on behalf of the nation to lease them out, I applied for a Lease on them myself—this I thought I had as much right to do as any other citizen. The Trustees observed to me that in as much as they would be compelled to lease them to some citizen or citizens of the U. States, they would as soon I should have them as any other person. This conversation took place the day before the Treaty was signed; but after the conditions of it had been agreed on. I immediately wrote a lease, and it was executed on the evening of the same day that the Treaty was signed. A few hours previous to our leaving the encampment, for home, Major Levi Colbert came to me and observed, Col Butler had said to him that when he returned to Nashville, he would send a friend to the nation to get the lick of them, and wished to know what he must say to him. I advised him not to let a *single individual* know that he had leased it to me, until after the Treaty should be ratified.

" After we got home, however, expecting from what Major Colbert told me at the Treaty Ground, that Col. Butler might be at some attempt to obtain a lease, I informed him that I had already gotten one. This, I am induced to believe was the first information had of it."

Major Lewis's statement was corroborated by testimony of Col. Robert Butler, and by George Bell, Boyd McNairy, and Thomas Eastland (Aug. 23), by Dr. J. C. Bronaugh (Aug. 26), and by Richard J. Easter (Aug. 27). These are the papers referred to by Jackson, and show that Major Lewis obtained the lease of the salt lick without the connivance or knowledge of General Jackson. Lewis's speculation in this salt lick proved unsatisfactory. See Coffee to Jackson, Mar. 30, 1830.

I wish you to Consult Mr Crittendon [2] and others that you may have confidence in on this subject; what you may do will be approved by me. My friend Judge Overton has thought it improper that I should condecend to put in an answer at all. I have thought differrently, believing, when ever this subject is touched, it ought to be fully and effectually answered so that the weakest capacity that reads may understand. The answer is drew with Ch[r]istian mildness, brings before the reader the facts, and a referrence to the documents prove them. The letter recommended by Judge Overton as a substitute and herewith enclosed m[a]y serve the learned, and the man of research, but would not be understood or perhaps read but by few. I therefore prefer the answer But enclose the letter for your and Mr Crittendons consideration and determination—being on the ground you can better Judge.

I send on the documents eranged to be annexed to and presented with the answer as lettered—unless upon reading the answer another erangement should be preferred.

Should it so happen that you should prefer the letter to the President of the Senate then a differrent erangement of the documents will be necessary, and a republication of the Pamphlet corrected and amended by such aditions from my answer as you may think proper to select particularly, that part that relates to the execution of Arbuthnot and ambrister and the right of the state to organize and officer its militia, to satisfy any call made upon it by the Executive of the united states. I send on an abstract, and erangement of the documents made out by Judge Overton, for this purpose I send on the letter and the erangement by the Judge, from the respect I have for his Judgt. knowing him to be actuated from the purests motives of friendship, more than with an expectation that the course he recommends will be preferred by you and Mr Crittendon in preferrence to my answer, as many of my friends agree that the answer ought to be preferred. But in this as in every other thing appurtaining to this unpleasant business I leave to your and my friends Judgtment, after having expressed my opinion on the subject—let all your deliberations be founded on this—that I fear not investigation, but court it, wherever it is necessary for the understanding of the nation.

I have wrote to Mr Crittendon a short note, I wish him to present the answer for this reason only—that it is known that you and myself are friendly, and he being from another state, it will have a much better impress upon the senate and the nation. There is one part of the answer not accompanied with documents, that is the stoppage of the amelia at Pensacola and another provision vessell at the Barancas, which made her Escape, These facts can be established by Colo. Gibson who is in the city and who I wish to be interrogated on this subject should it be found necessary indeed, his statement of this fact I would advise to be taken and appended to the answer before it is presented. Permit

[2] John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, U. S. senator 1817-1819 and several times thereafter. Judge Overton (see vol. I., p. 13, etc.) had retired in 1816 from the bench of the supreme court of Tennessee.

me to suggest for your consideration and that of Mr Crittendon, that when the answer with the documents are presented to the senate, that it be moved to refer them to a select committee, to whom shall be referred the report of, *the majority* of the committee of the Senate on the Seminole war of the 24th of February 1819 and that it be printed for the use of the members etc. By this order the whole will undergo, a full investigation and the answer and acompanying documents be placed before the nation. If it could be done, as many copies might be ordered as was of the report. This would only be Justice to me and to the nation.

You will have seen by the Georgia Journal that Genl Clark is elected Governor, and Genl Mitchel is under the Hackle for smuggling affrican slaves, The documents published, and others in the hands of the Executive must lead to an official investigation of his conduct and dismissal. The Election of Clark shews that Wm H Crawford has politically fallen never to rise again, and his quondam friend Colo. Andrew Irwin and his satelites in Bedford has failed in all their attempts for offices both from the President and State Legislature. I Have no time to give you any of the news of the place, but all friends *living* are well, I am yrs respectfully

P. S. I find in several of the printed documents errors which, has been corrected in copying. you will have the printing (if done) from the manuscrip, in my letter to the sec of War Dated washington city, I find a great error, which changes the sense and fact, in the 40th line of said letter as printed in the Pamphlet I find it printed, thus "to Pensacola", read instead thereof "toward Pensacola." I note this as you will find in my communication to the sec of war from Ft Gadsden detailing the information enumerated in the above letter, that I give that as my reason for marching in person towards Pensacola

To President Monroe.

Hermitage, December 10, 1819.

D'r Sir. I have this moment recd. the confidential letter from the Department of war of the 22nd ult.[1] Contents noted I have Issued the necessary orders to carry into effect the preparatory measures therein required. on the event of my services being required in the field I wish the permission of taking Capt Gadsden into my family, if it can be done with propriety and there is a vacancy in the line I have to request that young Mr Lewis Livingston[2] may be appointed a 2 Lieut—he is a fine material and has solicited to be in my staff, he speaks french and writes it correctly and would be usefull to me as a translater of the french or spanish Languages,

On the subject of a simultaneous attack on Ft st augustine, and Pensacola I refer you to my letter to the sec of war and will here remark—

[1] This confidential letter contained the following: "The return of the Secretary of War to the seat of government being delayed by his illness, the President directs me to say to you, that it is possible a rapid military movement will be ordered upon Florida soon after the meeting of Congress. Preparatory to which, he directs that you hold the troops under your command in readiness for such service."

[2] Son of Edward Livingston. He was not appointed.

If Fort St augustine has not recd. a reenforcement, and a sufficient naval force ordered on that station to prevent them from receiving succour from Cuba—the light artillery and 2nd Infantry will be competant to reduce it. But it would be hazzarding defeat, to make the attempt, depending for succour from my army, Pensacola and the Barrancas is defended says report by 2000 troops including militia. four days can bring them relief from Cuba. the Barrancas has been and is now under repair, and can be made very strong. The agregate of my force which can be counted disposable, ought to be reduced one fourth at least, to have the amount of real effectives. under all these considerations, I have sugested to you in my letter to the Department of War as the safest course, to concentrate the whole force and commence opperations at the Barrancas and reduce them in detail. Barancas and St Marks reduced Ft St augustine will surrender when summoned. it is a strong *fortress* and with 500 regulars and its militia, it would be risqueing a good deal to invest it with the two Regts. you cannot calculate (if they are full) on more than 1200 effectives. Casualties will take place daily, and in a short time the besieged will be stronger than the assailants, who have a strong fortress to contend with as well as equal numbers and unless taken by *a coup de main*, by crossing the Bri[d]ge in the rear of the Town in the night—seizing the Town, by surprise by which the fortress may be compelled to surrender. If defended by a military man he will be on the alert and that case it must be reduced by regular approaches or carried by storm with the hazzard of great loss—a superior force to the enemy, will be necessary, to secure victory and success, and nothing ought to be left to chance in military operations. I have thought proper to make those sugestions to you, for your consideration that the means employed may be adequate to the attainment of the object in view, and that success may be ours. My health is very precarious, but as the perfidy of Spain has left us no alternative with the smiles of heaven I will endeavour to place once more the american Eagle upon the ramparts of the Barancas Pensacola, St Marks, and reduce Ft St augustine and then beg leave to retire if I survive to private life.[3]

Present Mrs. J. and myself to your amiable lady and family and believe me to be your

mo. ob. servt.

President Monroe to Jackson.

Washington, December 12, 1819.

Dear Sir, I have intended for sometime past to write you fully in reply to several letters which I have received from you, but the pressure of my duties here has prevented it. On my return from the westward, I had much to attend to, which had been delayd by my absence, and then the preparation for the meeting of Congress succeeded, and now the calls from that body, give me little time for my friends.

[3] In a letter to Monroe (Nov. 29, 1819) Jackson expressed a wish to resign "so soon as my services can be dispensed with". The entire letter is not preserved, but there is a fragment, with these facts indorsed on it, in Jackson's handwriting.

I sent you a copy of the message, which will shew you the actual state of our affairs with Spain. In declining to ratify the treaty, the King declard his intention to send a minister here, which he repeated, on the return back to cadiz of the hornet. but yet no minister has arriv'd. We are told that he is probably on his way, and may be expected in the course of this month, or the next.[1] There is in truth no calculation, in this, or any other respect, on what the Spanish govt. may do. In regard to its conduct in declining to ratify the treaty, we are satisfied that the three powers mentiond in the message, are with us; but, should we take a step leading to war, we cannot count on them, and such is the pride and folly of the Spanish govt., that it is to be apprehended, should we take any measure, to afford a pretext, it would declare war, in which event, adventurers from every country, particularly G. Britain, would, under the Spanish flag, be let loose on our commerce. We are warnd from the best sources, that altho the British govt. has acted fairly in regard to the ratification, it would not be averse to see a war between the Ustates and Spain, in the expectation that it would throw the whole carrying trade into her hands, and cripple our commerce to her advantage. From Spain we have nothing to fear, but from such a state of things, we sho'd sustain great loss, and could not possibly gain any glory, as we have it in our power to take Florida when we please, and can take it, at any time, without much, if any fighting.

By such a state, our revenue would be much diminished, and we probably be forc'd, to impose, direct taxes. I suggested, therefore, the propriety of passing a law, authorising the taking Florida, but suspending its operation, to give an opportunity, for the reception of this minister during the session of congress. I have believd that this would be the surest way, to force Spain, into the performance of her duty, or in case she faild still to do it, to secure the good wishes of other powers on our side, and also to unite our own country, in decisive measures against her. What Congress may do, it is not in my power to say; no proposition can be made, which will not be opposed. Some opinion, however, of the result, may, soon be formd. I well know that the more decisive Congress are, the more certain shall we be, to extort from Spain, what we are entitled to, and without war. Till this business is settled, I should be very sorry to see you with draw from the service. Your aid in concluding it, may, and will be eminently useful; and knowing, as the Spanish govt. does, the promptitude and decision with which you will act, I think that it will have much influence in preventing war.

I do not think that the report of the senate will be taken up at all.[2] The decision of the H. of Representatives disposed of the question, and there it will I presume rest. . . . .

[1] The new envoy, Don Francisco Dionisio Vives, successor of Onis, did not present his credentials till Apr. 12, 1820.

[2] Refers to the report of Lacock's committee on the Seminole campaign. It was before the people—and the same was true of Jackson's reply. It was decided to leave them as they were. See pp. 410, n. 2, 416, n. 3, *ante*.

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

War Department, December 24, 1819.

Sir. Before my return to this City, the president had directed preparatory arrangements for the military occupation of the Florida's, if such should be the pleasure of Congress, which were communicated to you, on the 22nd Ulto, by the chief clerk of this department. As it is probable Congress will direct such occupation during the present Session, I have further to require your early report of the number and distribution of the troops of your Division, which may be promptly carried into such a campaign; as those, together with the Light artillery, and 2nd Infantry of the North Division, it is believed will furnish a competent force to accomplish such object, and the President is not disposed to employ militia, if it can be avoided.

You will furnish a plan of campaign, designating the points of Rendezvous for the troops of the North Division (an efficient force of more than one thousand men, which must be transported by water), as well as the points for concentrating those of the 7th and 8th Departments, if it is deemed proper to occupy more than one station. All your views and estimates are necessary, and it is desirable to have them, as much in detail as convenient, that the subsistence, ordnance and quarter masters Departments may be directed to hold all supplies in readiness for the most prompt and efficient co.operation under the further orders from this department.

You will see the necessity of your early report, as we shall here, be apprised of the measures of Congress two or three weeks before orders can reach you, and that time will be improved by the Subordinate departments in placing the supplies at the points that may be designated.

I have the honor to be

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, December 25, 1819.

D'r Genl. This day was recvd. your Letter of the 10 Int. To the several matters it refers you will find my answer in a letter addressed to you a few days ago. Your memorial is now transcribing and will be finished by Doc. Bronaugh to day. You will pardon the liberty I have taken in interfering with it when I assure you that your views are nothing infringed upon. The phraseology in many places the gramatical con[s]truction in others could not be amended without transcribing; while in some places I have made it to speak a language *demanding* justice and right; not asking for favour and courtesy. I have done nothing that you will not be completely satisfied with when you shall come to see it. One material fact is adverted to to wit a Letter from Secty war to the cha[i]rman of the Committee of ways and means dated April 1818 asking for an additional sum of 90.000 and giving as a reason that 1200 mounted gun men instead of militia were called out; this goes at once to assail the report which charges that they knew nothing about these troops, and that they were Volu[n]teers untill they saw the pay roll. . . . .

WITHDRAWN

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